

University of California Publications

LINGUISTICS

Volume 112

A Grammar of
Huallaga (Huánuco) Quechua

David John Weber

University of California Press

A GRAMMAR OF HUALLAGA (HUANUCO) QUECHUA

This One



94ZL-RUN-CH8Q Copyrighted material

A Grammar of
Huellaga (Huánuco) Quechua

David John Weber

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
Berkeley • Los Angeles • London

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN LINGUISTICS

Editorial Board: Margaret Langdon, Johanna Nichols,
Paul Schachter, William Shipley, Sandra Thompson

Volume 112

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY AND LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS, LTD.
LONDON, ENGLAND

ISBN: 0-520-09732-7

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOG CARD NUMBER: 88-27911

©1989 BY THE REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Weber, David, 1947-

A grammar of Huallaga (Huánuco) Quechua / David John Weber.

p. cm. — (University of California publications in
linguistics; v. 112)

Bibliography: p.

Includes index.

ISBN 0-520-09732-7 (alk. paper)

1. Quechua language—Grammar. 2. Quechua language—Dialects—
Peru—Huánuco (Dept.) I. Title. II. Series.

PM6303.W38 1989

498'.3—dc19

88-27911

CIP

Contents

List of Tables	xx
Acknowledgments	xxi
Abbreviations	xxiii
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Huallaga (Huanuco) Quechua	1
1.2. About the Author and the Data	3
1.3. In What Sense This Study Is a "Reference" Grammar	3
1.4. Some Important Words About Examples	5
1.5. The Organization of this Work	7
2. INTRODUCTION TO THE SYNTAX	9
2.1. Word Classes	9
2.2. Importance of Suffixes in the Morpho-Syntax	9
2.2.1. Person Agreement	10
2.2.2. Case and Case Marking	11
2.2.3. The Scope of Suffixes	11
2.3. Definitions: Sentence, Clause, Predicate	13
2.4. Word Order	15
2.4.1. Word Order: Subject and Object in Subordinate Clauses	17
2.4.2. Word Order: Modifier < Head	17
2.4.3. Word Order: The Auxiliary Verb <i>ka-</i> 'be'	18
2.4.4. Word Order: Subordination	18
2.5. Negation	18
2.6. Questions	19
2.7. Conjunction	20
2.8. Quotations	20
3. VERBAL ELEMENTS	23
3.1. Verb Classes and Properties	23
3.1.1. Subclasses of Verbs	23
3.1.1.1. Transitivity	23
3.1.1.2. Auxiliary Verbs	24
3.1.1.3. Subject Complement Verbs	25
3.1.1.4. Interrogative Verbs	25
3.1.1.5. Object Complement Verbs	25
3.1.1.6. Purpose Complement Verbs	26
3.1.2. On Properties of Verbs	27
3.1.2.1. On the Feature [+Motion]	27
3.1.2.2. Undergoing Morpho-Phonemic Lowering	28
3.1.2.3. Final Long Vowel	29
3.2. Verbs Derived from Substantives	30
3.2.1. <i>-ya-</i> , <i>-pa-</i> , and <i>-ta-</i> 'become'	30
3.2.2. <i>(-ka)kU</i> 'put onto'	32

3.2.3. <i>-paku</i> ‘verbalizer’	32
3.2.4. <i>-chakU</i> ‘verbalizer’	32
3.2.5. <i>-cha</i> ‘make’	32
3.2.6. <i>-ra:</i> ‘exhibit’	32
3.2.7. <i>-na:</i> ‘desiderative’	33
4. SUBSTANTIVE ELEMENTS	35
4.1. Classes of Substantives	35
4.1.1. Noun-Adjectives	35
4.1.2. Sounds	37
4.1.3. Personal Pronouns	37
4.1.4. Emphatic Pronouns	37
4.1.5. Demonstrative Pronoun-Adjectives	38
4.1.6. Interrogative-Indefinite Pronoun-Adjectives	39
4.1.7. Quantifying Noun-Adjectives	40
4.1.7.1. Indefinite Quantifying Noun-Adjectives	40
4.1.7.2. Numerals	40
4.2. Suffixes That Apply to Substantives	41
4.2.1. Suffixes Deriving Substantives from Substantives	41
4.2.1.1. <i>-Nlyoq</i> ‘having’	42
4.2.1.2. <i>-sapa</i> ‘having much’	43
4.2.1.3. <i>-ynaq</i> ‘not having’	43
4.2.1.4. <i>-saq</i> and <i>-karay</i> with <i>hatu-</i> ‘big’	44
4.2.1.5. <i>-y</i> ‘vocative’	44
4.2.1.6. <i>-ylla</i> ‘just’	44
4.2.1.7. <i>-y</i> (no gloss)	44
4.2.1.8. <i>-q</i> with <i>hana</i>	45
4.2.1.9. <i>-sh</i> with <i>hana</i>	45
4.2.1.10. <i>-q</i> ‘human’	45
4.2.1.11. <i>-la:</i> ‘side’	46
4.2.1.12. <i>-Nnin</i> ‘superlative’	46
4.2.1.13. <i>-Nintin</i> ‘together with’	47
4.2.2. Suffixes Deriving Substantives from Verbs	50
4.2.2.1. Substantivizations with <i>-na</i>	50
4.2.2.2. Substantivizations with <i>-y</i>	51
4.2.2.3. <i>-q</i> ‘substantivizer’	53
4.2.2.4. <i>-(:)chi</i> ‘one who does excessively’	53
4.2.2.5. <i>-pa</i> ‘substantivizer’	54
4.3. Inflectional Suffixes Applying to Substantives	54
4.3.1. Possessive Suffixes	54
4.3.2. Number	55
4.3.3. Case and Case-like	55
4.3.4. Other Inflectional Suffixes	58
5. ADVERBS	59
5.1. Time Expressions	59
5.1.1. Named Times	60

5.1.2. Time Expressions and Case Markers	60
5.1.3. Units of Time	61
5.1.4. Times of Day	62
5.1.5. Deictic Time Expressions	63
5.1.6. Denoting Periods of Time	64
5.1.7. Other Time Adverbs	64
5.2. Degree Adverbs	65
5.3. Attitudinal Adverbs	66
5.4. Pre-Adjectives	66
5.5. Manner and Means Adverbs	67
5.6. Derived Adverbs	68
5.6.1. Adverbs Derived from Substantives	68
5.6.1.1. The De-Substantival Adverbializer <i>-ta</i>	68
5.6.1.2. The De-Substantival Adverbializer <i>-pa</i>	69
5.6.2. Adverbs Derived from Verbs	71
5.6.2.1. By Substantivization and Then Adverbialization	71
5.6.2.2. Adverbs Derived by <i>-q</i>	71
6. OTHER WORD AND SUFFIX CLASSES	73
6.1. Other Word Classes	73
6.1.1. Negative	73
6.1.2. Interjections	74
6.1.3. Interactionals	74
6.1.4. Links	75
6.2. Suffixes Not Restricted to Class	75
6.2.1. Shading Suffixes	75
6.2.2. Evidential Suffixes	76
6.2.3. Question-Negative	76
7. WORD FORMATION	77
7.1. The Structure of the Verbal Word	77
7.1.1. Introduction to Pre-Transition Suffixes	78
7.1.2. Introduction to the Transitions	79
7.1.3. Introduction to the Post-Transition Suffixes	81
7.2. Suffix Order	82
7.2.1. The Order of Pre-Transition Suffixes	82
7.2.1.1. Generalities Regarding the Order of Pre-Transition Suffixes	82
7.2.1.2. Alternate Order of Suffixes	83
7.2.1.3. Multiple Occurrences of a Suffix	85
7.2.1.4. Specific Constraints on the Order of Pre-Transition Suffixes	85
7.2.2. The Order of Post-Transition Suffixes	86
7.2.2.1. The Order of Post-Transition Suffixes for Substantives	86
7.2.2.2. The Order of Post-Transition Suffixes for Verbs	87
7.2.2.3. The Order of Post-Transition Suffixes for Adverbs	88
7.3. Suffix-as-Operator Morphology	88

8. TRANSITIONS AND TENSE	95
8.1. Preliminaries	95
8.1.1. Person	95
8.1.2. Introduction to the Transition	96
8.1.3. Agreement: Subject and Object Person Marking	98
8.1.4. Auxiliary Suppression	98
8.2. Present	99
8.3. Simple Past	99
8.4. Future Tense	100
8.5. Imperative	101
8.6. Participles	103
8.7. Conditional Tense	103
8.8. Perfect Tense	105
8.8.1. The Simple Perfect	105
8.8.2. Compound Perfect	106
8.8.2.1. Compound Present Perfect	107
8.8.2.2. Past Perfect	108
8.8.2.3. Future Perfect	108
8.8.2.4. The Compound Perfect in Subordinate Clauses	109
8.9. Habitual	109
8.10. Obligation and Intention	112
8.10.1. Obligation and Intention with <i>-na</i> ‘sub’	112
8.10.2. Obligation with <i>-y-paq</i> ‘-INF-PUR’	113
8.11. Imminent	113
8.12. Periphrastic Future	114
8.13. Narrative Past	114
8.14. Substantivizing Transitions	115
8.14.1. Substantivization with <i>-q</i>	115
8.14.2. Substantivization with <i>-na</i>	116
8.14.3. Substantivization with <i>-sha</i>	117
8.15. Adverbial Clause Transitions	118
8.15.1. Adverbial Clause--Different Subject with <i>-pti</i>	118
8.15.2. Adverbial Clause--Same Subject with <i>-r</i>	118
8.15.3. Adverbial Clause--Same Subject with <i>-shpa</i>	119
9. PRE-TRANSITION SUFFIXES	121
9.1. Directional Suffixes	121
9.1.1. <i>-rpU</i> ‘down’	122
9.1.2. <i>-rkU</i> ‘up’	123
9.1.2.1. <i>-rkU</i> in Finite Verbs	123
9.1.2.2. <i>-rkU</i> in Adverbial Clauses	126
9.1.3. <i>-rqU</i> ‘out’	127
9.1.4. <i>-ykU</i> ‘in’	128
9.1.4.1. Success	129
9.1.4.2. With <i>qo-</i> ‘give’	130

9.1.4.3. With Verbs of Perception	131
9.1.4.4. Politeness	132
9.1.4.5. At the Peak of an Episode	133
9.1.4.6. <i>-ykU</i> with Transitive Verbs	134
9.2. <i>-mu</i> 'afar'	134
9.2.1. Distributional Considerations	135
9.2.2. Summary of the Uses of <i>-mu</i>	135
9.2.2.1. 'Toward here' with Motion Verbs	135
9.2.2.2. 'At a distance' with Non-Motion Verbs	136
9.2.2.3. 'Go off and do' with Implication of Coming Back	137
9.2.2.4. Stimulus from a Distance	137
9.2.2.5. Perspective and Bi-Clausal Phenomena	140
9.2.2.6. Return to Normal State	141
9.2.2.7. <i>-mu</i> and Ambiguous/Vague Verbs	142
9.3. Pluralization	143
9.4. Aspect	144
9.4.1. The Perfective-Imperfective Aspectual Distinction	145
9.4.2. Punctual-Durative Aspectual Contrast	147
9.4.3. Perfective-Imperfective and Punctual-Durative	148
9.4.4. Iterative	150
9.4.5. <i>-kaakU</i> 'complete(ly)'	151
9.4.6. Aspect in Adverbial Clauses	152
9.5. Transitive Pre-Transition Suffixes	153
9.5.1. <i>-:shi</i> 'accompaniment'	154
9.5.2. Benefactive	155
9.5.2.1. <i>-pa:</i> 'benefactive'	155
9.5.2.2. <i>-pU</i> 'benefactive'	158
9.5.2.3. <i>-pa</i> 'benefactive'	159
9.5.2.4. <i>-pa.ri</i> 'momentarily'	160
9.5.3. <i>-chi</i> 'causative'	161
9.5.3.1. Grammatical Relations and Causatives	161
9.5.3.2. Double Causative	164
9.5.3.3. Idiomatic Uses of <i>-chi</i> 'causative'	164
9.5.4. <i>-cha:</i> 'make'	166
9.6. Reflexives and Reciprocals	166
9.6.1. Reflexives	167
9.6.1.1. Reference Restricting Uses of <i>-ku</i> 'refl'	167
9.6.1.2. Extended Uses of <i>-ku</i> 'refl'	167
9.6.2. Reciprocals	168
9.6.2.1. Each Other	168
9.6.2.2. Reciprocal of Distributed Mutual Activity	169
9.6.2.3. Reciprocal as a Distributed Reflexive	169
9.6.2.4. Extended Meanings	170
9.7. Other Pre-Transition Suffixes	170

9.7.1. <i>-na</i> : ‘desiderative’	170
9.7.2. <i>-pakU</i> ‘diffuse’	171
9.7.3. <i>-qtu</i> ‘pretend’	172
9.7.4. <i>-chakU</i> ‘concentratedly’	172
9.7.5. <i>-lla</i> : ‘polite’	173
10. CASE AND GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS	175
10.1. Introduction to Case	175
10.2. Subject	175
10.3. <i>-ta</i> ‘object’	178
10.3.1. Direct Object	178
10.3.2. Indirect Object	179
10.3.3. Object Agreement	180
10.3.4. Lost <i>-ta</i> ‘OBJ’	181
10.3.5. Subjects of Causativized/Benefactive Verbs	182
10.3.6. Direction	182
10.3.7. Time Lapse	183
10.3.8. <i>-ta</i> in Non-Systematic (Idiomatic) Expressions	183
10.4. <i>-chaw</i> ‘locative’	184
10.4.1. <i>-chaw</i> with Physical Location	184
10.4.2. <i>-chaw</i> for Involvement in Activity/Circumstance	186
10.4.3. <i>-chaw</i> in Time Expressions	187
10.4.4. <i>-chaw</i> in Idiomatic Usages	188
10.5. <i>-pita</i> ‘ABL’	189
10.5.1. Initial Point of a Path Through Space	189
10.5.2. Observation	191
10.5.3. Site of Attachment	191
10.5.4. Material	192
10.5.5. Source	192
10.5.6. According	193
10.5.7. Time	193
10.5.8. Contrast and Comparison	194
10.5.9. Reason	194
10.5.10. Avoidance	195
10.5.11. Loan Translations Using <i>-pita</i> ‘ABL’	196
10.6. <i>-man</i> ‘GOAL’	196
10.6.1. Motion of an Object Through Space	196
10.6.2. A Static Path Through Space	197
10.6.3. Motion to an Altered State or Event	198
10.6.4. Time Progression to Some Endpoint	199
10.6.5. Spanish Loan Translations	199
10.6.6. Residue	200
10.6.7. ‘To go after’	200
10.6.8. Interaction with Pre-Transition Suffixes	201
10.7. <i>-yaq</i> and <i>-kama</i> ‘limitative’	201

10.7.1. Spatial Limit	201
10.7.2. Temporal Limit	202
10.8. <i>-paq</i> 'PUR'	204
10.8.1. <i>-paq</i> to Mean 'for the benefit of'	205
10.8.2. <i>-paq</i> to Mean 'purpose' or 'reason'	205
10.8.3. <i>-paq</i> with Purpose Complements	206
10.8.4. <i>-paq</i> with the Concept of 'exchange'	206
10.8.5. <i>-paq</i> with Compound Tenses	207
10.8.6. <i>-paq</i> in Time Expressions	207
10.8.7. <i>-paq</i> to Mean 'concerning' or 'about'	208
10.8.8. <i>-paq</i> to Mean 'for x to do'	209
10.8.9. <i>-paq</i> to Mean 'to carry out some role/office'	209
10.9. <i>-pa</i> 'GEN'	210
10.9.1. <i>-pa</i> to Mean 'through/by way of'	210
10.9.2. <i>-pa</i> to Mean 'along a course'	210
10.9.3. <i>-pa</i> to Mean 'in the area of'	212
10.9.4. <i>-pa</i> to Mean 'diffuse goal'	213
10.9.5. <i>-pa</i> in Reference to Admixtures	214
10.9.6. <i>-pa</i> with <i>hana</i> 'above'	215
10.10. <i>-wan</i> 'COM'	215
10.10.1. Instrument	215
10.10.2. Co-Participant	217
10.10.3. Conjunction	218
10.10.4. Subject of Causativized (Transitive) Verb	219
10.10.5. Circumstance	219
10.10.6. Under the Authority of	220
10.11. <i>-naw</i> 'similarity'	220
10.11.1. <i>-naw</i> 's Order with Other Post-Transition Suffixes	220
10.11.2. <i>-naw</i> Indicating Simile	221
10.11.3. <i>-naw</i> Meaning 'manner'	222
10.11.4. <i>chay-naw</i> and <i>kay-naw</i> Referring to Events	222
10.11.5. <i>chay-naw</i> and <i>kay-naw</i> Referring to Speech	223
10.11.6. <i>-naw</i> in 'about to'	224
10.11.7. <i>-naw</i> to Mean 'approximately'	224
10.11.8. <i>huk-naw</i> 'different(ly)'	224
10.12. <i>-naw+pa</i> 'manner/means'	225
10.13. <i>-niraq</i> 'like'	225
10.14. <i>-pura</i> 'between/among'	226
10.15. More About Case	227
10.15.1. Co-Occurrence of Case Markers	227
10.15.2. The Effects of Pre-Transition Suffixes	228
10.15.3. Case Markers and Meanings	230
10.15.4. Referential Versus Non-Referential Readings	230
10.15.5. The Scope of Case Markers	230

11. PASSIVES	233
11.1. Morphological Passives	233
11.1.1. <i>-ka</i> : 'passive'	234
11.1.1.1. Subject Properties of <i>-ka</i> : Passives	234
11.1.1.2. Limitations on Objects Made into Subjects by <i>-ka</i> :	236
11.1.1.3. <i>-ka</i> : Co-Lexicalized with Verb Roots	238
11.1.1.4. <i>-ka</i> : Fused with Other Suffixes	241
11.1.1.5. Conclusions on <i>-ka</i> : Passives	241
11.1.2. <i>-ra</i> : 'stative'	241
11.1.2.1. Subject Properties with <i>-ra</i> : Passives	241
11.1.2.2. The Plural Form of <i>-ra</i> :	243
11.1.2.3. <i>-ra</i> : Co-Lexicalized with Verb Roots	243
11.1.2.4. Conclusions on <i>-ra</i> : Passives	244
11.2. Syntactic Passive	244
11.3. Summary	248
12. SUBSTANTIVE PHRASES	249
12.1. Modifiers and Heads: Order and Constituency	249
12.2. Compound Substantives	250
12.2.1. Localizer-Area	251
12.2.2. Source-Object	251
12.2.3. Gender Classifier	252
12.2.4. Occupation-Actor	252
12.2.5. Part-Part	252
12.2.6. Substance-Container	252
12.2.7. Quantifier-Substance	252
12.2.8. Quantifier-Measure	253
12.2.9. Time-Object	253
12.2.10. Parallel Numerically Quantified Substantive Phrases	253
12.3. Genitive Construction	254
12.3.1. Form and Structure	254
12.3.2. Uses of the Genitive Construction	255
12.3.2.1. General	255
12.3.2.2. Components of a Whole	255
12.3.2.3. Spatial Relationships	256
12.3.2.4. Temporal Relationships	257
12.3.2.5. Quantifiers	259
12.4. Pronominal Reference	259
12.4.1. Possessed Quantifier/Referential Words	259
12.4.1.1. <i>huk</i> 'one/other'	259
12.4.1.2. Other Numerals	260
12.4.1.3. <i>wakin</i> 'others'	261
12.4.1.4. <i>mayqan</i> 'which'	261
12.4.1.5. <i>kiki</i> 'self'	262
12.4.1.6. <i>llapan</i> 'all'	262

12.4.1.7. <i>hapallan</i> ‘alone’	262
12.4.1.8. <i>kara-u.nu</i> ‘each one’	263
12.4.1.9. Unmotivated <i>-ni</i> Alternation	263
12.4.2. Reference and Object Complements	263
12.5. Number Formation	267
12.5.1. Basic Numbers	267
12.5.2. Indefinite Numbers	269
12.5.3. Number Roots/Stem	269
12.6. <i>-kama</i> ‘respectively’	269
12.7. <i>-kaq</i> ‘definite’	271
12.7.1. <i>ka+q</i> Marks Definite Reference	273
12.7.2. <i>-kaq</i> to Refer to Place	274
12.7.3. <i>-pita kaq</i> ‘those except’	275
12.7.4. <i>huk-kaq</i> ‘the other’	275
12.7.5. <i>wakin-kaq</i> ‘the others’	276
12.7.6. <i>chay-kaq</i> ‘the other’	276
12.7.7. <i>mana-kaq</i> ‘insignificant’	277
12.8. <i>-pacha</i> ‘continuous’	277
12.9. Contrast, Co-Variation, and Comparison	277
13. SUBSTANTIVIZED CLAUSES	279
13.1. Relative Clauses	279
13.1.1. Basic Concepts and Definitions	279
13.1.2. Basic Relativization in Quechua	280
13.1.3. Choice of Substantivizer	280
13.1.4. Relative Juxtaposition	281
13.1.5. Discontinuous Modifiers	282
13.2. Participles	282
13.2.1. The Syntax of Participles	283
13.2.2. Participles with <i>-sha</i> ‘prtc’	285
13.2.2.1. Forms of the Participializer <i>-sha</i>	285
13.2.2.2. Uses of Participles Formed with <i>-sha</i>	285
13.2.3. Negative Participles with <i>-ni</i>	287
13.3. Complementation	288
13.3.1. Subject Complements	288
13.3.2. Object Complements	288
13.3.2.1. <i>-na</i> Complements	288
13.3.2.2. Infinitive Object Complements	289
13.3.2.3. Factive Complements	289
13.3.2.4. Sensory Verb Complements	289
13.4. Adverbial Uses of Substantivized Clauses	290
13.4.1. Time	291
13.4.2. Place	291
13.4.3. Circumstance	291
13.4.4. Purpose	292

13.4.4.1. Common Purpose Clauses	292
13.4.4.2. Purpose Motion Clauses	292
13.4.4.3. Negative Purpose Clauses	293
13.4.5. Result	293
13.4.6. Reason	293
13.4.7. Manner	294
13.4.8. Hypothetical Comparison	294
13.4.9. Correlation "according as"	294
13.4.10. Comparison	294
14. ADVERBIAL CLAUSES	297
14.1. The Basic Facts	297
14.1.1. The Adverbial Clause Markers and Switch Reference	298
14.1.2. The Difference Between <i>-shpa</i> and <i>-r</i>	299
14.1.3. <i>-pti+12</i> Reduced to <i>-sha</i>	299
14.1.4. Switch Reference and Subject Inflection	300
14.1.5. Switch Reference and Subordination	301
14.1.6. Identity or Inclusion Defining Switch Reference	303
14.1.7. Switch Reference and <i>kuyraa</i> 'be careful lest'	304
14.1.8. Other Switch Reference Mechanisms	304
14.2. The Uses of Adverbial Clauses	304
14.3. Adverbialization in Relation to Other Processes	305
14.3.1. Causativization	306
14.3.2. Substantivization	306
14.3.3. Reciprocal Formation	307
14.4. Adverbial Clauses Derived by <i>-y(+lla)+pa</i>	308
14.4.1. Manner	308
14.4.2. Means	310
14.4.3. Other Uses	311
14.4.4. Reduplication with <i>-y(+lla)+pa</i> 'adv'	312
14.5. Dialect Differences in Use of Adverbial Clauses	312
14.6. Discourse Function of Adverbial Clauses	313
14.6.1. Recapitulative Adverbial Clauses	313
14.6.2. Mega-Sentences	315
15. REDUPLICATION	317
15.1. Reduplication Within Lexical Items	317
15.2. Reduplication of Simple Words	318
15.2.1. Word-Word Reduplication	318
15.2.2. Reduplication with <i>-n</i>	319
15.2.3. With Case	320
15.3. Adverb Verb Reduplication	320
15.3.1. Verb- <i>r</i> Verb Reduplication	321
15.3.1.1. Verb- <i>r</i> main verb	321
15.3.1.2. Verb- <i>r</i> verb- <i>r</i> reduplication	321
15.3.1.3. Verb- <i>r</i> verb- <i>r</i> <i>kU-r</i>	322

15.3.2. Verb- <i>y+pa</i> Verb	323
15.4. Adverbial Clause Reduplication	323
15.5. Reduplication with Incomplete Verb Stems	323
15.6. Verb Verb	324
15.7. Infinitive Infinitive	324
16. QUESTION FORMATION	325
16.1. Validation Questions	325
16.2. Content Questions	327
16.3. Alternative Questions	329
16.4. Tag Questions	329
16.5. What-Say/Do Questions	330
16.6. Negative Questions	330
16.7. Embedded Questions	331
16.7.1. Embedded Content Questions	331
16.7.2. Embedded Alternative Questions	332
16.7.3. Finite Embedded Questions	332
16.8. Third Person Questions	332
17. NEGATION	335
17.1. Basic Negation in Main Clauses	335
17.1.1. Negation with Compound Tenses	336
17.1.2. Negation with <i>ka-</i> 'be'	336
17.1.3. Negative Commands	339
17.1.4. The Distribution of Negative Morphemes	339
17.1.4.1. The Distribution of <i>-chu</i> 'NEG'	339
17.1.4.2. The Position of <i>mana</i> 'not' and <i>ama</i> 'not'	340
17.2. Negation in Subordinate Clauses	341
17.3. Negation with Genitive Construction	342
17.4. Negation with <i>-raq</i> 'yet', <i>-na</i> 'now', and <i>-pis</i> 'even'	343
17.5. The Neg-Purpose Construction	343
17.6. Negatives with <i>-q-pis</i>	345
17.7. Negation with <i>-taq+chu</i> 'NEG'	345
17.8. Negative Indefinite Expressions	346
18. CONJUNCTION	347
18.1. Conjunction of Substantives	347
18.1.1. Juxtaposition of Substantives	347
18.1.2. Substantives Conjoined with <i>-wan</i> 'COM'	348
18.1.3. Substantives Conjoined with <i>-ntin</i>	350
18.1.4. The <i>huk...huk</i> or <i>waki-...waki-</i> Mechanism	350
18.1.5. List-and-Count Conjunction	351
18.2. Conjunction of Main Verbs	352
18.3. Conjunction of Subordinate Clauses	352
18.3.1. Embedded Questions	352
18.3.2. Infinitive Complements	353

18.3.3. Conjunction of Adverbial Clauses	353
18.4. Sentential Conjunction	355
18.5. Parenthetical Insertions	356
19. THE "SHADING" SUFFIXES	357
19.1. <i>-lla</i> 'just'	357
19.1.1. The Order of <i>-lla</i>	357
19.1.1.1. With Simple (Possessed) Substantives	358
19.1.1.2. With Subordinating Transitions	359
19.1.2. The Uses of <i>-lla</i> 'just'	361
19.1.2.1. <i>-lla</i> 'just' to Mean 'exclusive of'	361
19.1.2.2. <i>-lla</i> 'just' to Mean 'precisely'	362
19.1.2.3. <i>-lla</i> 'just' with Time Expressions	363
19.1.2.4. <i>-lla</i> 'just' to Indicate a Small Amount	364
19.1.2.5. <i>-lla</i> 'just' to Indicate Meagerness	365
19.1.2.6. <i>-lla</i> 'just' in Adverbial Clauses	366
19.1.2.7. <i>-lla</i> 'just' to Indicate Politeness	367
19.1.2.8. <i>-lla</i> 'just' in Frozen Forms	368
19.2. <i>-pis~si</i> 'even, also, indefinite'	369
19.2.1. <i>-pis~si</i> with Indefinite Expressions	370
19.2.2. <i>-pis~si</i> with Embedded Questions	371
19.2.3. <i>-pis~si</i> with Concessive Adverbial Clauses	372
19.2.4. <i>-pis~si</i> 'even, to the extent that'	372
19.2.5. <i>-pis~si</i> Terminating Quantified Expressions	373
19.2.6. <i>-pis~si</i> with Conjoined Phrases	373
19.2.7. <i>-pis~si</i> Meaning 'also, in addition to'	374
19.2.8. <i>-pis~si</i> Simply as a Marker of Indefiniteness	375
19.3. <i>-na</i> 'now'	376
19.3.1. <i>-na</i> Meaning Simply 'now' and 'soon'	376
19.3.2. <i>-na</i> with Time Expressions	377
19.3.3. <i>-na</i> Meaning 'right at that time'	378
19.3.4. <i>-na</i> Meaning 'now--in contrast to before'	379
19.3.5. <i>-na</i> Meaning 'already, previously'	380
19.3.6. <i>-na</i> in Procedural Text	381
19.3.7. <i>-na</i> as an Episode Boundary	383
19.3.8. <i>-na</i> and Background Material	384
19.3.9. A Residue Case	385
19.4. <i>-raq</i> 'yet, still'	386
19.4.1. <i>-raq</i> with Time Expressions	386
19.4.2. Negative and <i>-raq</i>	388
19.4.3. <i>-raq</i> to Indicate an Extreme	389
19.4.4. <i>-raq</i> with Future Verbs	389
19.4.5. Frozen Expressions with <i>-raq</i>	390
19.5. Contrast between <i>-na</i> and <i>-raq</i>	390

20. THE SUFFIX <i>-qa</i> ‘TOP’	393
20.1. Syntactic Aspects of <i>-qa</i>	393
20.1.1. Syntactic Categories with Which <i>-qa</i> Occurs	393
20.1.2. <i>-qa</i> is Restricted to Main Clause Constituents	394
20.1.3. There May Be More Than One <i>-qa</i> per Sentence	395
20.1.4. Blocking and the Interaction with the Evidential Suffixes	396
20.2. Pragmatic Facts About <i>-qa</i>	400
20.2.1. General Comments	400
20.2.2. Variation in the Use of <i>-qa</i>	402
20.2.3. The Uses of <i>-qa</i>	404
20.2.3.1. <i>-qa</i> Indicating Relevance to Context	405
20.2.3.2. <i>-qa</i> Indicating Contrast	406
20.2.3.3. <i>-qa</i> with Negative Assertions and Yes/No Questions	409
20.2.3.4. <i>-qa</i> Indicating Alternates	411
20.2.3.5. <i>-qa</i> with Sentential Connectives	412
20.2.3.6. <i>-qa</i> to Resume a Topic	413
20.2.3.7. <i>-qa</i> on Adverbial Clauses	415
20.2.3.8. <i>-qa</i> on Main Verbs	416
20.3. Conclusion	418
21. EVIDENTIAL SUFFIXES	419
21.1. The Meaning of <i>-mi</i> , <i>-shi</i> , and <i>-chi</i>	420
21.1.1. A First Characterization	420
21.1.2. <i>-mi</i> and <i>-shi</i> Are Evidentials	421
21.1.3. The Uses of <i>-chi</i>	425
21.1.3.1. <i>-chi</i> as a Query	425
21.1.3.2. <i>-chi</i> as Flippant, Sarcastic, or Haughty	426
21.2. Information Profile	427
21.2.1. The Pattern	427
21.2.2. The Pattern as Information Profile	428
21.3. Pattern Deviations as a Rhetorical Device	431
21.3.1. Pattern Deviation at Textual Boundaries	431
21.3.2. Pattern Deviations to Build (and Resolve) Tensions	434
21.3.3. Pattern Deviation to Distinguish Two Themes	434
21.3.4. Summary	435
21.4. Other Uses of <i>-mi</i> and <i>-shi</i>	436
21.4.1. <i>-mi</i> as a Question Marker	436
21.4.2. <i>-mi</i> in Correlatives	437
21.4.3. <i>-shi</i> with Finite Embedded Questions	437
21.5. Conclusions	437
22. FORMULAIC EXPRESSIONS	439
22.1. Polite Expressions	439
22.1.1. Mechanisms for Politeness	439
22.1.2. Greetings	440

22.1.3. Giving and Receiving	442
22.2. Expressions Reflecting Different Perspectives	442
22.3. Idioms	443
22.4. Emotional Expressions	446
22.5. Formulaic Expressions	447
22.6. Loan Translations (Calques)	448
23. PHONOLOGY	449
23.1. Phonemes	449
23.2. Allophonics	452
23.3. Consonant Clusters	453
23.4. Syllable Structure	454
23.5. Morpheme Structure Conditions	455
23.6. Orthography	456
23.7. Stress	457
23.8. Morpho-Phonological Processes	457
23.8.1. Sibilants	457
23.8.2. Phonetic Lowering	458
23.8.3. Lowering of High Long Vowels	458
23.8.4. Nasal Assimilation	458
23.8.5. Apocope	459
23.8.6. Contractions	459
23.8.6.1. Syllable Dropping	459
23.8.6.2. <i>hana</i> , <i>ura</i> , and <i>washa</i> Contracting with <i>qa</i>	460
23.8.6.3. Contractions Involving Suffixes and Post-Positions	461
23.8.7. Metathesis	461
23.8.8. Non-Phonemic Transition Vocoids and Contoids	461
23.8.9. /i+y/	461
23.8.10. Word-Final /i+y/	462
23.8.11. Morpho-phonemic Lowering	462
23.8.12. <i>-ni</i> Insertion	465
23.8.13. Processes Involving Length	466
23.8.13.1. Foreshortening	467
23.8.13.2. Length in <i>noqanchi(:)kuna</i>	468
23.8.13.3. Length for Emphasis	468
23.8.13.4. Compensatory Lengthening	469
23.8.13.5. Final Length Suppression	470
23.8.14. <i>-lla</i> POS Switch	470
23.8.15. Cliticization of Post-Positions	470
23.9. Dialect Variation in Huallaga Quechua	471
23.10. Loan Processes	471
23.10.1. Vowels	472
23.10.1.1. Mid Vowels Become High Vowels	472
23.10.1.2. Vowel Added After Final Consonant	472
23.10.1.3. Stress and Long Vowels	472

23.10.2. Syllabifications	472
23.10.3. Consonants	473
23.10.3.1. Stop+Labialization as a Consonant	473
23.10.3.2. Stop+Palatal Offglide as a Consonant	474
23.10.3.3. Clusters with /r/ and /l/	474
23.10.3.4. Initial Spanish /h/, /f/, and /j/	475
23.10.3.5. Intervocalic Consonant Insertion	476
23.10.3.6. Intervocalic /g/	476
23.10.3.7. Spanish /j/ Borrowed as /sh/	476
23.10.3.8. Stop Replacing Fricative	476
23.10.3.9. Intervocalic Spanish /d/ Becomes Quechua /r/	477
23.10.3.10. /l/ to /r/ Word-Final	477
23.10.3.11. Metathesis of Consonants	477
23.10.3.12. Dropping a Consonant	477
23.10.3.13. Word-Final /ado/ and /ad/	477
23.10.4. Loss of a Syllable	478
23.10.5. Multiple Spanish Words Borrowed as One Word	478
References	479
Index	483

List of Tables

Table 2-1:	The Order of Subjects, Objects, and Verbs	16
Table 4-1:	Numeral Pronouns	41
Table 7-1:	The Structure of the Verbal Word	77
Table 7-2:	Nonsubordinating Transitions of HgQ	79
Table 7-3:	Subordinating Transitions of HgQ	80
Table 7-4:	The Order of Post-Transition Suffixes for Substantives	86
Table 7-5:	The Order of Post-Transition Suffixes for Verbs	87
Table 7-6:	The Order of Post-Transition Suffixes for Adverbs	88
Table 7-7:	The Operational Effect of Suffixes	90
Table 8-1:	Person Markers	96
Table 8-2:	The Basic Transition System	97
Table 8-3:	Present Tense Transitions	99
Table 8-4:	Simple Past Transitions	99
Table 8-5:	Future Person Markers	100
Table 8-6:	Future Transitions	100
Table 8-7:	Imperative Person Markers	101
Table 8-8:	Imperative Transitions	102
Table 8-9:	Conditional Transitions	104
Table 8-10:	Present Perfect Tense Transitions	106
Table 8-11:	Compound Perfect Transitions	107
Table 8-12:	Transitions Substantivizing with <i>-q</i>+Possessive	116
Table 8-13:	Transitions Substantivizing with <i>-q</i>	116
Table 8-14:	Transitions Substantivizing with <i>-na</i>	117
Table 8-15:	Transitions Substantivizing with <i>-sha</i>	117
Table 8-16:	Different Subject Adverbial Clause Transitions with <i>-pti</i>	118
Table 8-17:	Same Subject Adverbial Clause Transitions with <i>-r</i>	118
Table 8-18:	Same Subject Adverbial Clause Transitions with <i>-shpa</i>	119
Table 13-1:	The Choice of Substantivizer	281
Table 14-1:	Adverbial Clause Markers	298
Table 19-1:	The Position of <i>-lla</i> ‘just’ with Simple Substantives	358
Table 19-2:	The Position of <i>-lla</i> ‘just’ with a Subordinator	361
Table 21-1:	Evidential and Validational Interpretations	422
Table 21-2:	Evidentials and <i>-qa</i> in Three Huánuco Dialects	428
Table 23-1:	The Phonemes of Huallaga Quechua	450
Table 23-2:	Orthographic Conventions	456
Table 23-3:	Triggers and Affectees of Morpho-phonemic Lowering	463

Acknowledgments

I am indebted to the following:

To the members of my committee:

Sandra Thompson (chairman), Paul Schachter, Bill Bright, Bob Kirsner, and Al Johnson; their comments have helped to improve this dissertation a great deal.

To many Quechua-speaking people:

By allowing my family and me to live among them, by being the kind people that they are, and by being willing to instruct us in the use of their language, they have not only provided the data for this study, but also the stimulus to write it. I hope that this grammar will (in small measure) be a window through which can be seen the beauty and uniqueness of their life and thought.

To Teodoro Cayco Villar:

As the primary person to instruct me on the Quechua language and culture, to answer my myriad (and often senseless) questions, and as the author of many texts, he has provided the bulk of the material on which this study is based.

To the Ministry of Education of Peru:

By signing a contract with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, they have made work such as this possible. I would particularly like to thank those courageous individuals, both in the Ministry and outside of it, who defended the Institute during a period of nationalism when, without their backing, this study would have been terminated in the initial stages.

To colleagues in the Summer Institute of Linguistics:

By providing logistic support, moral support, and intellectual stimulus, and by seeing that our bodies continued to function (against hepatitis, amoebiasis, etc.), they have made it possible for us to live productively for a number of years in what would otherwise have been a difficult situation. I would particularly like to thank Peter Landerman for teaching me a great deal both about the Quechua language and about general linguistics.

To those who have supported our work financially:

This study would not have been possible without the financial support and encouragement of many fellow Christians; they have contributed out of the conviction that the Quechua people are worthy of Infinite Appreciation. Bill Mann's encouragement has been crucial at several junctures; e.g., he helped purchase the computer I took to Peru, on which most of this book was written.

To my family:

Without Diana's encouragement, and her selfless dedication to making our life together productive and full of pleasure, this grammar would not have been a reality. Her editorial help has also been invaluable. And Christof and Katrina have been patient while their father has given so much time and attention to this project.

ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL

*	unacceptable/ungrammatical/ill-formed
∅	null
:	length of the preceding vowel
<	(historically) derived from
??	question marker
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ACCOM	accompaniment
ADV	adverbial(izer)
ADV(DS)	adverb, different subject
ADV(SS)	adverb, same subject
AFAR	toward here from a distance or occurring at a distance
ASP	aspect
BEC	become
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CNJ	conjecture
COM	comitative
COMPL	complete or completive
CONCEN	with concerted effort or concentration
COND	conditional
DEF	definite
DESID	desiderative
DIFF	diffuse
DIR	direct (information)
DS	different subject
DUBIT	dubitive
EVD	evidential
EXCL	exclusive (i.e., excluding the hearer)
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GOAL	goal
HgQ	Huallaga (Huánuco) Quechua
H _z Q	Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua
IMP	imperative
IMPFV	imperfective
INCL	inclusive
IND	indirect (information)
INDEF	indefinite, nonspecific
INF	infinitive
INT	interrogative
ITER	iterative
LIM	limitative

LOC	locative
MAN	manner
NARPST	narrative past
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
NP	substantive phrase (i.e., noun phrase)
NRP	narrative past
OBJ	object
P	possessive
PASS	passive
PAST	simple past
PERF	perfect
PLUR	plural(izer)
PNCT	punctual
POL	polite
POS	possessive
PQ	proto-Quechua
PRTC	participle
PRTRN	pre-transition
PUR	purpose or purposive
Q.	Quechua
RECIP	reciprocal
REF	reflexive
REL	relative
RESP	respective(ly)
RF	rhetorical force
SAKE	for the sake of
SHD	shading suffix
SIM	similarity
Sp.	Spanish
SS	same subject
ST	situation
STAT	stative or durative
SUB	substantivizing subordinator
SUD	sudden(ly)
SUP	superlative
TOG	together
TOP	topic
VOC	vocative
WH	interrogative word (who, what, etc.)
YN?	yes/no question marker

PERSON

The following conventions are used for abbreviating grammatical person:

1	first person
1P	first person possessive
1(2)	first person singular or first person plural inclusive

11	first person plural exclusive
12=>3	first person plural subject, third person object
12	first person plural inclusive
12P	first person plural inclusive possessive
1=>2	first person subject, second person object
1=>3	first person subject, third person object
2	second person
2P	second person possessive
2=>1	second person subject, first person object
2=>3	second person subject, third person object
3	third person
3P	third person possessive
3=>12	third person subject, first person plural inclusive object
3=>1	third person subject, first person object
3=>2	third person subject, second person object
3=>3	third person subject, third person object
=>1	first person object
=>12	first person plural inclusive object
=>2	second person object
=>3	third person object

PHONETIC SYMBOLS

Forms that occur between square brackets ("[" and "]") are given in a quasi-phonetic notation using the following symbols:

:	length or duration of a segment
e	transition vocoid
y	palatal off-glide
ɣ	voiced dorso-velar or postvelar fricative
ŋ	dorso-velar or postvelar nasal
ch	apico-alveolar affricate
ll	lamino-palatal lateral
ñ	lamino-palatal nasal
sh	apico-alveolar sibilant
^x ɰ	voiceless labio-velar fricative
^x	voiceless dorso-velar or postvelar fricative
z	voiced apico-postalveolar fricative

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Huallaga (Huanuco) Quechua

Huallaga (Huánuco) Quechua (HgQ) is spoken in the department of Huánuco, Peru, principally in the districts of Churubamba and Santa María del Valle, but also in the districts of Huánuco, San Francisco de Cayrán and Conchamarca. Torero [43] classified it as a "Quechua I" dialect, referring to it as "Alto Huallaga Quechua." In Parker's [29] classification it is a "Quechua B" dialect, and in Landerman's [20] it is a "Central" dialect. To some extent HgQ and its closest neighbor, Pachitea Quechua, are relic dialects, not having suffered as much change as the dialects to the west, which were much closer to the pre-Columbian centers of prestige.

Residents of the capital of Huánuco who speak only Spanish generally regard Quechua as a thing of the past, unsuitable for modern purposes, at best an interesting artifact of former times. Many regard it as "corrupted" by Spanish loans (ignoring the fact that the Spanish of the region has been enriched considerably by words from Quechua). Because monolingual Quechua speakers seldom come to the capital, transacting their business through bilinguals who travel to and from the communities, many Huánuco residents have been led to think that all the people in the Quechua communities speak Spanish. However, according to a 1972 census,¹ of the 9076 people censused in the district of Santa María del Valle, 63% claimed *not* to know Spanish; and of the 7807 people censused in Churubamba, 69% claimed

¹These figures were made available to me by the National Institute of Statistics.

not to know Spanish.² In the years since that census, although the percentage of monolingual Quechua speakers has probably declined, I believe that the total population of Huallaga Quechua speakers has increased.

No one who has lived in a Quechua community--as my family and I have--can deny the importance of the Quechua language in the life of such communities. Quechua is spoken by all but a few outsiders. And while parents sometimes punish children for speaking Quechua, it is unquestionably the primary vehicle of communication. Only certain functions--e.g., education--are restricted to Spanish.³

While Quechua is of extreme importance within communities, it is *not* an important element in the communication between communities. This is because the ways communities interact are largely Spanish-oriented. For example, the legal system functions entirely in Spanish, so that (considerable) interaction is not in Quechua. Communities meet each other for soccer matches, but that is very much oriented to Spanish.⁴ Other forms of interaction (e.g., a political rally) are at the initiative of Spanish-speaking outsiders, and are carried out in Spanish.

That Quechua is no longer an important vehicle for communication between communities has perhaps retarded the spread of innovations within the language. The mechanism by which innovations are spread--speaker-to-speaker contact--has been undercut: when speakers from different communities get together, there is little or no interaction in Quechua. Furthermore, differential prestige no longer drives innovation in Quechua because only Spanish is regarded as prestigious. Because of these two factors, I suspect that innovations have not spread across Quechua for many years--i.e., that except for many words borrowed from Spanish, HgQ is spoken today much as it was a hundred years ago. Unfortunately, there seems to be no way to verify this because of the lack of written materials from former times.

²These figures must be considered absolute minima because:

1. Many persons are not censused; of these the greater number are monolinguals, because monolinguals tend to be more suspicious of the census than bilinguals (having been censused in the past for tax purposes), and because the more monolingual people are more likely to live in very remote areas, making it difficult or impossible to interview them.
2. People generally claim to know Spanish even if their knowledge is extremely rudimentary; many who are listed as knowing Spanish probably know little beyond what is required for face-to-face buying and selling.
3. Because of the low prestige of Quechua, many claim to know Spanish (and might deny knowing Quechua) even though Quechua is their native language or the one they speak 95% of the time.

³Many teachers simply do not know Quechua. Others know it but feel it is inappropriate for the classroom, a notion that is reinforced by the lack of educational materials in Quechua. Few actually use Quechua in the classroom. However, these latter often testify to the effectiveness of Quechua as a vehicle for instruction.

⁴I have seen matches played to the blare of a radio announcer narrating (in Spanish) a game being played in Lima; it seems to be a form of "national participation."

It is true that HgQ (like most Quechua dialects) has borrowed many words from Spanish. However, this is proof positive that Quechua is a living language: Quechua is daily shaped by the environment in which it must serve, an environment that includes new things (radios, trucks, insecticides etc.), new ideas and ideologies (reforms, revolutions, programs, religions, etc.), new situations (inflation), and so forth. While Quechua provides a rich set of mechanisms by which such things can be described it has opted for borrowing the words that accompany the new thing.

On the other hand, Spanish has had virtually no impact on the structure of the language. I have not found a single case about which I can say with certainty that a construction is borrowed from Spanish, or that a Quechua structure has been modified under the influence of Spanish.

1.2. About the Author and the Data

I have studied Quechua for the past ten years under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Relatively little of this time (approximately two years) has actually been spent in a Quechua community. My contact with Quechua-speaking people has been maintained from the city of Huánuco, where I now make my home.

The corpus on which this work is based comprises field notes of elicited material, transcriptions of recordings, written texts, examples caught on the fly from conversations, and observations made in the process of translating material into Quechua. These data were organized by creating an exhaustive file (on paper slips) according to a method shown me by Dr. Harold Gleason.⁵

Much of this data was provided by Teodoro Cayco Villar, who was born in Huajaj (Wahaq) in the district of Santa María del Valle, Huánuco, and has lived most of his adult life in the town of Llacón.

1.3. In What Sense This Study Is a "Reference" Grammar

This is a reference grammar, intended as a source of information on HgQ made readily accessible by organization, cross-referencing, and indexing. I hope that it will be useful to persons who have had little or no linguistic training, as well as of interest to linguists, particularly to students of Quechua, but also to those interested in typology and universals.

This study does not attempt to justify any particular theory of grammar. On the contrary, I have attempted a degree of theoretical neutrality. This is not because linguistic theory does not interest me, but because what I see as a more useful and enduring contribution is the sort of grammar presented below. Modeling a lan-

⁵Without the data organization method I learned from Dr. Gleason in a field workshop held in Peru, I would not have been able to make use of a large quantity of text. I am, consequently, very grateful to him.

guage as a formal system (which is what much "theory" tends toward) is at best no more than a gross caricature of it.

I have intentionally included a large number of examples because:

1. I see a dangerous trend (in linguistic studies generally, and particularly in those focusing on Quechua) toward theorizing on the basis of a few examples, these largely elicited.
2. I regard the examples as the primary instruments for demonstrating the facts of HgQ. The text is merely an aid to the reader so that he may appreciate the examples. The point is not whether or not the examples "prove" what I say, but whether from them the reader has an adequate reference for drawing his own conclusions. If the examples were elicited, I would not place such dependence on them. But virtually none of them were elicited. They are from tape recordings (in reply to a query such as, "What do you eat outside the city?"), from written texts (e.g., in response to a query on what happens in Holy Week), or from sentences caught "on the fly" in conversation.
3. I hesitate to accept as a "fact" of the language something for which I have only one or two examples, particularly if they are from the same speaker. (Eliciting a few more examples seldom alleviates my skepticism; with a little arm-twisting one can elicit anything!) But when I find examples from different speakers and different texts, then I have a fact (perhaps not a "linguistic" fact, but a fact about the language as it is actually used).
4. The examples are both pleasing and enlightening. They are not the dry stuff that comes of elicitation, but actual sentences used by native speakers to describe events and situations. Some convey subtle "overtones" (e.g., "Isn't it terrible how we are exploited?")--a difficult but fascinating aspect of "real" language. (This aspect of language is virtually always absent in elicited material.) Further, the examples provide glimpses into the culture. I believe that one cannot understand the nature of a language without also understanding the culture that it serves.
 - a. Speakers count on intelligent, culturally informed hearers to correctly interpret what they say. For example, one of the first texts I studied had the expression "blow the light." The only way I had seen a light "blown" was in the blowing out of a candle, so I assumed this to be the meaning; but it made no sense in the text, since the participants were in the dark. "Blow the light" turned out to mean to blow on a coal (usually along with a dry corn husk) to make it burst into flame, producing light. I understood the words and the syntax, but I misunderstood the sentence completely because I did not know what is known by probably all HgQ speakers.
 - b. Language is a tool shaped by its speakers to optimize its usefulness in the physical and cultural environment in which it must serve and for the purposes to which it is put. To understand why a language works as it does, it is necessary to know its speakers, to know where they live, to know the conditions under which they say what they say and with what intent they say them. For example, the system described in *hana* (uphill), *ura* (downhill), and *washa* (at level) in 12.3.2.3 gains its utility

from the physical environment in which Quechua is spoken: just as steep hillsides have influenced the angle between the handle and blade of the hoe used to farm those hillsides,⁶ so they have influenced the language.

- c. The way speakers shape their language is by "institutionalizing" tendencies. What proves useful--whether "grammatical" or not!--comes to be accepted and is incorporated by subsequent generations into the regularities of the language.

1.4. Some Important Words About Examples

Much of this work consists of lists (with discussion) of various uses of suffixes. For a given suffix, the uses are not necessarily discrete; from use to use there may be a great deal of commonality. The reader should not dwell on the issue of whether two uses should be recognized as the same or different: it is expected that there will be overlap because (basically) the uses of a suffix are a direct consequence of a commonality, one we might call its "meaning." Time and space prevent me here from showing how, and to what extent, the various uses of each suffix result from a common meaning. I hope that this work will serve as the basis for such studies in the future.

The glosses associated here with morphemes are not intended as meanings: they are simply arbitrary labels to help the reader. When a particular morpheme has several uses/meanings, the label used might have little direct relationship to the meaning of that morpheme in a particular context. For example, *-mu* in *aywa-yka:-mu-n* 'he is coming here' would be glossed as 'afar', even though a gloss like 'toward here' would have made clearer what this suffix contributes to the meaning in this case.

The typical example has three lines: a line of Quechua text with morpheme divisions, a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, and a free gloss. Another type of example is used occasionally when there is considerable context but the Quechua form of that context does not bear directly on the example itself. In these, Quechua is embedded in a free translation of the whole. See, e.g., example 548, p.157. Elipsis marking is included with many examples; this indicates that these examples are fragments of sentences drawn from text.

Most of the examples are completely divided into morphemes, but some have more limited divisions. In these, more than one English word may correspond to a bit of Quechua, so these English words are separated by colons. For example, the reader should be prepared to see *wasinpita* glossed as *from:his:house* or to see *wasi-n-pita* (house-3P-ABL) 'from his house'.

Examples are cited in a basically phonemic form. High vowels that are phoneti-

⁶The angle between the handle and blade used throughout the HgQ area is about 40 degrees, as compared with (roughly) 90 degrees for the hoes generally used on level ground.

cally lowered by /q/ (see section 23.8.2, p.458) are written as lowered unless a morpheme boundary intervenes between the vowel and the /q/ which causes the lowering.⁷ For example, [átoq̣] /atuq/ is written *atoq* 'fox' but [úpoq̣] /upuq/ is written *upuq* or *upu-q* (drink-sub) because of the morpheme boundary between the /u/ and the /q/.

Where hyphenation has been introduced to segment words into morphemes, minimal changes have been made to the sequence of phonemes (characters) that instantiate the morphemes; thus what results is *not* a morpho-phonemic representation. For example, /makiki/ 'your hand' would be represented as *maki-ki* (hand-2P), whereas a morpho-phonemic representation would be *maki-Yki*. The following conventions are used when a hyphen (morpheme boundary) follows a vowel that has undergone either morpho-phonemic lowering or foreshortening:

- An /a/ resulting from an (underlying) high vowel by morpho-phonemic lowering (see section 23.8.11) is represented with a capital "U" or "I".⁸ For example, the /u/ of *-rkU* becomes /a/ in *aywarkachir* 'having made them go'; so when broken into morphemes, this is represented as *aywa-rkU-chi-r* (go-up-caus-adv). When this /u/ is not lowered, it is written simply as *u*; e.g., *aywa-rku-r* (go-up-adv).
- A short vowel resulting from an underlying long vowel by foreshortening (see section 23.8.13.1) is represented as short. For example, the length of *-ma:* '=>1' is absent in *rikaman* 'he sees me', so when broken into morphemes this is represented as *rika-ma-n* (see=>1-3). If the vowel is pronounced long, then it is so written; e.g., *rika-ma:-na-n-paq* (see=>1-sub-3P-PUR).

While these conventions are used in examples, a different convention is used when morphemes are referred to in the text, and the reader is warned not to confuse the two.⁹ Morphemes that are susceptible to morpho-phonemic lowering are represented with "U" or "I"; e.g., I refer to *-rkU*, indicating by the "U" that this morpheme may show up as either *-rku* or *-rka*. Similarly, a morpheme that may have length is represented with ":"; e.g., *-ma:* '=>1'.

The pronouns of Quechua, both bound and free, show no gender distinctions. *Pay* means simply 'third person' and, depending on context, could be translated as 'she', 'he', or 'it'. Throughout the examples (and the text), unless the referent of a pronoun is clearly female or neuter, *he* is used rather than some genderless form such as *s/he*. I beg the pardon of any who regard this as sexist or chauvinistic.

⁷See section 23.6 (p.456) for more about the orthography used here.

⁸Note that this convention differs from that in many Quechua studies, where capital "U" or "I" is used whenever the vowel is susceptible to morpho-phonemic lowering, regardless of whether it is actually lowered or not. The convention followed here is motivated by a concern to minimize the difference between the Quechua examples and their actual spoken form. With this in mind, it might even be well to read "U" and "I" as [a] in the examples.

⁹The use of "U" and "I" in the text conforms to the convention most often employed in Quechua studies. In contrast to the use in examples, the use in the text is as a morpho-phonemic representation.

1.5. The Organization of this Work

The chapters of this grammar are ordered according to two principles. First and foremost, they progress from smaller to larger grammatical units, i.e., from morpheme, to word, phrase, clause, etc. Secondly, strictly structural issues (such as word classes) is handled before functional issues. The following is a quick overview:

Chapter 2 gives a quick introduction to HgQ syntax. Chapters 3-6 discuss classes of words and the suffixes which apply to them. Chapters 7-9 deal with morphology (word formation). Chapters 10 and 11 treat the relationship of substantives to verbs in the formation of clauses. Chapter 12 deals with substantive phrases. Chapters 13-14 survey subordinate clauses (relative clauses, complements, adverbial clauses). Chapter 15 deals with grammatically significant repetition of various sized unit. Chapters 16, 17, and 18 treat question formation, negation, and conjunction (respectively). Chapters 19, 20, and 21 deal with suffixes which follow the transition; an account of these requires considerations beyond the clause in which they are used. Chapter 22 lists various expressions that are not directly interpretable from the morpho-syntax (e.g., idioms). Finally, chapter 23 surveys aspects of the phonology and processes by which words have been borrowed.

Chapter 2

INTRODUCTION TO THE SYNTAX

This chapter introduces some of the basics of Quechua morpho-syntax.

2.1. Word Classes

There are two major open lexical classes: verbs and substantives. Verbs are sub-classified on the basis of transitivity, complement type, etc. Within the substantives there are closed subclasses such as various sorts of pronoun (demonstrative, personal, interrogative/indefinite, intensifying/reflexive...), quantifier (including numerals), etc., and the large open class of noun-adjectives. There is insufficient evidence of a strictly morpho-syntactic nature for considering that nouns and adjectives form distinct lexical classes. (Also, relative clauses and nominalizations cannot be distinguished on a purely morpho-syntactic basis.)

There are no definite articles distinct from demonstrative noun/adjectives (such as *chay* 'that', *kay* 'this', *taqay* 'that (afar)'...). There is no indefinite article, and only infrequently is the numeral one (*huk*) used as an indefinite article; e.g.:

1
Huk runa kasha.
one man there:was
'There was a man.'

2.2. Importance of Suffixes in the Morpho-Syntax

HgQ morpho-syntax rests heavily on suffixation; all affixation is by suffixing. In virtually any sort of text, slightly more than half of the morphemes that occur are suffixes. The word formation processes are very productive; e.g.:

2 uma - sapa - ya - kaakU - chi - ma: - na - n - paq
head-big-become-completive-cause=>1-sub-3P-PUR
'in order to cause me to become completely big-headed'

Suffixes are used to indicate the following (these are but a few of the many uses):

- the person of the subject and object of a verb; e.g., in *mucha-ma-nki* ‘you kiss me’, the *-ma* indicates a first person object and the *-nki* indicates a second person subject
- tense; e.g., in *mucha-ma-shka-nki* ‘you kissed me’ *-shka* indicates past tense
- aspect; e.g., *mucha-ra-yka-n* ‘he is kissing her (a long, protracted kiss)’
- shades of meaning; e.g., *mucha-yku-ra-n* ‘he kissed her! (forcefully, suddenly, surprisingly)’
- the relationship of a substantive phrase to a verb; e.g., in *Maria-ta mucha-ra-n* ‘He kissed Mary’, *-ta* indicates that *Maria* is the object of *mucha-ra-n*
- whether something was witnessed, was heard ‘second-hand’, or is simply conjectured; e.g., *Hwan-shi Maria-ta mucha-ra-n* ‘John (it is said) kissed Mary’.

The point is this: a morpho-syntax of Quechua must treat primarily its suffixes.¹ Suffixes that apply to verbs are introduced in section 7.1 and elaborated primarily in chapters 8 and 9. Suffixes applying to substantives are introduced in chapter 4, and those applying to both verbs and substantives are introduced in 6.2 and elaborated in chapters 19, 20, and 21. Chapter 7.3 describes a way to view word formation that seems very appropriate to Quechua, and section 7.2 discusses some of the issues about the relative order of suffixes.

2.2.1. Person Agreement

Subject agreement suffixes play a large role in the syntax. There are two sets. One set is used typically with verbs; the other is used with substantives and adverbial clauses and will be referred to as the *possessive* suffixes. The forms are:

for verbs		for substantives	
-: (i.e., length)	‘1’	-NI:	‘1P’
-nki	‘2’	-NIYki	‘2P’
-n	‘3’	-NIn	‘3P’
-nchi:	‘12’	-NInchi:	‘12P’

The plural forms are formed by other, co-occurring suffixes, e.g., *aywa-pa:ku-n* (go-plur-3) ‘they are going’. Note that in HgQ these sets differ only in the second person; in other dialects they differ in some other persons as well. HgQ and other Quechua B (Quechua I) dialects are moving toward a single class for these agreement suffixes.²

¹One goal of this grammar is to give a fairly complete picture of various uses of each suffix. In some cases this is best embedded within discussion of a general topic (e.g., *-ma*: ‘first person object’ is only treated as part of the general system of indicating the person of the subject and object), while others--particularly the semantically richer ones--are dealt with more individually.

²Those dialects the most progressive in moving toward a single class are found in the northern part of Lima department and the southern part of Ancash department.

There are cases where the agreement marker used is somewhat surprising; e.g., see example 1353.

2.2.2. Case and Case Marking

HgQ is a subject-prominent language; i.e., 'the structure of the sentences favors a description in which the grammatical relation subject-predicate plays a major role. (For a discussion of the notion of "subject-prominent" language, see Li and Thompson [24].) Case-marking, which is nominative-accusative, is accomplished by attaching one suffix to the rightmost constituent of the NP.

The nominative case is unmarked; i.e., no overt suffix occurs. Both the accusative and the dative cases are marked by *-ta*, which will be glossed simply 'OBJ'; e.g.:

3 Hwan-ta kuchi-ta rantikusha
John-OBJ pig-OBJ he:sold

'He sold a/the pig to John.'

There are several oblique case markers, among them *-chaw* 'LOCative', *-man* 'GOAL', *-pita* 'ABLative', *-wan* 'COMitative' (instrument or accompaniment), *-paq* 'PURpose', and *-yaq~kama* 'LIMitative'. These are further introduced in section 4.3.3. Case is discussed in considerable detail in chapter 10.

2.2.3. The Scope of Suffixes

An insightful way to view HgQ morpho-syntax is based on the notion that morphemes (suffixes included!) are operators on other morphemes or sequences of morphemes. (A sketch of this perspective, restricted to word formation, is discussed in chapter 7.3.) Scope plays an important role in this perspective, because an operator must have its operand within its scope. If this approach is extended to include elements larger than a single word, the picture that emerges is that suffixes frequently have more than one word within their scope.

Examples 4³ and 5 illustrate the extent to which suffixes may have units larger than a single word in their scope.

4 [[[[mangor asnu] -pa wirpa-n]-naw sinqa]-yog china
mangor donkey-GEN lip-3P -SIM nose -HAVING girl

'a girl with a nose like a mangor donkey's lip'

5 [[["Ama miku-y-chu" ni-sha-:] yoora]-pa wayu+y-nin]-ta...
not eat-2IMP-NEG say-sub-1P tree-GEN fruit-3P-OBJ

'the fruit of the tree of which I said "Do not eat it"'

Some justifications will now be sketched for the view that suffixes have such scopes.

1. In section 10.15.5, two arguments are given to show that case markers have within their scope the whole substantive phrase to which they are attached.

³This example is from Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua, reported by Helen Larsen in an unpublished paper. It is acceptable in HgQ.

2. In some cases, the object NP and the verb root (stem) form a constituent to which some following verbal suffix is sensitive. This is argued for *-mu* 'afar' in section 9.2.2.7.
3. Section 14.3.1 discusses a case in which an apparent switch reference anomaly is resolved by assuming a structure in which *-chi* 'cause' has within its scope an adverbial clause and a verb; see example 1240b. The switch reference facts show that these must be combined prior to the addition of *-chi* 'caus'. A similar argument could be based on examples like 6, which involves an infinitival clause within the scope of the causative:

6 *Ligi-y-ta yacha-chi-ma-nqa.*
 read-inf-OBJ learn-caus-=>1-3FUT

'He will teach me to read.'

Since infinitive object complements require that their subject be co-referential to the subject of the superordinate clause, 6 seems incorrect: the subject of the infinitive is first person and the subject of the higher clause is third person. The explanation, I maintain, is that infinitivalization must apply before causativization, before the first person subject of *yacha-* becomes the object of causativization; see 7a.⁴ Consequently, the result of causativization has the structure of 7b:⁵

7 a. HE WILL CAUSE [*ligi-y-ta yacha-* subject:I]

b. [*Ligi-y-ta yacha*]-*chi-ma-nqa*
 read-inf-OBJ learn -caus-=>1-3FUT

'He will teach me to read.'

Yet another case of the same phenomenon, with the purpose motion construction, is seen in example 1195 (p.293).

4. To indicate (by suffixes on the verb) a third person subject and a first person plural inclusive object, the object marker is *-ma*: ' $=>1(2)$ ' and--surprisingly--the subject marker is a first person plural inclusive form; i.e., to indicate $3=>12$ one uses $-=>1...-12$. (This is referred to below as the "subject marking anomaly.") For example:

8 *Maqa-ma-ra-nchi.*
 hit-=>1-past-12

'He hit us.' ($3=>12$)

In example 8 this anomaly spans the tense marker *-ra* 'past'; in 9 it spans a word boundary (brought about by the paraphrastic future):

9 *Taripa -ma -q aywa-nchi.*
 catch:up:to-=>1-sub go -12

'He will catch up to us.'

On phonological grounds this is definitely two words. Yet the subject and object marking anomaly spans this word boundary. If structurally this is as

⁴There are various ways this observation might be implemented in a formal grammar; I choose not to debate that issue here.

⁵It is perhaps worth observing that the problem presented by example 6 apparently becomes worse if *yachachi-* 'teach' is taken to be a single lexical item.

in example 10, such an anomaly would be surprising, but as analyzed in 11a it is completely parallel to 11b in which a simple tense marker occurs between the subject and object marking:

- 10 [[taripa-ma-q]_{adv} [aywa-nchi]_{verb}]_{VP}
 11 a. [[taripa-ma]_{V1}^q_{RO} aywa_{V1}]_{V1}^{nchi}_{VO}
 b. [[taripa-ma]_{V1}^{ra}]_{V1}^{nchi}_{VO}

The approach just sketched, in which suffixes are assumed to apply to units larger than a word, seems to provide many insights into the grammar. The facts discussed in the rest of this grammar do not depend, however, on accepting this approach.

2.3. Definitions: Sentence, Clause, Predicate

Reference will be made to three "levels" of structure, the sentence, the clause, and the predicate. I will give informal definitions for these. Sentence is defined in terms of clause, and clause in terms of predicate.

A sentence must contain a main clause, and may contain other elements such as adverbial clauses, interjections, and links.

A clause must contain a predicate, and may contain other elements such as adverbs, adverbial clauses, and substantive phrases. The substantive phrases may be a subject or it may be an oblique--that is, a phrase that is neither the subject nor an object of the predicate. Note that this definition does not require clauses to have an overt subject phrase.

A predicate is usually a verb (finite or non-finite) with its "closest" argument (e.g., an object). However, it may also be a substantive (either simple or derived) as explained below. Various possibilities are illustrated.

First, a predicate might be a finite verb or verb phrase, such as *aywan* 'he goes' or *papata mikun* 'he eats potatoes'.

As a special case, the finite verb may be an auxiliary accompanied by a substantive or substantivized verb. Two uses can be distinguished:

1. The auxiliary verb may form a compound tense with a substantivized verb, as, e.g., in *mikuq aywan* 'he will eat', *aywasha karan* 'he had gone', *Pillku-man aywa-q ka-*: (Pillku-GOAL go-sub be-1) 'I used to go to Pillku'. In some cases the substantivized verb with which the auxiliary forms a compound may bear a case marker; e.g., *tuni-na-n-paq ka-yka-n* (fall-sub-3P-PUR be-impfv-3) 'it is about to fall'.
2. The auxiliary may accompany a substantive to form a "substantive complement" (which, given the systematic merging of nouns and adjectives, combines what in other languages are predicate nominals and predicate adjectives). For example, *ollqo karan* 'it was a male' is formed from the auxiliary *ka-* 'to be' and the complement *ollqo* 'male'.

These possibilities exist with non-finite verbs as well. For example, with the subordinator *-pti* ‘adverbial clause, different subject’ the following are acceptable predicates: *aywaptin* ‘if he goes’, *papata mikuptin* ‘if he eats potatoes’, *mikuq aywaptin* ‘if he is going to eat’, *aywasha kaptin* ‘if he has/had gone’, *ollqo kaptin* ‘if it is/was a male’.

Second, a predicate might be a substantive (phrase), one interpreted as the complement of an absent auxiliary verb. Again, we can distinguish two cases:

1. A substantive phrase headed by a noun-adjective is interpreted as a predicate substantive; for example, *puka* ‘red’ is interpreted as the predicate ‘is red’, *fiyupa hatunkaray* (really huge) as ‘is really huge’, and *asendaaru* as ‘is an hacienda owner’.
2. If the substantive phrase is headed by a substantivized verb, it is normally interpreted as a compound tense; for example, *aywanan* ‘it’s going (irrealis)’ is interpreted as the predicate ‘he should go’.

(The uses of the *ka-* ‘to be’ and the contexts in which it is systematically absent are discussed in section 3.1.1.2.)

The following illustrate clauses formed from predicates (where the predicate is underlined): *Marucha aywaran* ‘Mary went’, *Hwan papata mikuptin* ‘if John eats potatoes’, *Hwanpa wamran ollqo karan* ‘John’s child was a male (child)’, *Wasin puka* ‘His house is red’, *Pillkuta aywanan* ‘He should go to Pillku’, *Wasita gomasha* ‘He gave me a house’.

The following illustrate sentences formed from these these clauses (where the clause is underlined): *Qanyanmi Marucha aywaran* ‘Mary went yesterday’; *Wallka wamran kaptinpi wasin sumaq hatun* ‘Although his children are few, his house is very big’; *Wasita gomasha alli tiyanaapaq* ‘He gave me a house so that I might live comfortably’.

For Quechua, it is not useful to classify sentences, clauses, and predicates into declarative, interrogative, imperative, etc., nor into equational, intransitive, transitive, and di-transitive. These distinctions are relevant (if at all) to smaller units, namely, to morphemes, words and perhaps phrases.

Example 12 (an actual sentence from text) illustrates some possible elements that a sentence may contain, their functional contribution, and the possibility that some parts occur discontinuously. (It is listed vertically for convenience.)

- 12 a. Chawra
 b. liyunkunaqa
 c. "Lloqshiykaamun wanuchimaananchiipaq" nishpanshi
 d. qeshpir aywakun
 e. wasinpita
 f. chakay
 g. puntapa
- a. So LINK
 b. the lions SUBJECT
 c. saying "They are coming out to kill us" MOTIVE
 d. escaping go MAIN PREDICATION
 e. from their house SOURCE
 f. at night TIME
 g. to the ridge GOAL
- 'Then the lions, saying "They are coming out to kill us,"
 go fleeing from their house at night to the ridge.'

Other elements that could be added are interjections and vocatives.

2.4. Word Order

HgQ strongly demonstrates the properties characteristic of a language in which the order of major sentence elements is SUBJECT < OBJECT < VERB.⁶ Thus, HgQ is an SOV language (in the typology of Greenberg [16]). However, of the properties characteristic of an SOV language, the one HgQ least demonstrates is that of SUBJECT < OBJECT < VERB word order. HgQ has a fairly free word order, particularly in non-subordinate clauses. For example, all permutations of 13 are acceptable:

- 13 Hwan Tumas-ta maqa-n.
 John Tom-OBJ hit-3
 'John hits Tom.'

More significant evidence of the freedom of word order is seen in table 2-1, a count of 1,309 sentences.⁷

⁶I believe that it is not coincidental that the basic order of major constituents (subject, object, verb) mirror that of the corresponding affix. In the model I proposed in an earlier publication (Weber [44]), the suffix and the overt noun phrase would be co-constituents, as in the following:

[SUBJECT [OBJECT [verb]-object]-subject]

⁷*ni-* 'to say' has been treated as exceptional because its natural complement is a quotation. Since quotations tend to directly precede *ni-*, they separate the subject phrase from *ni-* by the length of the quotation--in many cases a not inconsiderable distance. This gives rise to a preference for putting the subject after the verb more frequently than with other verbs.

PERCENTAGE [TYPE]	NO. OF CASES
5% [with no verb]	69
40% [with an intransitive verb]	525
53% [SUBJ present]	280
76% [SUBJ < VERB]	212
24% [VERB < SUBJ]	68
47% [SUBJ absent]	245
17% [with <i>ni-</i> as verb]	224
67% [SUBJ present]	149
61% [SUBJ < VERB]	91
12% [OBJ present]	11
36% [OBJ < VERB]	4
64% [VERB < OBJ]	7
88% [OBJ absent]	80
39% [VERB < SUBJ]	58
7% [OBJ present]	4
25% [OBJ < VERB]	1
75% [VERB < OBJ]	3
93% [OBJ absent]	54
33% [SUBJ absent]	75
13% [OBJ present]	10
50% [OBJ < VERB]	5
50% [VERB < OBJ]	5
87% [OBJ absent]	65
38% [with a transitive verb]	490
31% [SUBJ present]	150
75% [SUBJ < VERB]	112
58% [OBJ present]	65
68% [OBJ < VERB]	44
5% [OBJ < VB < OBJ]	2
95% [other]	42
32% [VERB < OBJ]	21
42% [OBJ absent]	47
25% [VERB < SUBJ]	38
50% [OBJ present]	19
68% [OBJ < VERB]	13
32% [VERB < OBJ]	6
50% [OBJ absent]	19
69% [SUBJ absent]	340
60% [OBJ present]	203
71% [OBJ < VERB]	145
7% [OBJ < VB < OBJ]	10
93% [other]	135
29% [VERB < OBJ]	59
40% [OBJ absent]	137

Table 2-1: The Order of Subjects, Objects, and Verbs

Several things are worth noting:

1. There is a strong tendency to have either a subject or object, but not both. Out of 714 sentences having transitive verbs (including those with *ni-* 'say'), only 99 have both a subject and object (about 12%).
2. Of these 99 cases, only 48 have SOV order.
3. The total number of sentences in the corpus that are not consistent with SOV order is 160 (about 12%).

These figures would hardly lead anyone to conclude that HgQ is an SOV language. However, HgQ does strongly show the correlates of SOV word order--i.e., post-positions over prepositions, modifiers before heads, possessors before possessed, auxiliary verb after "main" verb, etc. Some of these will now be discussed.

2.4.1. Word Order: Subject and Object in Subordinate Clauses

The tendency toward rigid SOV word order is much greater in subordinate clauses. For example, 14 is acceptable; note that the order of the doubly embedded complement (underlined) is SOV:

14 Muna-: [pay [Tumas Pablu-ta maqa-shan-ta] musya-na-n-ta].
 want-1 he Tom Paul-OBJ hit-SUB-OBJ know-sub-3P-OBJ

'I want him to know that Tom hit Paul.'

If the subject and object are reversed in this complement, it becomes unacceptable (see 15) even though this order is acceptable in the main clause:⁸

15 *Muna: [pay [Pabluta Tumas maqashanta] musyananta]

2.4.2. Word Order: Modifier < Head

Adjectives generally precede the nouns they modify; e.g.:

16 hatun runa
 big man
 'big man'

This is not the only possibility, as will be seen below. The most common order for multiple adjectives is (1) demonstrative, (2) numeral, and (3) qualifying adjectives; e.g.:

17 chay ish kay hatun wasi-kuna
 that two big house-plur
 'those two big houses'

Adjectives do not agree in any way with the nouns they modify.

The possessive construction involves obligatorily suffixing a possessive suffix to the possessed noun, and optionally adding the possessor phrase with the genitive suffix *-pa*. As typologically expected, the possessor generally precedes the possessed phrase; e.g.:

18 (Hwan-pa) chaki-n
 (John-GEN) foot-3P
 'John's foot'

Adverbs precede the adjectives they modify; e.g.:

19 sumaq wira waaka
 very fat cow
 'a/the very fat cow'

They generally precede the verb that they modify; e.g.:

20 Weqruyllapa purin.
 limpingly he:walks
 'He walks limpingly.'

⁸The non-SOV order is also acceptable in most singly embedded complements.

However, there is considerable freedom: the adverb may follow the verb or be separated from it by some other constituent; e.g., all permutations of 21 are acceptable:

- 21 Pakayllapa waaka-:-ta suwapaamasha.
 hiddenly cow-1P-OBJ he:stole:it:on:me
 'He stole my cow on the sly (to my detriment).'

2.4.3. Word Order: The Auxiliary Verb *ka-* 'be'

The auxiliary verb *ka-* 'be' forms many compound expressions. In these the "main" verb is syntactically subordinated to *ka-* 'be'. As typologically predicted, the auxiliary follows the verb that it "helps." Example 22, a future perfect, and 23, a habitual past, illustrate this:

- 22 Pillku-man aywa-sha ka-shaq.
 Pillku-GOAL go-prtc be-1FUT
 'I will have gone to Pillku.'
- 23 Pillku-man aywa-g ka-:.
 pillku-GOAL go-sub be-1
 'I used to go to Pillku.'

2.4.4. Word Order: Subordination

Subordinate clauses tend to precede the verb to which they are subordinate, but this word-order is not rigid; e.g., 24a and 24b are synonymous:

- 24 a. Mucha-y-ta muna-:.
 kiss-INF-OBJ want-1
 b. Muna-: mucha-y-ta.
 want-1 kiss-INF-OBJ
 a,b. 'I want to kiss him/you.'

Embeddings within embeddings are, of course, allowed; e.g.:

- 25 [[Yapya-y]-ta usha-na-n]-ta-shi shuyarayka-n.
 plow-INF-OBJ finish-sub-3P-OBJ-IND be:waiting-3
 'He is waiting for him to finish plowing.'

2.5. Negation

Negation is accomplished by the word *mana* 'not' or *ama* 'not (for imperatives)' accompanied by the suffix *-chu* 'NEG'. *-chu* does not occur in or on subordinate clauses except as mentioned below; e.g.:

- 26 Mana musya-:-chu.
 not know-1-NEG
 'I do not know.'
- 27 Ama aywa-y-chu!
 not go-2IMP-NEG
 'Don't go!'

28 Chari-y mana qeshpi-na-n-paq.
grab-2IMP not escape-sub-3P-PUR

'Grab him so that he won't escape.'

Mana is occasionally omitted in main clauses; e.g.:

29 Aywa-shaq-chu.
go-1FUT-NEG

'I will not go.'

-chu 'NEG' interacts with the so-called 'topic' marker *-qa* 'TOP' in focusing on an element of the negative sentence. To a limited extent, this is done by merely placing *-chu* on the focal element; e.g.:

30 Mana maqasha Hwan-ta-chu.
not he:hit:him John-OBJ-NEG

'He didn't hit John (i.e., he hit someone else).'

A more general pattern is that *-chu* 'NEG' occurs on the verb and *-qa* occurs on the focal element; e.g.:

31 Mana maqasha-chu Hwan-ta-qa.
not he:hit:him-NEG John-OBJ-TOP

'He didn't hit John.'

Negation of verbs that have a compound tense (in which they are subordinate to the auxiliary verb *ka-*) generally have *-chu* on the subordinate verb; e.g.:

32 Mana pillkuman aywa-q-chu ka-:.
not pillku-GOAL go-sub-NEG be-1

'I didn't habitually go to Pillku.'

2.6. Questions

Yes/no questions are formed by suffixing *-chu* 'YN?' either to the questioned element or to the verb. *-chu* 'YN?' shows the same sort of interaction with *-qa* 'TOP' discussed above for *-chu* 'NEG'⁹; e.g.:

33 Maria Hwan-ta-chu maqa-sha?
Mary John-OBJ-YN? hit-3PERF

'Did Mary hit John? (or did she hit someone else?)'

34 Maria Hwan-ta-qa maqa-sha-chu?
Mary John-OBJ-TOP hit-3PERF-?

'Did Mary hit John? (or did she hit someone else?)'

Content questions are formed by inserting a WH word (e.g., *ima* 'what', *pi* 'who', *mayqan* 'which', *ayka* 'how much', *imay* 'when', *imanir* 'why'...) for the questioned element and suffixing an interrogative suffix (*-taq* or *-raq*) following that constituent. The questioned NP is generally (but not always) fronted to the beginning of the sentence; e.g.:

⁹Indeed, *-chu* 'NEG' and *-chu* 'YN?' may be considered the same suffix in HgQ; some other dialects (e.g., Ancash Quechua) have two distinct forms for these.

- 35 Ima-taq chay?
what-?? that
'What is that?'
- 36 Pi-ta-taq qoyku-shka-nki?
who-OBJ-?? give-perf-2
'To whom did you give (it)?'
- 37 Pi-raq suwa-paa-maa-sha?
who-?? steal-ben=>1-3PERF
'Who might have stolen it on me?'
- 38 Ayka waaka-ta-taq ranti-shka-nki?
how:many cow-OBJ-?? buy-perf-2
'How many cows did you buy?'

2.7. Conjunction

There are no conjunctions except those recently borrowed from Spanish (like *y* from Sp. *y* 'and', *piru* from Sp. *pero* 'but', *akesee* from Sp. *aun que sea* 'although'). These are undoubtedly more in evidence in the speech of bilinguals than in "purer" Quechua, for which conjunction is accomplished either by simple juxtaposition, as in 39, or with the comitative suffix (-*wan*), as in example 40:

- 39 Kuka-ta awrindi-ta sigaaruta ranti-sha.
coca-OBJ firewater-OBJ cigarettes-OBJ buy-3PERF
'He bought coca, firewater, and cigarettes.'
- 40 Hwan-wan aywa-yka-n Tumas.
John-COM go-IMPV-3 Tom
'Tom and John are going.'

The conjunction of verb phrases is accomplished by simple juxtaposition:

- 41 Chawra upu-n chaqcha-n.
then drink-3 chew:coca-3
'Then they drink and chew coca.'
- 42 Shamu-sha chaqcha-na-n-paq upu-na-n-paq.
come-3PERF chew:coca-sub-3P-PUR drink-sub-3P-PUR
'He came to drink and chew coca.'

2.8. Quotations

Direct quotations are frequent in HgQ. They are fully sentential (in contrast to other sorts of complements which are not sentential). because: they have a finite verb, they may have an evidential suffix, and they bear no grammatical relation (e.g., subject, object, etc.) to any verb. Only a few verbs frame¹⁰ direct quotations; the principal one is *ni-* 'say'. To use a quotation with verbs such as *parla-* 'converse, agree to', *willa-* 'tell, advise', *qapara-* 'yell', *rima-* 'speak' the quotation

¹⁰By using this term, I wish to skirt the implication that the direct quotation is a complement of such verbs. Direct quotations are embedded in, but not subordinate to, the verb/clause that frames them.

is embedded within an adverbial clause whose verb is *ni-*. For example, with *willa-* 'tell', one says "X" *ni-r willa-* (X say-adv tell-) 'tell "X"':

43 "Ama aywa-y-chu!" *ni-r willa-shka-:.*
not go-imp-NEG say-adv tell-perf-1

'I told him not to go.'
(lit. 'I advised him saying "Don't go!"')

The verb *ni-* 'say' may be used for definitions--i.e., in the sense of 'refer to as'; e.g.:

44 "Mundunqo" *ni-n muti llushki-sha-ta.*
mondongo say-3 corn peel-prtc-OBJ

'They call peeled corn "mundunqo".'

Direct quotations may occur in relative clauses; e.g.:

45 ["Manka-siki" *niptee maqamashan runa]-ta rikaa.*
["pot-buttocks" when:I:said who:hit:me man]-OBJ I:see

'I see the man who hit me when I called him "baggy-pants."'

Indirect quotations are very infrequent in HgQ. They are usually subordinated as a purpose clause; e.g.:

46 *Rura-na-:-paq ni-sha.*
do-sub-1P-PUR say-3PERF

'He said that I should do it.'

47 *Ni-shaq rura-na-n-paq.*
say-1FUT do-sub-3P-PUR

'I will tell him to do it.'

References to quotations (or the content of those quotations) are made with the case marker *-naw* 'SIM'; e.g.:

48 *Chay-naw ni-ra-n.*
that-SIM say-past-3P

'He said that.'

49 *Willa-ma-sha-yki-naw ni-shka-:.*
tell-=>1-sub-2P-SIM say-perf-1

'I said what you told me.'

These may be nothing more than an indefinite expression; e.g.:

50 *Ama ima-pis ni-y-chu.*
not what-indef say-2IMP-NEG

'Don't say anything.'

Quotations may be nested within quotations; e.g., there are several examples in 487 (p.138). And, as example 51 shows, a narrative may be nothing but quotations.¹¹ This is an entire story, as told by a young man.

¹¹This has serious implications for notions like "event line" or "backbone," since there is no material in this text that could be called the "event line."

- 51 (A) Señor sapo, llalli-naku-shun punta-man.
 mister frog race- recip-12IMP ridge-GOAL
- Mayqa-nchii-shi mas naw+punta-ta chaya-r miku-naku-shun.
 which-12P-IND more first-OBJ arrive-adv eat- recip-12FUT
- Qam naw+punta-ta chaya-r noqa-ta miku-ma-nki.
 you first-OBJ arrive-adv I-OBJ eat-=>1-2
- Noqa naw+punta-ta chaya-r qam-ta miku-shayki.
 I first-OBJ arrive-adv you-OBJ eat-1=>2FUT
- (B) Yaa, koorri-shun. (lapse) Señor sapo!
 OK run-12IMP mister frog
- (A) Tok!! (loud)
 croak
- (B) Señor sapo!
 mister frog
- (A) Tok! (soft)
 croak
- (B) Señor sapo!
 mister frog
- (A) Tok (very soft)
 croak
- (B) noqa manana...
 I not:now
- (A) Mister Frog, let's race to the ridge.
 Whichever of us arrives first, he will eat the other.
 If you arrive first, you will eat me.
 If I arrive first, I will eat you.
- (B) Ok, let's run. (lapse) Mister frog!
- (A) Croak (loud).
 (B) Mister frog!
 (A) Croak (soft).
 (B) Mister frog!
 (A) Croak (very soft).
 (B) Oh no, I can no longer...

Chapter 3

VERBAL ELEMENTS

3.1. Verb Classes and Properties

This section deals with distinctions that must be made for verbs: classes of verbs (3.1.1) and properties of verbs (3.1.2).

3.1.1. Subclasses of Verbs

Within the class of verbs, certain subclasses are significant. These are discussed in this section.

3.1.1.1. Transitivity

There is a basic distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs. Intransitive verbs do not occur with an object (neither an object noun phrase nor an object marking suffix), while transitive verbs may occur with an object. A transitive verb is not required to have an object: an object noun phrase and an object marking suffix on the verb may both be absent, but in this case a transitive verb will normally be interpreted as having some unstated, third-person object. For example, *miku-* is a transitive verb (*mikushayki* 'I will eat you'); *pay mikun* 'he eats' has neither an overt object noun phrase nor an object marker in the verb, but it strongly implies that "he" eats *something*. Di-transitive verbs may occur with two objects, the direct object indicating the object acted upon, the indirect object indicating the recipient or goal. For example, in *Hwanta papata qoykusha* 'He gave the potato to John', *papata* is the direct object and *Hwanta* is the indirect object.¹

¹For purposes of the morphological classification of verb roots, it is not necessary to distinguish di-transitive verbs from transitive verbs, because the morphology allows for agreement with only one object. Further, it may not be necessary to distinguish direct and indirect objects morpho-syntactically, because the second object could--depending on one's theory--be handled as an oblique phrase in somewhat the same way as, say, one handles a locative phrase.

3.1.1.2. Auxiliary Verbs

There are various uses of the auxiliary verb *ka-* 'to be':

1. It may be predicational, i.e., ascribing the property expressed in the complement to the subject. The complement generally precedes the auxiliary, but may also follow; e.g., one can say *puka ka-nqa* (red be-3FUT) or *ka-nqa puka* (be-3FUT red) 'it will be red'.
2. It may be temporal, i.e., in the formation of a compound tense. Used temporally, the auxiliary must directly follow the complement; e.g., one can say *aywa-sha ka-ra-n* (go-prtc be-past-3) 'he had gone', but not **ka-ra-n aywa-sha*.
3. It may be used with a case marked substantive to form a predicate; e.g., *wasi-n-chaw ka-yka-n* (house-3P-LOC be-impfv-3) 'he is in his house', *wañu-q-naw ka-yka-n* (die-sub-SIM be-impfv-3) 'he is as though dead'.
4. It may be existential, i.e., to assert that its subject exists or is present. In this case the verb formed from *ka-* is not optional; e.g., *tanta ka-n* (bread be-3) 'there is bread' but never simply *tanta* with that meaning.

Except in the existential use, the auxiliary does not occur if it is third person and present, and is *nota* needed to support some suffix (e.g., *-yka:* 'impfv');² e.g., to say 'it is red' one does not say **Puka ka-n* (red be-3), but simply *puka*³ or, using the auxiliary to support the imperfective, *puka ka-yka-n* (red be-impfv-3).

keera- 'remain' is used occasionally as an auxiliary verb;⁴ e.g., *taksha keera-ra-n* (small remain-past-3) 'it remained small', *chay-chaw keera-mu-sha* (that-LOC remain-afar-3PERF) 'he remained there'.

The difference between *keera-* and *ka-* 'to be' is that *keera-* has a stative or durative component of meaning. For example, compare 52 and 53:

52 Wasi alli ka-yka-n.
house good be-impfv-3

'The house is good.'

53 Wasi alli keera-n.
house good stay-3

'The house stays nice (since the paint and plaster protect it).'

54 Chawra upa wanu-sha-na keera-sha.
then stooge die-prtc-now stay-3PERF

'Consequently, the stooge ended up dead.'

²This rule is reiterated in section 8.1.4.

³This is somewhat better with the addition of an evidential suffix: *Puka-mi* (red-DIR) 'It is red.'

⁴*keera-* is a borrowing from Spanish *quedar* 'to remain'. One might expect to find *ka-ra:-* (be-stat-) in these cases, but *ka-* and *-ra:* never co-occur, possibly because this combination has been supplanted by *keera-*.

55 Taka-ka-sha-n hinan-chaw ranka-ka-sha keera-ku-ra-n.
 strike-pass-sub-3P precisely-LOC lodge-pass-prtc stay-refl-past-3

'It stayed lodged right where it had struck.'

3.1.1.3. Subject Complement Verbs

The only verbs taking subject complements (that I have discovered) are the following:

pishi:- 'to be lacking'; e.g.:

56 Millu-na-n pishi-n.
 wind-sub-3P lack-3

'It needs to be wound (of a clock).'

rishi:sa- 'to be certain' (from Sp. *preciso*); e.g.:

57 Qam aywa-na-yki rishi:sa-n.
 you go-sub-2P be:certain-3

'It is certain that you will go.'

3.1.1.4. Interrogative Verbs

The following verbs form a type of content question, where it is the verb (rather than some substantive) that is being questioned:

imana- 'what do' (from *ima* 'what' and *na*- (empty verb)); e.g.:

58 Imana-sha-taq?
 what:do-3PERF-??

'What did he do?'

imana:- 'what become' (from *ima* 'what' and *na* 'thing' and *-ya*: 'become'); e.g.:

59 Imana:-chi-shunki-taq?
 what:become-cause-he:tc:you-?

'What will it cause you to become?'

imani- 'what say' (from *ima* 'what' and *ni*- 'say'); e.g.:

60 Imani-shka-shu-nki?
 what:say-perf-=>2-2

'What did he say to you?'

61 Imani-r-taq maqa-sha?
 what:say-adv-? hit-3PERF

'Why did he hit him?'

3.1.1.5. Object Complement Verbs

Certain verbs⁵ take infinitive complements as objects, but only if the subject of the complement is co-referential to the subject of the verb in question; e.g.:

62 Aywa-y-ta qonqa-yku-shka-:.
go-inf-OBJ forget-impact-perf-1

'I forgot to go.'

63 Aywa-y-ta muna-:.
go-inf-OBJ want-1

'I want to go.'

If the subject of the complement is not co-referential to the subject of the superordinate clause, then it is subordinated by *-na* or *-sha*; e.g.:

64 Aywa-na-yki-ta muna-:.
go-sub-2P-OBJ want-1

'I want you to go.'

65 Aywa-sha-n-ta qonqa-shka-:.
go-sub-3P-OBJ forget-past-1

'I forgot that he had gone.'

There are subclasses within the class of verbs that take object complements (e.g., those requiring like subjects--*puyri*- 'to be able', phasal verbs, e.g., *usha*- 'finish' *qalla*- 'begin'--but these will be ignored for the moment.

3.1.1.6. Purpose Complement Verbs

A few verbs take complements that are subordinated as purpose clauses.⁶ These complements are distinct from simple purpose clauses, which may occur with virtually any verb; see section 10.8.3.⁷ For example:

66 Aywa-na-n-paq ni-sha.
go-sub-3P-PUR say-3PERF

'He told him to go.'

Also see example 775 (p.206) where *parla*- 'to speak, converse, agree to' occurs with a purpose complement.

⁵Among them are the following: *apusta*- 'to bet' (from Sp. *apostar*), *awanta*- 'to tolerate, sustain' (from Sp. *aguantar*), *aypa*- 'to reach, to hold out (till)', *ayura*- 'to help' (from Sp. *ayudar*), *gaana*- 'to beat (in competition)' (from Sp. *ganar*), *kacha*- 'to allow', *kama*- 'to prepare, to put one's self to', *kuminsa*- 'to begin' (from Sp. *comenzar*), *maña*- 'to ask', *muna*- 'to want', *musya*- 'to know (a fact)', *ofrisha*- 'to offer' (from Sp. *ofrecer*), *pinsa*- 'to think' (from Sp. *pensar*), *puyri*- 'to be able' (from Sp. *poder*), *qalla*- 'to begin', *qati*- 'to continue (?)', *qonqa*- 'to forget', *usha*- 'to finish', and *yacha*- 'to know (how to)'.

⁶Among them are the following: *apusti*- 'to bet', *ashi*- 'to search', *buluntaani-POS ka*- 'to be willing to do' (lit. 'X's will exists', where X is indicated by the possessive suffix), *kacha*- 'to leave off', *manda*- 'to order', *mañaku*- 'to ask', *mi(n)kaku*- 'to solicit help', *ni*- 'tell someone to' (to report what another has given as an order), *numra*- 'to name (to some task/position)', *parla*- 'to speak, agree to', *urдина*- 'to order', *willa*- 'to tell, advise', and *yarpa*- 'to intend, to think'.

⁷Weber [45], sec. 4.3.

Some of these verbs may also take object complements; e.g., *kacha-* 'to leave, to send'. In these cases there is generally a significant difference in meaning according to whether the complement is an object noun phrase or a purpose noun phrase; e.g.:

- 67 a. Aru-y-ta kachaykusha.
work-INF-OBJ he:left:off
- b. Aru-na-n-paq kachaykusha.
work-sub-3P-PUR he:sent:him
- a. 'He ceased to work/left off working.'
b. 'He sent him to work.'

3.1.2. On Properties of Verbs

This section discusses three properties of verb roots: the feature [\pm motion], the property of undergoing morpho-phonemic lowering, and the property of ending with an underlying long vowel.

3.1.2.1. On the Feature [\pm Motion]

Verbs must be indicated as either motion or non-motion. This is relevant to the syntax in two ways. First, the "purpose-motion" construction is possible only when the verb of the superordinate clause is a motion verb. For example, 68a and 68b are very approximately synonymous (*-q* is the subordinator used in the purpose motion construction).

- 68 a. Pay-ta rika-na-;-paq shamushkaa.
he-OBJ see-sub-1P-PUR I:came
- b. Pay-ta rika-q shamushkaa.
he-OBJ see-sub I:came
- a,b. 'I came to see him.'

But if the superordinate verb is a non-motion verb, only the form substantivized with *-na* is possible:

- 69 a. Payta rikanaapag shuyaraykashkaa.
him to:see I:was:waiting
- b. *Payta rikag shuyaraykashkaa.
him to:see I:was:waiting
- a,b. 'I was waiting to see him.'

Thus, the feature [\pm motion] needs to be specified for each verb in the lexicon as the basis for whether or not the verb may have a purpose-motion complement.

Second, the suffix *-mu* 'cis-/trans-locative' has two different senses (at least two!), depending on whether the verb is or is not a motion verb. Very generally, with a motion verb, *-mu* means 'toward here'⁸ With non-motion verbs, however, *-mu* means 'at a distance from the speaker or "point of perspective"'. For example,

⁸This is toward the place of speaking or, in a narrative, toward the *point of perspective*, i.e., the place in the world of the narrative from which the events are viewed.

aywa- 'go' is a motion verb; thus with *-mu* it means 'go toward here, come' and thus cannot occur with a phrase like *chayman* 'toward there' as in 70b:

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 70 a. | Kay-man
here-GOAL | } | aywa- <u>mu</u> -n.
go-to:here-3 |
| b. | *Chay-man
there-GOAL | | |
| a. 'He comes to here.' | | | |
| b. *'He comes toward there.' | | | |

Puñu- is a non-motion verb, and thus:

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 71 a. | *Kay-chaw
here-LOC | } | puñu- <u>mu</u> -n.
sleep-afar-3 |
| b. | Chay-chaw
there-LOC | | |
| a. *'Here he sleeps (over there).' | | | |
| b. 'He sleeps there (at a distance from the speaker).' | | | |

Thus, again it is clear that the dictionary should include a feature [\pm motion] if it is to provide a necessary basis for the correct manipulation of *-mu*.⁹

There are, however, problems in assigning a feature [\pm motion]. First, the feature is not always consistent for both the purpose-motion construction and *-mu*. For example, *keera-* 'to remain' is [+motion] for the purpose-motion construction--e.g., *rika-q keera-shka-*: (see-sub remain-perf-1) 'I remained in order to see him'--but [-motion] for the use of *-mu*--e.g., *chay-chaw keeda-mu-sha* (that-LOC remain-afar-3PERF) 'He remained there (afar)'.

Second, there are some verbs that are either [+motion] or [-motion] depending on their use. For example, *aru-* 'work' is [-motion] if its object is *wasi-ta* (house-OBJ), since one builds a house in one place, but [+motion] if its object is *sikya-ta* (irrigation:ditch-OBJ), since one travels when working on a ditch.¹⁰ Thus, *aru-* 'work' must be left unspecified for the feature [\pm motion].

Third, some verbs that occur with *-mu* are not clearly either [+motion] or [-motion]. The emission-verbs (shine, yell,...)--i.e., those indicating that some stimulus is produced--are consistent with either feature: the emitting occurs at some distance from the speaker, the stimulus travels toward the speaker.

3.1.2.2. Undergoing Morpho-Phonemic Lowering

Another property of verbal roots involves morpho-phonemic lowering; a full discussion is found in section 23.8.11, but the following summary should suffice at this

⁹This characterization of *-mu* is extremely simplistic; *-mu* has many and subtle uses; see section 9.2.

¹⁰Note that this provides a strong argument for the constituency of the object and the verb root: [*sikya-ta aru-*]-*mu-sha* ([ditch-OBJ work]-afar-3PERF) 'He worked the irrigation ditch toward here'.

point. The final high vowel of some roots/stems is lowered to /a/ when followed (not necessarily immediately) by certain other suffixes. For example, when followed by *-mu* 'afar', the final vowel of *miku-* 'eat' becomes /a/, so *mikamushun* results from /mikU-mu-shun/ (eat-afar-12IMP) 'let's go eat (over there)'.

Many of the verbs having this property derive from morphologically complex verb stems, i.e., a verb root and a derivational suffix, because several of the derivational suffixes have this property, and carry it into the verb stem when the verb+suffix becomes one unit. For example, *-ykU* and *-kU* become *-yka* and *-ka*, respectively preceding (among other suffixes) *-chi* 'cause', *-mu* 'afar/to here'. Thus the following undergo lowering as a result of incorporating a suffix that undergoes lowering: *yaykU-* from /ya-ykU/, *mikU-* from /mi-kU-/, *horqU-* from /hu-rqU/, *hitarI-* from /hita-rI-/, etc.

There is a tendency to eliminate the property of undergoing morpho-phonemic lowering as the root and suffix become fused. For the verbs just listed, lowering has become optional:¹¹

- yaykachin* ~ *yaykuchin* 'he causes him to enter'
mikuchin ~ *mikachin* 'he causes him to eat'
horqumun ~ *horqamun* 'he removes it'
hitarimun ~ *hitaramun* 'he throws it out'

3.1.2.3. Final Long Vowel

Another morpho-phonemic property of verbs is the length of the root/stem final vowel. (A significant aspect of this property is discussed in 23.8.13.1.) There are minimal pairs such as *wayra-* 'to blow (of wind)' and *wayra:-* 'to winnow', *pishi:-* 'to be lacking' and *pishi-* 'to urinate (child)':

- 72 a. *Wayrachin.*
 b. *Wayraachin.*
 a. 'He causes the wind to blow (on it).'
 b. 'He causes him to winnow it.'
- 73 a. *Pishiichin.*
 b. *Pishiichin.*
 a. 'He causes it to be lacking./He uses it up.'
 b. 'He allows/makes him urinate.'

As with morpho-phonemic lowering, many of the roots having final long vowels derive from root-suffix stems where the suffix has brought along the property; e.g., *yanapa:-* 'help' from *yana* 'help/accompany' and *-pa:* 'benefactive'.

¹¹Since not all stems that have a bi-morphemic origin are optional in this way, perhaps this property is a multi-valued one, indicating a degree of susceptibility to lowering.

3.2. Verbs Derived from Substantives

This section discusses various suffixes that derive verbs from substantives. (Suffixes that derive verbs from verbs are discussed in chapter 9. Some suffixes derive verbs from both verbs and substantives; e.g., *-ra:* 'exhibit/stative', *-na:* 'desiderative'; these are discussed both here and in chapter 9.)

3.2.1. *-ya:*, *-pa:*, and *-ta:* 'become'

Three suffixes mean (roughly) 'become': *-ya:*, *-pa:*, and *-ta:*, as illustrated in example 74:

74	Shullay	{	a. <i>-ta</i>	
	dew		b. <i>-pa</i>	<i>-sha.</i>
			c. <i>-ya</i>	3PERF

- a. 'It has become slightly wet with dew.'
 b. 'It has become wet from moving through the fog.'
 c. 'It has become wet with dew.'

Exactly how these differ, I do not know.

-pa: and *-ta:* are now largely frozen with certain verbs. The following examples show other derived (now completely frozen) forms that suggest a morpheme meaning 'become':¹²

- wañu-ya:*- 'to wither, dry up' (cf. *wañu-* 'die')
aqo-lla- 'to break into small pieces' (cf. *aqo* 'sand', *aqo-* 'grind')

By contrast, *-ya:* 'become' seems to be completely productive. Three uses have been identified:

1. *-ya:* may mean 'become', occurring with a wide range of substantives; e.g.:
 - han'qa-ya:-chi-* 'to make (a wall) higher' (cf. *han'qa+* 'above with respect to slope')
 - hatun-ya:*- 'become big' (cf. *hatun* 'big')
 - ima-ya:*- 'become what' (cf. *ima* 'what')
 - looku-ya:*- 'go crazy' (cf. *looku* 'crazy')
 - tempraanu-ya:*- 'become early morning' (cf. *tempranu* 'early')
 - tardi-ya:*- 'become late (in the afternoon/evening)' (cf. *tardi* 'afternoon')
 - yoraq-ya:*- 'become white' (cf. *yoraq* 'white')¹³
 - riiku-ya:*- 'become rich' (cf. *riiku* 'rich')
 - runa-ya:*- 'become a man' (cf. *runa* 'man')
 - puka-ya:*- 'become red' (cf. *puka* 'red')
 - qeshya-q-ya:*- 'become invalid' (cf. *qeshya-* 'be sick', *qeshya-q* 'sick person')
 - qeshya:*- 'become sick' (cf. *qeshya* 'sickness, sick person')

¹²Perhaps long ago there was just a single morpheme for 'become' which was phonologically conditioned by the substantive to which it attached?

¹³Compare *yor'qa-* 'to pale', as discussed in section 23.8.6.3, (p.461).

- qoshpu-ya:*- ‘become curly’ (cf. *qoshpu* ‘curly’)
illqur-ya:- ‘(of lightning) to strike/flash’ (cf. *illqur* ‘lightning’)
chukru-ya:- ‘become hard’ (cf. *chukru* ‘hard’)
upa-ya:- ‘become deaf’ (cf. *upa* ‘deaf’)
ichki-lla-ya:- ‘to become a very small quantity’ (cf. *ichik* ‘a small quantity’)

Some such cases have rather idiomatic meanings; e.g.:

- haqa-ya:*- ‘become unhappy, discouraged’ (cf. *haqa* ‘debtor’)
huk-niraq-ya:- ‘to have one’s countenance fall, to become despondent’
 (cf. *huk-niraq* (one-SIM) which means roughly ‘differently’)

2. When applied to a word characterizing a sound, *-ya:* indicates the making of that sound; e.g.:

- kachkach-ya:*- ‘to have one’s teeth clatter (as from the cold)’ (cf. *kachkach*, the sound of teeth clattering)
hachin-ya:- ‘to bray’ (cf. *hachin hachin hachin*, a donkey braying)
lliw-ya:- ‘(of the sky) to be clear’ (cf. *lliw*, the sound of wind blowing; the wind blows the clouds away, leaving the sky clear)
pultoq-ya:-chi- ‘to stir the water (to make it say “pultoq”)’ (cf. *pultoq*, the sound of water when it is stirred vigorously)

3. *-ya:* may occur between a substantive that does not end in a short vowel and *-sha* ‘participle’ to indicate that the object referred to by the substantive is put on (i.e., put onto the body as dress),¹⁴ as, e.g., in example 1160 (p.286). When the substantive ends in a short vowel, *-sha* ‘participle’ attaches directly to the substantive:

75 Chay warmi-kuna yana mantilla-sha yuraq paaha sumriru-sha.
 that woman-plur black shawl-prtc white straw hat-prtc

‘Those women have on black shawls and white straw hats.’

One suspects that some verbs with a final long vowel derive from a substantive followed by *-ya:* ‘become’. For example, *qasa:*- ‘to be cold, to calm down (of a dispute)’ could be derived from a verb *qasi* ‘peaceful’ (see such an entry in Adelaar [1]). This is consistent with the final long vowel and its meaning.

In contrast to *-ya:* ‘become’, *-pa:* and *-ta:* ‘become’ have rather limited productivity; e.g.:

- piyur-pa:*- ‘to become worse’ (cf. *piyur* ‘worse’); e.g., *piyur-pa:-chi-ku-*
 (worse-bec-caus-refl-) ‘to aggravate (to make a situation or condition of health worse)’
qarwash-ta:-chi- ‘to cause to become yellow’¹⁵ (cf. *qarwash* ‘yellow’)

¹⁴While *-ya:* is used to verbalize a substantive referring to something put on, *-kaakU* is used to verbalize a substantive referring to the part of the body which is covered; see section 3.2.2 below.

In Llata (Huánuco) Quechua, verbalization of a substantive referring to something put on is carried out by *-ni* rather than by *-ya:*; see Sola [39], p. 56, par. 46.

¹⁵This is said of a plant which has become yellow through being near certain weeds.

looku-ta:- 'to go crazy' (cf. *looku* 'crazy')
uyu-ta:- 'become thin' (cf. *uyu* 'thin')

3.2.2. (-ka)kU 'put onto'

Attached to a substantive that refers to some part of the body, the suffix *-(ka)kU* means 'to take onto' that part of the body; e.g., from *matanka* 'shoulder' comes *matan-kakU*- 'to take upon the shoulder' (not to wear, but to carry on the shoulder). A further example:

76 *Apa-sha* *uma-kaku-rku-r.*
 take-3PERF head-put:upon-asp-adv

'Having put it upon his head (to carry it there) he took it.'

3.2.3. -paku 'verbalizer'

The suffix *-pakU* (which may be the combination of *-pa* and *-kU*) makes of a substantive the action characteristic of that object; e.g., from *qonqor* 'knee' comes *qonqor-pakU*- 'to kneel'.

3.2.4. -chakU 'verbalizer'

The suffix *-chakU* is of limited productivity. It makes substantives into transitive verbs. As the following show, the contribution of *-chakU* to the meaning of the verb so formed is not very predictable:

hatun-chaku- 'to enlarge it (e.g., one's field).' (cf. *hatun* 'big')
maki-chaku- 'to steal from repeatedly (petty theft)' (cf. *maki* 'hand')
mama-chaku- 'take one as mother' (cf. *mama* 'mother')
wasi-chaku- 'to act like the owner of a house (that belongs to someone else)'
 (cf. *wasi* 'house')

3.2.5. -cha 'make'

-cha 'make', which might also be translated as 'cause to become', seems to have limited productivity. A few examples are given below; others are found in section 9.5.4, where *-cha* 'make' is discussed in more detail.

maha-cha- 'to pair up' (cf. *maha* 'mate')
murucha- 'producing seeds' (cf. *murucha* 'seed')
sapi-cha- 'put out roots' (cf. *sapi* 'root')

3.2.6. -ra: 'exhibit'

Applied to a substantive that indicates some property, *-ra:* 'stative/durative' forms a verb meaning 'to exhibit' that property; e.g., applied to *yana* 'black', the verb

yana-ra:- means 'to exhibit the property "black"'.¹⁶ Other examples follow:

77 *Ima-taq nawpa-yki-chaw yana-ra-yka-n?*
 what-?? side-2P-LOC black-stat-impfv-3

'What is that black thing beside you?' (lit. 'What beside you exhibits blackness?')

78 *Ayllu-ra:-mu-n.*
 herd:together-stat-afar-3

'They (at a distance) appear to be herded together.'

79 *Paqla-ra:-mu-n.*
 bald-stat-afar-3

'He (at a distance) appears to be bald.'

80 *Aycha-ra:-mu-n.*
 meat-stat-afar-3

'It (at a distance) appears to be meat.'

3.2.7. *-na*: 'desiderative'

-na: 'desiderative' is used with a very restricted set of substantives to mean 'to want x' where x is the thing referred to by the substantive; e.g.:

yaku-na:- 'to be thirsty, to want water' (cf. *yaku* 'water')

warmi-na:- 'to lust, to want to have sexual relations with a woman' (cf. *warmi* 'woman')

Further discussion of *-na*: 'desiderative' as suffixed to verbs occurs in section 9.7.1.

¹⁶Perhaps *-ra*: was an independent auxiliary verb that took substantival complements in the same way that *ka*- 'to be' takes complements today. *-ra*: would then be the result of a reduction of the word boundary to a suffix boundary.

Chapter 4

SUBSTANTIVE ELEMENTS

This chapter surveys the substantive elements: noun-adjective (4.1.1), suffixes that apply to substantives, some of which are derivational and some of that are inflectional (4.2), and other inflectional suffixes that apply to substantives (4.3).

4.1. Classes of Substantives

This section introduces the large, open class of noun-adjectives (section 4.1.1), the open (but not large) class of sounds (section 4.1.2), and other small, closed classes which must be distinguished (classes of pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, and quantifiers). No attempt will be made here to demonstrate the morpho-syntactic necessity for distinguishing these subclasses; their utility should be amply evident.

4.1.1. Noun-Adjectives

The largest subclass of substantives will be referred to as *noun-adjectives*. This class is large and open-ended. It includes what in other languages would be distinguished as nouns and adjectives. These are regarded as a single class in HgQ because there is insufficient evidence of a strictly morpho-syntactic nature for distinguishing them (as lexical categories). Let us consider some evidence for this claim.

A priori, one might wish to consider *hatun* 'big' to be an adjective and *rumi* 'stone' a noun. But consider the range of morpho-syntactic environments which these share.

1. Both may be a major sentential constituent (subject, object, etc.) followed by the appropriate case marker; e.g.:

81 Rumi-ta rikaa.
stone-ACC I:see

'I see a/the stone.'

82 Hatun-ta rikaa.
big-ACC I:see

'I see a/the big (one).'

2. Both may be used as prenominal modifiers; e.g.:

83 rumi wasi
stone house

'stone house'

84 hatun wasi
big house

'big house'

3. Both may be the complement to *ka-* 'be' in a predicate nominal/adjective construction; e.g.,

85 Taqay rumi ka-yka-n.
that stone be-IMPFV-3

'That one is stone/a stone.'

86 Taqay hatun ka-yka-n.
that big be-IMPFV-3

'That one is big/a big one.'

4. Both may be followed by one of the (de-substantival) verbalizers; e.g.:

87 Rumi-ya-n.
stone-become-3

'He/She/It becomes stone.'

88 Hatun-ya-n.
big-become-3

'He/She/It becomes big.'

Data such as these lead to the conclusion that HgQ morpho-syntax does not distinguish between nouns and adjective.¹ This is not to deny that there may be some non-morpho-syntactic reasons for distinguishing nouns and adjectives. For example, *runa* 'man' is more likely to *refer*, and thus behave like a noun, whereas *hatun* is more likely to *modify*, and thus behave like an adjective; but this is due to their semantic value rather than to their lexical or morpho-syntactic category.

Two terminological issues should be mentioned. Throughout this book I use the terms "noun phrase" in the sense of "substantive phrase," and "adjective" in the sense of "substantive which is typically used to modify." By using these terms, I do not mean to imply that there is a categorical, morpho-syntactic distinction between nouns and adjectives.

¹Two criteria which might be thought to distinguish adjectives from nouns are the following:

sumaq 'very' may precede "adjectives" but not "nouns"

-Nnin 'superlative' may follow "adjectives" but not "nouns"

However, I do not feel that these provide an adequate basis for distinguishing nouns and adjectives. The apparent constraints on *sumaq* and *-Nnin* are due, I maintain, to semantic factors rather than to matters of morpho-syntactic category.

4.1.2. Sounds

Sound is an open subclass of substantives. It comprises words that are in imitation of some (perceived) sound. For example, *qech* (sound of door opening), *chun* (sound of silence), *pan* (sound of firecracker exploding), *pultoq* (sound of water--or other liquid--gurgling), *hachin* (sound of donkey braying), etc. As discussed in 3.2.1, the result of suffixing *-ya:* to these words is a verb expressing the corresponding action to produce that sound; e.g., *panya:-* 'to explode', *hachinya:-* 'to bray', etc.

4.1.3. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns are as follows:

<i>noqa</i>	'I'
<i>qam</i>	'you'
<i>pay</i>	'he'
<i>noqanchi(:)</i>	'we (inclusive)'

Plural forms may be formed with *-kuna* 'plural':

<i>noqakuna</i>	'we (exclusive)'
<i>qamkuna</i>	'you (plural)'
<i>paykuna</i>	'they'

These pronouns are not used as frequently as in Spanish or English because the referents are usually clear from the verbal person marking. Example 89 sounds stilted, probably because the overt pronouns add no information not carried by the person-marking suffixes:

89 *Pay noqa-ta rika-ma-n.*
 he me-OBJ see=>1-3
 'He sees me.'

It seems that pronouns are sometimes used simply to support suffixes. For example, in contrast to example 89, the following is both acceptable and natural:

90 *Pay-pis noqa-lla-ta-mi rika-ma-n-na.*
 he-also me-just-OBJ-DIR see=>1-3-now
 'He too now sees just me.'

4.1.4. Emphatic Pronouns

Historically, *kiki* 'self' was a reflexive pronoun, and indeed, it may still be used reflexively, as, e.g., in 91. However, *kiki* is now also used as an "emphatic" pronoun, as, e.g., in 92; this use is perhaps the more common. *kiki* is always inflected for the person of its referent:

<i>kiki:</i>	'ME!/myself'
<i>kiki-ki</i>	'YOU!/yourself'
<i>kiki-n</i>	'HIM!/himself'
<i>kiki-nchi:</i>	'WE(incl)!/ourselves(incl)'
<i>kiki:kuna</i>	'WE(excl)!/ourselves(excl) alone'

Examples follow:²

91 *Kiki-n-ta wañu-chi-ku-sha.*
self-3P-OBJ die-cause-refl-3PERF

'He killed himself.'

92 *Kiki-: rura-ra-:.*
self-1P do-past-1

'I did it (emphasizing that it was I who did it).'

4.1.5. Demonstrative Pronoun-Adjectives

1. The following indicate the proximity of the referent to the speaker:

<i>kay</i>	'this(one)/here' (proximate)
<i>chay</i>	'that(one)/there' (medial)
<i>taqay</i>	'that(one)/over there' (distal)

kay is used as a demonstrative pronoun-adjective (e.g., *kay libru* 'this book') or as a forward-referring pronoun (e.g., *Kaynaw nimasha...* 'he told me this' followed by a quotation). *chay* is used as a demonstrative pronoun or adjective or as a backward-referring pronoun (e.g., *Chaynaw nimasha* 'he told me that', referring back to something previously said). *taqay* is only used to refer to some tangible object (usually in view) of the real world.

2. The following indicate the altitude of the referent relative to the speaker (or to the "point of reference" of a narrative):

<i>ura</i>	'below/lower'
<i>hana</i>	'above/upper'
<i>washa</i>	'roughly at the same altitude'

3. It is also possible to indicate the altitude of the referent on some slope with respect to some other object (anchored, as it were, by an optional genitive phrase and an obligatory possessive suffix). These forms are derived from *ura*, *hana* and *washa* by the addition of *qa*. In HgQ (but not in all dialects) the addition of *qa* results in the suppression of the final /a/ of the pronoun-adjective. However, there is a strong transition vocoid between the /q/ and the preceding consonant, symbolized phonetically as [e] and orthographically by an apostrophe. With the loss of /a/, the /n/ of *hana* comes to precede /q/; one would expect /n/ to assimilate to the point of articulation of /q/. However, this is not the case.

<i>ur^eqaa:</i>	'below me'
<i>ur^eqayki</i>	'below you'
<i>ur^eqan</i>	'below him/it'
<i>ur^eqanchii</i>	'below us(incl)'
<i>han^eqaa</i>	'above me'
<i>wash^eqaa</i>	'on the other side of me'

These are used as in the following:

²It is equally acceptable to say *Kiki-n wañu-chi-ku-sha* (self-3P die-cause-refl-3PERF) 'He killed himself' where *kiki-n* is the subject rather than the object. If one assumes that true reflexives must be co-indexed to a c-commanding antecedent within the same clause, this example is evidence that *kiki* is not a true reflexive.

- 93 Ur'qa-yki-chaw ka-yka-:.
below-2P-LOC be-impfv-1
'I am down the hill from you.'
- 94 Wasi-ki-pa han'qa-n-chaw tiya-n.
house-2P-GEN above-3P-LOC live-3
'He lives up the hill from your house.'

4.1.6. Interrogative-Indefinite Pronoun-Adjectives

The following are the interrogative pronouns:

<i>pi</i>	'who'
<i>ima</i>	'what'
<i>may</i>	'where'
<i>ayka</i>	'how many/much'
<i>mayqa+POS ~ mayqani+POS</i>	'which'
<i>imay</i>	'when'
<i>imayka</i>	'whatever'

These have various uses:

1. Interrogative when followed by question markers *-taq* or *-raq*; e.g., *Pi-taq chay?* (who-? that) 'Who is that?' Other examples:

95 Mayqani-ki-taq rura-sha?
which-2P-?? do-3PERF
'Which one of you did it?'

96 May-man-taq aywanki?
where-GOAL-?? you:are:going
'Where are you going?'

2. Indefinite followed by *-pis* 'indef'; e.g.:

97 Pi-ta-pis willa-y.
who-ACC-indef tell-2IMP
'Tell anyone/whoever.'

3. Negative-indefinite when preceded by *mana* 'no' or *ni* 'nor' and followed by *-pis*; e.g.:

98 Mana pi-pis sha-mu-sha-chu.
not who-indef come-afar-3PERF-NEG
'No one came.'

4. With embedded questions; e.g.:

99 Mana musya:chu pi chayamushan-ta-pis.
not I:don't:know who his:arriving-ACC-indef
'I do not know who came.'

5. With correlative relative clauses;³ e.g.:

100 May-pa-mi chiri-n ka-sha; chay-lla-pa
where-GEN-DIR fertilize-3 be-3PERF that-just-GEN

murupaku-n.
plant-distr-3
'They only plant around wherever it has been fertilized.'

These words may be modifiers of other noun-adjectives; e.g.:

³Weber [45], sec. 3.3.

- 101 [May runa]-taq chay?
 where man-?? that(one)
 'Where is that person from?'
- 102 [Imay oora]-na-taq?
 when moment-now-?
 'What time is it?'

4.1.7. Quantifying Noun-Adjectives

Two classes of quantifying substantive will be distinguished: indefinite and numeral.⁴

4.1.7.1. Indefinite Quantifying Noun-Adjectives

The following substantives are quantifiers:

<i>llapan</i> <i>llapa-</i> <i>llapani-</i>	} 'all (of)'
<i>pullan</i> <i>pullanni-</i> <i>pullalla-</i>	} 'half (of)'
<i>achka</i>	'many/much'
<i>huk</i> <i>hukni-</i>	} 'another (with respect to)'
<i>wakin</i> <i>waki-</i> <i>wakini-</i>	} 'others (with respect to)'

The use of these is discussed in section 12.4.1. Some examples follow:

- 103 Llapan sha-mu-sha.
 all come-afar-3PERF
 'All (of them) came.'
- 104 Qo-yku-shayki { a. llapani-ki-ta.
 give-impact-1=>2FUT { all-2P-OBJ
 b. llapa-yki-ta.
 all-2P-OBJ
 'I will give to all of you.'

4.1.7.2. Numerals

This class is comprised of the names of the numbers: *huk* 'one', *ishkay* 'two', *kimsa* 'three', *chusku* 'four',... *chunka* 'ten', *pachak* 'hundred', and *waranqa* 'thousand'. (Perhaps number expressions formed from these should also be included in this class; see section 12.5.)

⁴Some members of both subclasses (and no other substantives) occur with *-q* 'human'. This suffix indicates some collection of humans; e.g., *achka-q* (many-human) 'many (persons)', *ishka-q* (two-human) 'the two (persons)', *ayka-q* (many-human) 'how many (persons)'; see section 4.2.1.10.

Possessed numbers behave as pronouns, ones indicating both number and grammatical person; see table 4-1. Although this is productive and could conceivably be extended to any number, generally such pronouns are formed only with the smaller numbers.⁵

	one	two	three	four
1	huknii 'one of us(excl)'	ishkani: '(the) two of us(excl)'	kimsani: '(the) three of us(excl)'	chusku: '(the) four of us(excl)'
2	hukniki 'one of you'	ishkayki ~ ishkanik '(the) two of you'	kimsaniki '(the) three of you'	chuskuyki '(the) four of you'
3	huknin 'one of them'	ishkan ~ ishkani '(the) two of them'	kimsan '(the) three of them'	chuskun '(the) four of them'
12	hukninchi 'one of us(incl)'	ishkanchi ~ ishkaninchi '(the) two of us(incl)'	kimsanchi '(the) three of us(incl)'	chuskunchi '(the) four of us(incl)'

Table 4-1: Numeral Pronouns.

The use of these is discussed in sections 12.4.1.1 and 12.4.1.2.

4.2. Suffixes That Apply to Substantives

The suffixes discussed in this section apply to substantives. Some of these are derivational (discussed in sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2) and some are inflectional (discussed in 4.3).⁶

4.2.1. Suffixes Deriving Substantives from Substantives

This section deals with substantives that are derived from other substantives.

The first three suffixes to be discussed in this section may be regarded as a subclass because of semantic commonality. They all have to do with possessing some object or characteristic: *-yoq* means 'having' (4.2.1.1), *-sapa* means 'having much' (4.2.1.2), and *-ynaq* means 'without' (4.2.1.3). The other suffixes discussed in this section do not seem to form any particular subclasses.

⁵Perhaps it is limited to numbers which can be expressed as one word, so that *pachakniki* 'one hundred of you' is acceptable, but *pachak hukniki* 'one hundred and one of you' is not.

⁶The distinction between derivational and inflectional suffixes is not as clearcut as the text may make it sound; the distinction is used merely as an expository convenience.

4.2.1.1. -NIyoq 'having'

-NIyoq is *-yoq* following short vowels and *-niyoq* elsewhere. It means roughly '(one) having', where there is considerable latitude as to what "have" means. Several will be illustrated. First, one thing may "have" a characteristic; e.g., a plant can be described as:

muru-yoq 'seed bearing' from *muru* 'seed'
kasha-yoq 'having thorns' from *kasha* 'thorn'

One thing may "have" another in the sense of owning it; e.g.:

wasi-yoq 'landlord, one who has a house' from *wasi* 'house'
pikapa-yoq-kuna 'those who have record players' from *pikapa* 'record player'⁷

A container may "have" its contents; e.g.:

105 ...*ka-yka-n achka botella-kuna awrindi-yoq*.
 be-impfv many bottle-plur fire:water-have

'...there are many bottles of fire water.'

A person "has" a birthday, and a saint "has" a day on which she or he is commemorated; e.g.:

106 *Diya-yoq santu-ta tuma-chi-n*.
 day-have saint-OBJ go:about-cause-3

'They parade the saint whose day it is.'

Something may "have" authority; e.g.:

107 *Eskirbaanu llapan fista-kuna-wan muna-y-niyoyq*.
 scrivener all fiesta-plur-COM want-inf-have

'The scrivener has all the fiesta under his authority.'

Persons and things "have" an age; e.g.:

108 ...*asta kimsa wata-yoq ka-na-n-yaq*
 until three year-have be-sub-3P-LIM

'...until he is three years old'

A paper may "have" an image; e.g.:

109 *Huk papel ka-yka-n boniitu dibuhu-yoq*.
 one paper be-impfv-3 pretty picture-have

'There is a paper which has a pretty picture.'

Or one may "have" guilt; e.g.:

110 *Mayqa-nchi:-taq hucha-yoq ka-nchi?*
 which-12P-?? guilt-have be-12

'Which of us is guilty?'

Something "has" its parts, so, for example, a cup may be said to be *maki-yoq* (hand-have) 'having a handle'. See also example 1594, p.374.

A person "has" his kin; e.g.:

⁷Most persons who own record players hire out to provide music for fiestas or processions; these people are known as *pikapa-yoq*.

111 Chay runa-yog warmi-kuna.
 that men-have women-plur
 'those married women'

The final example is a little strange in that *-yog* is not usually used for things which one has temporarily. For example, if someone takes a knife in hand, it would be unusual to refer to him as *kuchillu-yog*. But the person referred to in 112 is presented as one whose most salient characteristic is his wielding a knife:

112 ...huk kuchillu-yog runa ka-yka-n.
 one knife-have man be-impfv-3
 '...there is a man with a knife.'

4.2.1.2. *-sapa* 'having much'

-sapa '(one) having much' is restricted to having some physical characteristic; e.g., one can say *aqcha-sapa* 'hairy, one who has much hair' from *aqcha* 'hair', or of a sheep one can say *millwa-sapa* 'woolly, having much wool'. But one cannot say **qellay-sapa* for 'having much money (from *qellay* 'money') nor **wamra-sapa* for 'having many children' (from *wamra* 'child'). Instead, one would say *achka qellay-yog* (much money-have) 'having much money' or *achka wamra-yog* (many child-have) 'having many children'.

4.2.1.3. *-yñaq* 'not having'

-Niyñaq is *-yñaq* following short vowels and *-niyñaq* elsewhere. It means '(one) not having'.⁸ As with *-yog* above, considerable latitude is possible in the sense of "have", for example, some characteristic, some object, etc.

1. The following illustrate lacking some characteristic:

aqcha-yñaq 'hairless, one who is hairless' from *aqcha* 'hair'
aala-yñaq 'without wings' from *aala* 'wing'
 lacking a point:

113 llawchi punta-yñaq laapis
 sharp point-without pencil

'a dull pencil (i.e., without a sharp point)'

2. A collection may lack some expected component; e.g., one can say that a pile of potatoes lacks any big ones with *hatun-niyñaq* 'without big ones' (from *hatun* 'big').
3. A person may lack some possession:

wasi-yñaq-kuna (house-without-plur) 'the homeless'
 without clothing:

⁸ *-yñaq* 'without having' probably originated as a substantivization by *-q of *-yñi, which gave rise to the present suffix '(in the state of) not having been/done' (see 13.2.3). (The fact that /i/ is posited where /a/ is currently found is not an obstacle: any high vowel occurring in a suffix which has /q/ has become /a/.) Support for this claim is *yaku-yñi-shqa-qa* 'sin agua [without water]' (from Sola [39], p. 37) which shows *-yñi* substantivized by *-shqa* 'participle'.

114 *llachapa-ynaq qara-lla*
 clothes-without skin-just

'absolutely naked, without a stitch of clothing'

4. Something may lack some associated person/thing:

A chicken may be without a mate:

115 *Chipsha mana pashta-n-chu gaallu-ynaq wallpa*
 chick not burst-3-NEG rooster-without chicken
 ka-pti-n.
 be-adv-3P

'No chicks will hatch if the chicken is without a rooster.'

A corpse may be without a coffin:

116 *kahun-niynaq-lla pampa-ku-pti-n*
 box-without-just bury-refl-adv-3P

'if they are going to bury him without a coffin'

4.2.1.4. -saq and -karay with hatu- 'big'

-saq 'plural' and -karay 'huge' only occur frozen with *hatu-* 'big'; the only combinations now used are+

hatu+n+karay 'huge' (cf. *hatu+n* 'big')

hatu+saq 'big ones (of a collection)'

hatu+lla+saq 'just the big ones' (cf. *hatu+lla+n* 'somewhat big')

4.2.1.5. -y 'vocative'

-y 'vocative', very common in other Quechua languages, is essentially nonexistent in HgQ. A rare example occurs in folk tales (where perhaps it is simply repeated as heard); e.g., *tiyu-y kondor* (uncle-voc condor) 'Uncle condor'.

4.2.1.6. -ylla 'just'

-ylla is not a productive suffix; it occurs in a few words, among them the following:

hinaylla 'just like that'

huknaylla 'just one'

ichiknaylla 'tiny'

4.2.1.7. -y (no gloss)

ishka- 'two' occurs with -y to express the quantity 'two'. (*ishka-* 'two' also occurs with possessive suffixes (see 12.4.1.2) and with -q 'human' (see 4.2.1.10).

4.2.1.8. -q with hana

hana 'above' occurs with a *-q* in the combinations *hana+q* 'upper part, above'; *-q* changes the meaning from 'above (relative to something)' to 'upper part (relative to that thing)'. What *hana+q* refers to is relative to some point of reference. E.g., relative to a house, *hana+q* refers to the second story; relative to a "mixto" (i.e., a truck-bus vehicle) *hana+q* refers to the part over the cab and passenger-seating area; *hana+q* can refer to the sky or to space (see example 812, p.212).

hana+q can simply mean '(somewhere) up high' as in 117 and 118:

- 117 Nirkur hana+q-man warku-nchi.
 then high-GOAL hang-12
 'Then we hang it up high.'
- 118 ...hata-rI-chi-sha hana+q-yaq.
 stand-pnct-caus-3PERF high-LIM
 '...they raised (the building) high.'

4.2.1.9. -sh with hana

Similar to the use of *-q* described in section 4.2.1.8, *sh* may occur on *hana*: *hana+sh* 'above (on the slope)'; e.g.:

- 119 Chawra-qa hana+sh-ta aywa-yka-pti-n-na-qa...
 so-TOP above+SH-OBJ go-impfv-adv-3P-now-TOP
 'So, as he is now going up the hill from him...'

4.2.1.10. -q 'human'

-q 'human' is used with numbers and quantifiers to refer to people. *-q* 'human' may occur with any number ending in a vowel; e.g.:

ishka-q 'two persons' (cf. *ishka+* 'two')
kimsa-q 'three persons' (cf. *kimsa* 'three')
chusku 'four' and *pichqa* 'five'; e.g.:

- 120 ...minka-ku-n chusku-q-ta o pichqa-q-ta.
 ask:for:help-refl-3 four-human-OBJ or five-human-OBJ
 '...he asks four or five persons to help him
 (in a reciprocal labor exchange).'

chunka-q 'ten persons' (cf. *chunka* 'ten')
chusku waranqa-q 'four thousand persons' (cf. *chusku waranqa* 'four thousand')

-q 'human' may occur with a quantifier:

achka-q 'many persons' (cf. *achka* 'many/much')
ayka-q 'how many persons' (cf. *ayka* 'how many'); e.g.:

121 Ayka-q-niki-taq aywa-n?
 how:many-human-2P-?? go-3

'How many of you are going?'

The only quantifiers which occur with *-q* 'human' in my corpus are *ayka* 'how many' and *achka* 'many'.

4.2.1.11. -la: 'side'

-la: 'side' (derived from Spanish *lado* 'side') is used as in the following:

kay-la:-pa (this/here-side-GEN) 'around here'

wak-la: kay-la: (there-side here-side) 'thither and yon'

ishka-n-la: 'the two sides'; e.g.:

122 *Ishka-n-la:-pa hira-shun.*
 two-3P-side-GEN sew-12IMP

'Let's sew it up on both of its sides.'

4.2.1.12. -Nnin 'superlative'

-Nnin 'superlative' is *-nnin* following short vowels and *-nin* elsewhere. From a substantive that can be interpreted as a degree modifier, *-Nnin* derives the corresponding superlative; e.g., *hatun-nin* 'the biggest' from *hatun* 'big' and *altu-nnin* 'the highest' from *altu* 'high'. *-Nnin* is also used to form certain time expressions (see the final paragraph of this section). Examples follow:

123 *Mehur-nin-ta-raq-shi wanu-rI+ykU-chi-n uysha-n-ta.*
 better-sup-OBJ-yet-IND die-sud-caus-3 sheep-3P-OBJ

'He killed the very best of her sheep.'

124 *Mas alli-nnin-ta akra-rku-r...*
 more good-sup-OBJ choose-asp-adv

'Having chosen the best...'

125 a. *Alli-nnin papa-yki-ta rantikU-ma-y.*
 good-sup potato-2P-OBJ sell-=>1-2IMP

b. *Alli-nnin-niki-ta rantikU-ma-y.*
 good-sup-2P-OBJ sell-=>1-2IMP

a,b. 'Sell me your very best (potatoes).'

Example 126b is like 126a except that the head (*lasaq* 'heavy [one]') has been omitted; *-Nnin* ends up on the pre-adjective *sumaq* 'very':

126 a. *Sumaq lasaq-nin-ta apa-mu-nki.*
 very heavy-sup-OBJ take-afar-2IMP

b. *Sumaq-nin-ta apa-mu-nki.*
 very-sup-OBJ take-afar-2P

a. 'Bring me the very heaviest.'

b. 'Bring me the very-est (i.e., the very heaviest, the very best, the very fullest, etc.).'

From this I would draw the conclusion that *-Nnin* is not necessarily a derivational suffix.

The superlative formed with *-Nnin* may occur discontinuously from the substan-

tive it modifies;⁹ e.g. compare 125a with 127:

127 Papa-yki-ta rantikU-ma-y alli-nnin-ta
 potato-2P-OBJ sell=>1-2IMP good-sup-OBJ
 'Sell me your best potatoes.'

When *-lla* 'just' occurs with *-Nnin* 'sup', it does not precede or follow *-Nnin*; see 128a,b. Rather, it occurs before the final /n/; see 128c. Its presence there may suppress the /ni/ occurring in that morpheme; see 128d.¹⁰

128 a. *all1-lla-nnin }
 b. *all1-nnin-lla } papa-ta qo-ma-y akra-y+lla+pa.
 c. all1-nni-lla-n } potato give=>1-2IMP choose-adv
 d. all1-n-lla-n }

c,d. 'Give me just the best potatoes, choosing them.'
 (i.e., I do not want the small ones, the damaged ones...)

To say 'the best of you' one cannot say **alli-nni-ki*; this shows that the final /n/ of *-Nnin* is not a possessive suffix. One must rather rephrase as follows:

129 Qam-kuna-pita mas all1-n(ni)llan-ta pusha-shaq.
 you-plur-ABL more good-sup+just-OBJ lead-1FUT
 'I will take the best of you.'

-Nnin is used in certain "relative" time expressions in much the way described for *-ntin* in section 4.2.1.13.¹¹ The addition of *-Nnin* shifts the time referred to by one day; e.g., *tuta* means 'morning/early',¹² and refers to the morning of the day on which it is spoken but *tuta-nnin* means 'on the following morning'.

4.2.1.13. -NIntin 'together with'

-NIntin 'together with' (glossed 'tog') is *-ntin* following short vowels and *-nintin* elsewhere. In HgQ *-ntin* 'together' is a single, non-inflecting suffix.¹³

There are two main uses of *-ntin*: with time expressions) and with couplets. (The

⁹This is subject--of course--to the requirement that the discontinuous parts be marked with a common case marker; this is true of modifiers generally; see section 12.1.

¹⁰See section 19.1.1.1 concerning the general property of *-lla* 'invading' other morphemes.

¹¹Dialects differ as to whether *-Nnin* or *-ntin* is used in a given expression. For example, some dialects use *wara-nnin* for 'day after tomorrow' rather than *wara-ntin* as in HgQ.

¹²That is, unless it is modified in some way (as by saying *lunis tuta* 'Monday morning').

¹³In, e.g., the Quechua of northern Junín, it is *-nti-*, which is obligatorily followed by a possessive suffix. Even in HgQ one can get assent to sentences like the following (with perhaps a little arm-twisting), but they are not very natural:

Llapan-ni:-ta wanu-chi-ma-nqa warmi-nti:-ta wamra-nti:-ta.
 all-1P-OBJ die-caus=>1-3FUT woman-tog-1P-OBJ child-tog-1P-OBJ

'It will kill us all, including my wife and children.'

gloss 'together with' fits the couplets much better than the time uses of *-ntin*.) The couplets may be of two kinds: those which share some special relationship because of physical proximity, use or culture), and those which are coupled because of a transitory situation).

Time use of *-ntin*

When *-ntin* occurs on *wara* 'tomorrow' or *qanyan* 'yesterday', the word so formed refers to the next day farther removed from that to which *wara* or *qanyan* alone would refer; e.g.:

- 130 *qanyan* 'yesterday'
qanyantin 'day before yesterday'
- 131 *wara* 'tomorrow'
warantin 'day after tomorrow'
- 132 *wara-ntin-pa* *wara-ntin-nin*
 tomorrow-tog-GEN tomorrow-tog-3P
 'the day after tomorrow's day after tomorrow'
 (i.e., if today is Tuesday, this would refer to Saturday)

This temporal use of *-ntin* is very similar to the use of *-Nnin* 'superlative' discussed in section 4.2.1.12 below.

Stable Couplets

-ntin may be used when there is a close relationship (at least perceived) between the referent of the substantive bearing *-ntin* and its co-ordinate referent (expressions such as salt n'pepper, needle n'thread, null and void, etc.). This relationship may have its basis in physical proximity, by virtue of being used together, or some such stable factor. For example, in example 133 'pick' and 'shovel' are coupled, since they are used together (unlike, e.g., 'hammer' and 'shovel'). Note that there is only one instrumental case marker (*-wan* 'COM'), this having within its scope both the coupled elements:

- 133 *Aru-:* [*paala piiku-ntin*]-*wan*.
 work-1 shovel pick-tog-COM
 'I work with a shovel and pick.'

In example 134, 'coca' and 'lime' are coupled because coca is chewed along with lime powder:

- 134 *Kay-chaw ka-yka-n kuka isku-ntin*.
 here-LOC be-impfv-3 coca lime-tog
 'Here is (some) coca and lime.'

Example 135 is from a description of how to butcher a sheep; 'neck joint' and 'spinal cord' are coupled because of physical proximity:

- 135 *Y kunka moqo-n-ta paasa-chi-nchi toqsho-ntin-ta*.
 and neck joint-3P-OBJ pass-caus-12 brain-tog-OBJ
 'And we make it (the knife) pass through the neck joint and spinal cord.'

Example 136 is from a description of how to shear a sheep. The coat is shorn first on one side and is gathered along the top of the back. Then the sheep and coat

are flipped over together (the sheep and his partially shorn coat forming a couplet):

136 Nirkur uysha-ntin-ta marqa-rku-r tikra-nchi.
then sheep-tog-OBJ take:in:arms-asp-adv turn-12

'Then taking it (the partially shorn coat of wool)
along with the sheep into the arms, we turn it over.'

In example 137, *-ntin* indicates that the fingers of one hand are grouped together (i.e., they are not inserted one by one, nor are they the fingers of more than one hand):

137 ...hati-n deeru-n-kuna-ntin-pis...
insert-3 finger-3P-plur-tog-even

'...he even sticks in his fingers...'
(the fingers of one hand all together)

138 Uysha kawallu-ntin tallu-sha miku-rka-yka-n.
sheep horse-tog mix-prtc eat-plur-impfv-3

'The sheep and horses are eating, mixed together.'

139 Sipra-ntin-ta miku-:
peel-tog-OBJ eat-1

'I eat it together with its peel.'

Transitory Couplets

-ntin may be used to indicate coupling of elements brought about by some special situation or circumstance. The elements coupled are not related in any special way outside of that situation or circumstance (and thus cease to be coupled when that circumstance changes).

For example, *chamana* and *mulli* are two types of plant; they bear no special relationship to each other. But when boiled together to make a medicine, they are coupled. (Note that in this case both bear *-ntin*.)

140 timpu-sha-n chamana-ntin mulli-ntin
boil-sub-3P (plant)-tog (plant)-tog

'the boiled *chamana* and *mulli*'

A recurring motif in HgQ folktales presumes some surface (e.g., in example 141 a plank, in 142 a door) lodged high above the ground (in 141 in a tree, in 142 in the rafters), but not firmly lodged. The protagonist steps on the edge and falls, along with the surface that he stepped on, and by this fall inadvertently causing the antagonists to flee. In this situation, the surface (e.g., plank or door) and the protagonist are coupled. In example 141 the focus is on the lamb, who is said to fall along with the plank, whereas in 142 the focus is on the plank, which is said to fall together with the stooge:¹⁴

¹⁴'Fall' is given as *yega-* in example 141 but as *yaga-* and *heqa-* in 142; this verb does indeed occur in these various forms, and also as *h^yeqa-*.

141 Y kuyu-rku-sha-n-chaw-shi tabla-ntin yeqa-kU-mu-n
and move-asp-sub-3P-LOC-IND plank-tog fall-refl-afar-3

muku pampa-man.
lamb ground-GOAL

'And moving about, the lamb falls to the ground together
with the plank.'

142 Chawra punku-qa ami-yka:-ku-r yaqa-ku-rpu-sha
so door-TOP pivot-impfv-refl-adv fall-refl-down-3PERF

pampa-man-shi. Upa-ntin-shi heqa-ku-n.
ground-GOAL-IND stooge-tog-IND fall-3

'So the door, having pivoted, falls down to the ground.
It falls together with the stooge.'

In example 143, the priest is circumstantially related to the others by virtue of having led the expedition:

143 Chawra chay-chaw llapan kuura-ntin-shi illqa-sha.
so that-LOC all priest-tog-IND perish-3PERF

'So they all perished there along with the priest.'

In example 144, the addressee is related circumstantially to others by virtue of saying what they say:

144 Qam-nintin ni-ma-nki.
you-tog say=>1-2

'You, as well as the others, say it to me.'

4.2.2. Suffixes Deriving Substantives from Verbs

Verbs are nominalized by *-na*, *-y*, *-q* (the major nominalizers) and *-chi* and *-pa* (highly restricted). A type of participle is formed by *-ni*.

4.2.2.1. Substantivizations with *-na*

For a verb which refers to an action performed with some tool, the substantivization with *-na* refers to that tool. In HgQ these are almost always accompanied with *-kU* 'refl'; e.g., *picha-ku-na* 'broom' from *picha-* 'to sweep', *aru-ku-na* 'tool' from *aru-* 'to work', *tapyá-ku-na* 'a large box (assembled on a wall, into which earth is rammed to form another block)' from *tapyá-* 'build a rammed earth wall'.

These substantivizations may be used to refer (as in example 145) or to modify (as in examples 146 and 147):

145 Taka-ku-na ka-n hatun qeru-pita.
hit-refl-sub be-3 big wood-ABL

'There is a tamper, (made) from a big piece of wood.'

146 Ka-n awa-ku-na qeru.
be-3 weave-refl-sub wood

'There is a weaving stick.'

147 Chay-wan tini-nchi hacha, tini-ku-na hacha.
that-COM dye-12 plant dye-refl-sub plant

'We dye it with that, a plant, a plant for dyeing.'

In example 148, the element referred to (a doorway) is a place with respect to which the action is carried out:

148 punku yayku-ri-na-chaw
 door enter-pnct-sub-LOC
 'in the doorway'

4.2.2.2. Substantivizations with *-y*

Among the uses of *-y* 'infinitive'¹⁵ is its use to form simple (lexical?) substantives such as the following:

miku-y 'food' from *miku-* 'eat'
yapa-y 'again, another time' from *yapa-* 'to add to, to repeat'; e.g., *yapay-shi*
kontesta-n sapo (again-IND answer-3 frog) 'Again the frog answered.'

In example 149, *ushapaakuy* refers to a baptism and *qaray* refers to food:

149 Chay usha-paaku-y-chaw qasta-n achka-ta tesureeru llapan
 that baptize-diff-inf-LOC spend-3 much-OBJ treasurer all
 mayuraasa-n-kuna-ta atindi-r qara-y-nin-ta qu-shpa-n.
 mayuraasa-3P-OBJ attend-adv feed-inf-3P-OBJ give-adv-3P
 'The treasurer spends a lot in that baptismal ceremony,
 attending to his attendants (*mayuraasa*), giving (them) food.'

In example 150, *aruy* refers to work:

150 Imay-taq usha-nki aru-y-niki-ta...
 when-?? finish-2 work-inf-2P-OBJ
 'When will you finish your work...?'

In example 151, *ayway* refers to a trip:

151 Kondor kada aywa-y-nin yaku puyñu-n-ta mana kacha-yku-q.
 condor each go-inf-3P water jug-3P-OBJ not leave-impact-NRP
 'Every time the condor went he did not leave his water jug
 behind.'

In example 152, *chayamuy* refers to an arrival:

152 ...pishta-shu-nki qam-ta kumpaarrí-n chaya-mu-y-nin-ta.
 slaughter=>2-2 you-OBJ compadre-3P arrive-afar-inf-3P-OBJ
 '...they will slaughter you upon their compadre's arrival.'

In example 153, *kuyay* refers to one who is loved:

153 Mayqani-:-taq mas kuya-y-niki ka-:?
 which-1P-?? more love-inf-2P be-1
 'Which of us (excl) do you love more?'

In example 154, *kuyay* is a modifier; it means 'beloved':

¹⁵See 13.3.2.2 for infinitival uses of *-y*.

154 Ay Padre Santo, kuya-y wawa-yki-pa huti-n-chaw
Oh father holy love-inf child-2p-GEN name-3P-LOC

chay-lla-ta-mi mana-ku-:.
that-just-OBJ-DIR ask-refl-1

'Oh Holy Father, I ask just that in the name of your beloved son.'

In example 155, *usunkay* refers to the sensation of a limb which has gone to sleep:

155 Usunka-y paasa-pti-n shiriri-n.
without:sensation-inf pass-adv-3P tingle-3

'When its being asleep (a limb) has passed, it tingles.'

In example 156, *pallay* refers to a harvest:

156 Chay-chaw aru-shka-: tee palla-y-chaw.
there-LOC work-perf-1 tea gather-inf-LOC

'I worked there in the tea harvest.'

In example 157, *rutuy* refers to a session of cutting hair:

157 Aqcha rutu-y ka-n.
hair cut-inf be-3

'There is hair-cutting going on.'

In example 158, *churakuynin* refers to manner of dress:

158 Warmi-kaq lomismo chura-ku-y-nin ...
woman-def same:way put-refl-inf-3P

'In the same way, what the woman has put on (i.e., her clothing) ...'

In examples 159 and 160, *chakay* refers to 'dark/night' (derived from *chaka*- 'be dark') and *qasa-y* refers to 'the cold' (derived from *qasa*:- 'to be cold'):

159 ...chaka-y qasa-y-wan soorru mana awanta-sha-chu.
be:dark-inf be:cold-inf-COM fox not resist-3PERF-NEG

'...the fox was not able to stand the night cold.'

160 Chawra-qa chaka-y-pa seena-y usha-y-na-qa...
so-TOP be:dark-inf-GEN eat:supper-inf finish-inf-now-TOP

'So that night upon having finished supper ...'

yarpa-y (think-inf) may refer to 'thought, the faculty of thought' and *yarpa-y-POS* to the 'center of emotions and thought'. In example 161, *yarpaynin* refers to 'faith'; e.g.:

161 Piru yus-ninchi:-qa yarpa-y-ta qo-yku-pti-n-qa...
but god-12P-TOP think-inf-OBJ give-impact-adv-3P-TOP

'But if our God gives him faith (lit. 'thought') ...'

Other examples:

pacha wara-y (firmament dawn-inf) 'the twilight of dawn' from *wara*:- 'dawn'

warmi ashi-y (woman search-inf) an engagement practice in which a suitor and his relatives go to the home of the girl being sought, from *ashi*- 'search'

picha-paku-y (clean-inst-inf) 'the yearly cleaning of the irrigation canals'

papa yanu-y (potato boil-inf) 'a type of potato soup'

penqa-y-POS 'body parts of which to be embarrassed, i.e., genitals' from *penqa*- 'to be embarrassed, ashamed'

Another use of *-y* ‘infinitive’ is in forming “circumstantial infinitives”; these are accompanied by a case marker (*chaw* ‘LOC’ or *-wan* ‘COM’) and indicate the circumstances under which something was done or happened; e.g.:¹⁶

162 Kanan papel-niki-kuna tinku-chi-y-chaw lloqshi-nki alli...
now paper-2P-plur equal-caus-inf-LOC come:out-2 good

‘Now in (the circumstance of) seeing if your paper measures up, you will come out fine...’

163 ...qachwa-n-raq-shi kushi-ku-y-lla-wan "gaana-shka-nchi"
dance-3-yet-IND be:happy-refl-inf-just-COM win-perf-12

ni-r.
say-adv

‘...they even danced, being happy, saying “We won!”’

164 Macha-sha ka-y-ni:-wan maqa-shka-:.
be:drunk-prtc be-inf-1P-COM hit-perf-1

‘With the circumstance that I was drunk, I hit him.’

165 yawar-ni: mashta-sha ka-y-nin-pa...
blood-1P spread-prtc be-inf-3P-GEN

‘by my blood being shed...’

4.2.2.3. *-q* ‘substantivizer’

-q is used to form “agentive” nominalizations; e.g.:

pishtakuq ‘slaughterer’ from *pishta(ku)* ‘to slaughter’

arupakuq ‘day laborer, one who works for hire’ from *aru-* ‘to work’

rantikuq ‘salesman’ from *ranti+kU-* ‘sell’; e.g.:

166 Rantiku-q-lla ka-shka-: tyenda-chaw.
sell-sub-just be-perf-1 store-loc

‘I was just a salesman in the store.’

4.2.2.4. *-(:)*chi ‘one who does excessively’

-chi is a non-productive suffix meaning roughly ‘one who does excessively’; e.g.:¹⁷

tapu(:)chi ‘one who asks too many questions, a busybody’ from *tapu-* ‘to ask’

chirimana-:chi ‘one who has pants too tight’ (perhaps from *chiri-* ‘tight’)

a:yara:chi ‘one who stands around with his mouth open’ from *a:ya-* ‘yawn, have the mouth open’ and *-ra:* ‘stative’

¹⁶A direction for further study is to explore what constraints there are on what sort of circumstance may be indicated by an infinitive; e.g., the following is not acceptable:

*Maqa-ma-y-niki-wan maqa-shka-:.
hit=>1-inf-2P-COM hit-perf-1

‘With the circumstance that you hit me, I hit you.’

¹⁷Cusihuaman [14] (pg. 232) shows that in Cuzco Quechua *-ti* ‘characterizer’ is a productive suffix; e.g., *waqa-ti* ‘cry-baby’ from *waqa-* ‘cry’. Certainly Cuzco Quechua *-ti* is cognate with HgQ *-(:)*chi. *-(:)*chi corresponds somewhat to the Spanish suffix *-ón*; e.g., compare *tapu(:)chi* with *preguntón* ‘one who asks too many questions’.

4.2.2.5. -pa ‘substantivizer’

-pa ‘substantivizer’ is restricted to a few verbs; it is not a productive suffix.

willapa ‘news’ from *willa-* ‘to tell’
gasapa ‘frost’ from *qasa:-* ‘be cold’

4.3. Inflectional Suffixes Applying to Substantives

The inflectional suffixes that apply to substantives will be discussed in what is (roughly) their order of occurrence in the formation of a word: possessive (section 4.3.1), number (section 4.3.2), case (section 4.3.3), and other (section 4.3.4).

4.3.1. Possessive Suffixes

The first person possessive (glossed ‘1P’) is -: following short vowels and -ni: elsewhere. Here, -: represents a combination of three effects: (1) lengthening of the preceding vowel, (2) attraction of stress when -: ‘1P’ occurs word-finally (otherwise the penultimate syllable would be stressed, as discussed in section 23.7), and (3) (optional) lowering (to a highly variable degree) of a high vowel to mid, i.e., /i/ to [e] or /u/ to [o]. The first person refers to the speaker; e.g.:

umaa (pronounced [umá:]) ‘my head’ (cf. *uma* ‘head’)
wasii (pronounced [wasí:] or [wasé:]) ‘my house’ (cf. *wasi* ‘house’)
mayurnii (pronounced [mayurné:]) ‘my older (sibling)’ (cf. *mayur* ‘older (one)’)

The second person possessive (glossed ‘2P’) is -ki following /i/, -yki following other short vowels, and -niki elsewhere. The second person refers to the addressee (hearer, interlocutor); e.g.:

wasiki ‘your house’
umayki ‘your head’
mayurniki ‘your older (sibling)’

The third person possessive (glossed ‘3P’) is -n following short vowels and -nin elsewhere. The third person refers to some person/object *other than* the speaker or addressee; e.g.:

uman ‘his head’
mayurnin ‘his older (sibling)’

The first person plural inclusive possessive (glossed ‘12P’) is -nchi: following short vowels and -ninchi: elsewhere. The length of /i/ is realized only in open, nonfinal

syllables.¹⁸ The first person plural inclusive refers to the speaker *and* addressee; e.g.:

umanchi 'our (incl) heads'
mayurninchi 'our (incl) older sibling/siblings'
wasinchiiman 'to our (incl) house(s)'

The first person plural exclusive possessive (glossed '1P') is *-kuna* following vowels and *-ni:kuna* elsewhere. The first person plural exclusive refers to the speakers (plural) or the speaker *and some other* person, but excludes the addressee; e.g.: *Diosniikuna* 'our(excl) God' would refer to a God in which the speaker--but not the hearer--believes.

Various uses of the possessive suffixes are given in 12.3.2.

4.3.2. Number

The only suffix in this class is *-kuna* 'plural'. It is used for all pluralization of substantives; e.g.:

167 *Wasi-n-kuna-ta rika-:.*
 house-3P-plur-OBJ see-1
 'I see his houses.'

4.3.3. Case and Case-like

The case marking suffixes indicate the relationship of the substantive to which they are suffixed to the verb of the clause in which that substantive is a member. A full discussion of each of these is given in chapter 10; what follows is intended as a cursory survey:

-∅ 'nominative'; e.g.:

168 *Warmi-ki-∅ ka-n-chu?*
 woman-2P-NOM be-3-YN?
 'Do you have a wife?'

-ta 'OBJECT'

accusative; e.g.:

169 *Achka-ta ranti-shka-:.*
 much-OBJ buy-perf-1
 'I bought lots.'

dative; e.g.:

¹⁸As discussed in section 23.8.10, word-final /iy/ becomes simply [i]. For example, *asi-y* (laugh-imp) 'Laugh!' is pronounced [ási]. Since the length of *-Ninchi:* does not occur word-final, it would not be inappropriate to say that this morpheme is really *-Ninchiy*, yielding *-(ni)nchi:* when followed by another suffix (which will in all cases leave the syllable open) but simply as *-(ni)nchi* word-finally. One reason for not doing this is that /iy/ never undergoes phonetic lowering (see section 23.8.2), but with *-Ninchi:* the long /i/ does; for example, *aywa-pti-nchi:-qa* (go-adv(ds)-12P-TOP) 'if we go' is pronounced [aywaptinche:qa]. If '12P' were *-nchiy* here, one would expect *[aywaptinchi:qa].

- 170 Wamra-:-ta qo-yku-nki.
 child-1P-OBJ give-impact-2
 'Give it to my child.'

direction; e.g.:

- 171 Llakun-ta aywa-yka-n.
 Llacon-OBJ go-impfv-3
 'He is going to Llacón.'

-*yaq* ~ -*kama* 'LIMitative';¹⁹ e.g.:

- 172 { a. -yaq
 LIM
 Punta { b. -kama aywa-shaq.
 peak LIM go-1FUT

a, b. 'I will go to the ridge.'

-*man* 'GOAL'; e.g.:

- 173 Wasi-:-man sha-mu-nki!
 house-1P-GOAL come-afar-2
 'Come to my house!'

- 174 Karu-man aywa-sha.
 far-GOAL go-3PERF
 'He went far (away).'

-*chaw* 'LOCative'; e.g.:

- 175 Chay-chaw ka-ku-chun!
 there-LOC be-refl-3IMP
 'Leave it there!' (lit. 'May it be there!')

-*paq* 'PURpositive'

benefactive; e.g.:

- 176 Qam-paq rura-nqa.
 you-PUR do-3FUT
 'He will do it for you.'

purposive; e.g.:

- 177 Miku-na-yki-paq ranti-shka-:.
 eat-sub-2P-PUR buy-perf-1
 'I bought it for you to eat.'

-*pita* 'ABLative'; e.g.:

- 178 Llakun-pita sha-mu-shka-:.
 Llacon-ABL come-afar-perf-1
 'I have come from Llacón.'
- 179 Qeru-pita rura-sha.
 wood-ABL make-3PERF
 'He made it from wood.'

¹⁹Despite considerable effort I have been unable to discern a difference in meaning between -*yaq* and -*kama*.

-rayku 'SAKE'; e.g.:

180 *Tamya-sha-n-rayku keeda-ra-n.*
rain-sub-3P-SAKE stay-past-3

'They stayed because of the rain.'

-naw 'SIMilarity' and *-niraq* 'like'; e.g.:

181
Pay miku-n kuchi
he eat-3 pig

{	a. -niraq. like
	b. -naw. SIM

a, b. 'He eats like a pig.' or
'He eats as though he were a pig.'

182 *Rumi-naw-ya-n.*
stone-SIM-become-3

'It is becoming like (a) stone.' or 'It is becoming stonelike.'

-wan 'COMitative'

instrument; e.g.:

183 *Illapa-wan wahu-chi-sha.*
rifle-COM kill-caus-3PERF

'He killed it with a rifle.'

accompaniment; e.g.:

184 *Pay-wan aywa-y.*
he-COM go-2!

'Go with him.'

-pa 'GENitive'

through; e.g.:

185 *Llakun-pa paasa-shka-:.*
Llacon-GEN pass-perf-1

'I passed through Llacon.' or 'I came by way of Llacon.'

to; e.g.:

186 *Llakun-pa aywa-:.*
Llacon-GEN go-1

'I go to Llacon.'

of; e.g.:

187 *Hwan-pa uma-n hatun.*
John-GEN head-3P big

'John's head is big.'

-pura 'AMONG'; e.g.:

188 *Ishka-n qellay-ta chura-n pullan-pura.*
two-2P money-OBJ put-3 half-AMONG

'The two of them pay the money half and half
(i.e., they split the bill).'

Case markers are also used on substantivized clauses to indicate various other

"adverbial" notions; see section 13.4 below.²⁰ For example:

time; e.g.:

189 Aywa-sha-n-kama puklla-shun.
go-sub-3P-LIM play-12IMP

'Let's play while he's gone (i.e., until he returns).'

190 Puri-yka-sha-n-chaw sapu-ta haru-sha.
walk-impfv-sub-3P-LOC frog-ACC step-3PERF

'As he was walking about, he stepped on a frog.'

purpose; for instance, see example 177.

reason; e.g.:

191 Sumaq chari-nki yawar pillchi-pa:-ma:-na-nchi:-pita.
well hold-2 blood splatter-ben=>1-sub-12P-ABL

'Hold it well so that its blood will not splatter on us.'

4.3.4. Other Inflectional Suffixes

Various suffixes apply to substantives and verbs alike:

- *-pa* 'GEN' in its use in the genitive construction (section 12.3)
- *-churaq* 'dubitive' (section 16.1) and *-chaq* 'surely'
- the question markers *-chu* 'YN?', *-taq* and *-raq* '??' (chapter 16)
- the suffix *-qa* 'TOP' (chapter 20)
- the evidential suffixes *-mi* 'DIR', *-shi* 'IND', and *-chi* 'CNJ' (chapter 21)

Other inflectional suffixes that apply to substantives are discussed in chapter 12, sections 12.6-12.8.

²⁰Weber [45], chap. 5.

Chapter 5

ADVERBS

This chapter treats adverbs of time (section 5.1), adverbs of degree (section 5.2), sentential adverbs (section 5.3), pre-adjectives (section 5.4), manner and means adverbs (section 5.5), and derived adverbs (section 5.6).

5.1. Time Expressions

This section deals with time adverbs. The discussion centers on substantives that refer to time rather than on simple lexical adverbs--because, while these words belong to the syntactic category of substantive,¹ they are used primarily as time adverbs. (Other sections relevant to time adverbs are: 19.4, which deals with *-raq* 'yet, still, not until', and 12.3.2.4, which deals with temporal expressions formed with the genitive construction.)

Adverbial clauses are often used to indicate time (see section 14.2); e.g.:

192 ...karnabal-paq simaana pishi-yka-pti-n.
carnival-PUR week lack-impfv-adv-3

'...one week before carnival.'

These will not be discussed further in this chapter.²

¹Thus they undergo processes typical of substantives, as, e.g., pluralization with *-kuna*, case marking, modification by other substantives, etc.

²Snow [38] (pg. 63) cites examples like the following, his no. 47, but I found nothing like this in HgQ:

Y upya-nqa-n punu-ka-ski-naq.
and drink-sub-3P sleep-pass-asp-NRP

'And having drunk, he dozed off.'

5.1.1. Named Times

Some units of time have names, e.g., the days of the week have names borrowed from Spanish:

<i>dumingu</i>	Sunday
<i>lunis</i>	Monday
<i>martis</i>	Tuesday
<i>mirkulis</i>	Wednesday
<i>huybis</i>	Thursday
<i>birnis</i>	Friday
<i>sabadu</i> or <i>sabaru</i>	Saturday

The months have names (borrowed from Spanish):

<i>eneeru</i>	January
<i>febreeru</i>	February
<i>marsu</i>	March
<i>abril</i>	April
<i>maayu</i>	May
<i>hunyu</i>	June
<i>hulyu</i>	July
<i>agostu</i>	August
<i>sitimri</i>	September
<i>oktubre</i>	October
<i>nobyemri</i>	November
<i>desyemri</i>	December

Examples:

193 *Febreeru killa qalla-ri-q-lla-chaw-na...*
February month begin-sud-sub-just-LOC-now

'At the beginning of February...'

194 *usha-q fibreeru-chaw*
finish-sub February-LOC

'at the end of the month'

195 *Chay-ta rura-n sabaru kallistu tardi.*
that-OBJ do-3 Saturday afternoon

'They do that the afternoon of *kallistu*-Saturday.'

196 *Chay-ta ni-n baara taapa-y rus noche.*
that-OBJ say-3 staff keep:vigil-inf cross night

'They call that the night of "baara taapay rus".'

5.1.2. Time Expressions and Case Markers

Virtually every case marker has some use in forming time expressions.³ These are treated briefly in chapter 10, and summarized in the following:

-*ta* 'OBJ' may indicate 'time lapsed' (see section 10.3); e.g.:

pichqa hunaq-ta 'five days hence (from now)' (Sp. *a los cinco días*)

-*chaw* 'LOC' may be used to express 'while, during the time' (See section 10.4); e.g.:

197 *Mas mas aywa-yka-sha-n-chaw-na-shi...*
more more go-impfv-sub-3P-LOC-now-IND

'As they are going along...'

³Weber [45], sec. 5.1.

198 Puñu-sha huk puñu-sha-lla-n-chaw.
sleep-3PERF one sleep-sub-just-3P-LOC

'He slept one sleep through (e.g., from the day before yesterday to yesterday).'

-paq 'PUR' may be used to indicate a length of time that is to elapse or to express 'by the time that' (see section 10.8.6); e.g.:

199 ...kontratu-ta rura-shun pusaq hunaq-paq.
contract-OBJ make-12IMP eight day-PUR

'...let's make a contract for eight days from now.'

200 ...chaya-na-n-paq aywa-ku-sha-na.
arrive-sub-3P-PUR go-refl-3PERF-now

'...by the time he₁ arrived, he_j had already gone.'

-man 'GOAL' may be used to indicate 'in a minute' (see section 10.6); e.g.:

mas raatu-man 'in a minute'

-pita 'ABL' may be used to express 'since' or 'after' (see section 10.5.7); e.g.:

201 Puñu-yka-sha-n-pita chakay...
sleep-impfv-sub-3P-ABL night

'In the night, after they were sleeping...'

See also example 1608, p.377.

-yaq or *-kama* 'LIM' may be used to express 'until' (see 10.7.2); e.g.:

202 Qachwa-n pacha wara:-na-n-kama.
dance-3 firmament dawn-sub-3P-LIM

'They dance until dawn.' (*pacha waraanan* 'very early in the morning, when it is barely light')

-pa 'GEN' may occur in expressions like *tardi-pa* (afternoon-GEN) 'in the afternoon'. (Such cases are rare; perhaps they are loan translations from Spanish *por la tarde*.)

5.1.3. Units of Time

The following are some of the substantives that refer to units of time:

<i>hunaq</i>	day
<i>killa</i>	month
<i>oora</i>	moment
<i>raatu</i>	moment (<i>mas raatu-man</i> 'in a moment')
<i>tuta</i>	morning
<i>wata</i>	year
<i>wichay</i>	era, period (fits here?)

Some examples of their use are:

203 marsu killa qalla-yku-q-chaw
March month begin-impact-sub-LOC

'at the beginning of March'

204 pullan killa-chaw
half month-LOC

'midmonth'

These words may be modified, as, e.g., by relative clauses or other substantives, as in the following:

205 Tapa-sha-n tuta almusa-y oora-naw...
 keep:vigil-sub-3P morning breakfast-inf time-SIM

'On the morning after they have kept vigil, about breakfast time...'

5.1.4. Times of Day

The system of telling time by hours has been borrowed from Spanish; e.g.:

laguna '1:00 p.m.' (from Sp. *la una*)

lasdosi '2:00 p.m.' (from Sp. *las dos*)

lasdoosi '12:00 a.m. (noon)' (from Sp. *las doce*); e.g.:

206 Kasi lasdoosi-na-shi tarin...
 almost noon-now-IND find-3

'When it is almost noon, they find...'

las sinko '5:00 p.m.' (from Sp. *las cinco*)

Other expressions for the time of day are:

pullan paqas 'mid day, noon'

taarri 'evening'; e.g.:

207 ...dumingu taardi nochi-chi-n...
 Sunday evening pass:night-caus-3

'...Sunday evening they make them pass the night...'

tuta 'morning'; e.g.:

208 ...miku-shka-: taarri tuta...
 eat-perf-1 evening morning

'...we ate every morning and every evening...'

The following expressions for times are based on the customary time of daily events:

kuchi pishtaq 'hour/time when a particular star (named *kuchi pishtaq*) rises'

chaqcha inti 'time of midmorning coca break'

mallway oora 'time of midafternoon coca break'⁴

kanan mallway 'this afternoon'

rimer wallpa waqay 'first rooster crow'

The following expressions for times are based on the shift between night and day, light and dark:

pacha waraa-na-n-kama (firmament dawn-sub-3P-LIM) 'firmament to dawn, i.e., of the sky, to get light'

pacha wara-sha (firmament dawn-prtc) 'when it has become completely light (about 6:00 a.m.)'

tuta 'morning, early'

chakay 'dark, night'

⁴In some areas there are two such breaks: *hatun mallway* 'large break (around 4:30)' and *taksha mallway* 'small break (around 2:30)'.

In example 209, time is expressed in terms of the position of sun; it refers to the evening after the sun has set but it is still light:

209 inti paasa-ri-pti-n llantu-lla-ta
 sun pass-pnct-adv-1P shade-just-OBJ
 'when the sun is past, in the shade'

5.1.5. Deictic Time Expressions

The time referred to by the following expressions depends on the time at which they are spoken:

mas chaka-y-lla-man (more be:dark-inf-just-GOAL) 'later at night' or 'later on that night',
kanan 'now, today', *kanan tuta* 'this morning'
mayna 'already'
naqa 'long ago'
ñaka+y+ta+raq 'some time later' (see 19.4)
ñawpata 'before, long ago'
qanyan 'yesterday', *qanyantin* 'the day before yesterday'
qepata 'sometime before'
tuta '(this) morning', *tuta-ñnin* 'next morning'
unay 'much time hence (either past or future)'
wara 'tomorrow'
wara-ntin 'the day after tomorrow'
waran+POS_x 'the next day with respect to x'
wara-ñnin hunaq (tomorrow-sup day) 'on the following day'
mas wara-ñnin (more tomorrow-sup) 'two days hence'
watan 'the next year'

-kuna 'plur' can be added to certain time expressions (either deictic or measure) to indicate a general time period; e.g.:

kay hunaq-kuna (this day-plur) 'one of these days'
kay killa-kuna (this month-plur) 'one of these months'
wara-kuna (tomorrow-plur) 'one of these days' (*warakuna* would be sooner than *kay hunaqkuna*)

In a narrative, the time reference of these expressions does not depend on the time of speaking, as in the cases just discussed, but rather on the "time frame" of the narrative. For example, the first time expression in example 210 (*mas pacha waraymannaqa*) establishes the time frame as very early in the morning, before it is light. The second time expression (*tutannin*) is by reference to that time frame; it indicates a time later that morning when it was fully light:⁵

⁵See the discussion of possessive suffixes with time words in section 12.3.2.4, and the use of *-Nnin* 'superlative' in 4.2.1.12.

210 Nirkur mas pacha wara-y-man-na-qa soorru wañu-sha.
 then more firmament dawn-inf-GOAL-now-TOP fox die-3PERF

Tuta-nnin wara:-mu-sha hapa-lla-n kundur.
 morning-sup dawn-afar-3PERF alone-just-3P condor

'Then more along toward dawn the fox died.
 The following morning the condor came into a new day alone.'

211 Chay-chaw puñu-sha wara-nnin yapay kuti-mu-na-n-paq.
 that-LOC sleep-3PERF tomorrow-sup again return-afar-sub-3-PUR

'They slept there, (planning) to return the next morning.'

-na 'now' may be used with temporal deictic expressions to make more explicit that they should be understood with respect to the present time (of speaking); e.g.:

212 Unay-na sirbi-ma-shka-nchi.
 time:distant-now serve=>1-perf-12

'He served us long ago.'

5.1.6. Denoting Periods of Time

A period of time may be denoted by quantifying the name of a time period; e.g.:

213 Chay-chaw kushi-sha qoya-shka-: kimsa killa.
 that-LOC be:happy-3PERF pass:time-perf-1 three month

'I remained there happily for three months.'

It may be expressed with the name of a time and a case marker, *-pita* 'ABL' to refer to the initiation of the time period and *-yaq* ~ *-kama* 'LIM' to refer to the end of it:

214 lunis-pita hwuybis-kama
 Monday-ABL Thursday-LIM

'from Monday to Thursday'

There are also lexical items which refer to time periods:⁶ *qoyati* 'all day long' (see example 215), *warati* 'all night, till dawn'⁷ and *may oora* 'for a long time' (i.e., several minutes). For example,

215 ...ripara-sha chay hunaq, qoyati.
 prepare-3PERF that day all:day:long

'...they prepared it that day, all day long.'

5.1.7. Other Time Adverbs

These are some simple time adverbs:

chay+lla+raq 'momentarily' (pronounced [chaylláraq] or [chayllará:])

tuta+lla 'early'

⁶These are distinct from expressions for the measure of a time period such as *wata* 'year' and *hunaq* 'day'.

⁷Parker [30], p. 103, posits *-t 'complete state (de-verbal nominalizer)' as a proto-Quechua B suffix; among others, he cites the following examples: *warat* 'all night long, till dawn', *ushakat* 'till it ends'.

raatu+lla 'just for a moment'
huk+lla 'right away, immediately'
tempaanuyaallaq 'very early' (perhaps derived from *tempaanu-yaq-lla?*)
qepa+ta+raq 'later on'
unay 'much time (past or projected)'
ñawpa+ta 'some time before'
may+na 'already'
na:qa 'long ago'

Some time adverbs are reduplicated expressions:

waran waran 'day after day'
watan watan 'yearly, annually'
paqaspa hunaqpa 'day and night'

Some examples of simple time adverbs are:

216 Tuka-q sakristan-naw-shi taarri chaka-y-pa
 ring-sub sacristan-SIM-IND afternoon be:dark-inf-GEN

wara-n wara-n.
 tomorrow-3 tomorrow-3

'Day after day, afternoons and evenings he would ring (the bell) as though he were the sacristan.'

5.2. Degree Adverbs

All degree adverbs are derived, i.e., there are no lexical degree adverbs. Examples follow:

fiyupa 'very much, a lot'; e.g.:

217 Fiyu-pa maqa-ma-sha.
 bad-adv hit=>1-3PERF

'He hit me really hard.'

218 Fiyu-pa yarqa-yka-:.
 bad-adv be:hungry-impfv-1

'I am very hungry.'

achkata means virtually the same as *fiyupa*. It probably originated in expressions like 219a where *achka* was an object. *achkata* can now be used in cases where *achka* cannot be construed as an object, such as 219b and c:

219 a. Achka-ta qo-ma-ra-n.
 much-OBJ give=>1-past-3

b. Achka+ta maqa-ma-ra-n.
 much hit=>1-past-3

c. Achka+ta punu-ra-n.
 much sleep-past-3

a. 'He gave me a lot.'

b. 'He hit me a lot.'

c. 'He slept a lot.'

pasaypa 'excessively'

ushaqpaq ‘completely’⁸

allaapa is occasionally used as a degree adverb, but its principle use is as a pre-adjective; see section 5.4 below.

5.3. Attitudinal Adverbs

Attitudinal adverbs express the speaker’s attitude toward the content. They apply to the propositional content of the entire sentence.

ichan(qa) ‘certainly, probably’

mihur ‘better (that)’ (from Sp. *mejor*); e.g.:

220 *Mihur* *wanu-yka-chi-shun.* *Allaapa-na naka-chi-ma-nchi.*
 better die-impact-caus-12IMP too:much-now suffer-caus=>1-12

‘Better that we kill him. He makes us suffer too much.’

rasun+pa ‘really, certain’; e.g.:

221 *Rasun+pa* *qoykushayki.*
 really give-dir-1=>2FUT

‘I will really give it to you (i.e., I tell you truthfully...)’

simri seems to be used to animate the hearer to concede to some request made by the speaker. (We might call it an adverb of “solicitation.”)

For example:

222 *Simri* *willa-ma-y imanir-taq qam...*
 still tell=>1-2IMP why-?? you

‘Still, tell me why you...’

223 *Aywa-ku-shun simri.*
 go-refl-12IMP still

‘Still, let’s go!’

5.4. Pre-Adjectives

The pre-adjectives are *allaapa*, *sumaq*, *pasaypa*, and *fiyupa*.⁹

allaapa ‘very, excessively’ occurs before substantives used as modifiers, to amplify the property indicated by that modifier:

224 *Taqay allaapa awkis-na.*
 that too old-now

‘That one is too old now.’

sumaq, *pasaypa*, and *fiyupa* all mean ‘very’

Suppose one is speaking of tables with smooth tops; he may say 225a, referring to the very smoothest table. On the assumption that the hearer knows he is speaking

⁸*ushaqpaq* is derived from *usha-* ‘finish’ and *-qpaq* ‘result’; see Weber [45], sec. 5.5.

⁹The class of pre-adjectives and degree adverbs overlap somewhat; e.g., *pasaypa* and *fiyupa* are both degree adverbs and pre-adjectives. Further, *sumaq* is also used as a manner adverb meaning ‘very well’; see examples 227-229.

of tables, he may say 225b, leaving out *meesa* 'table'. And remarkably, on the assumption that the hearer knows that the speaker is concerned about the smoothness of the given tables, he may say 225c, leaving out *llushway* 'smooth' as well.

225 a. Sumaq llushway-nin meesa-ta apa-mu-nki.
very smooth-sup table-OBJ take-afar-2

b. Sumaq llushway-nin-ta apa-mu-nki.
very smooth-sup-Obj take-afar-2

c. Sumaq-nin-ta apa-mu-nki.
very-sup-Obj take-afar-2

- a. 'Bring the very smoothest table.'
b. 'Bring the very smoothest.'
c. 'Bring the very-est.'

In 225c, *sumaq* is a substantive; it has referential force and bears suffixes typical of substantives. This suggests that, in HgQ, "pre-adjective" is a subset of substantives.

5.5. Manner and Means Adverbs

hinalla/hinaylla 'like that'; e.g.:

226 Yaku hina-lla-raq niti-ra-yka-n allpa-ta.
water like:that-just-yet press-stat-impfv-3 ground-Obj

'The water still covered the ground like that.'

sumaq 'well'; e.g.:

227 Sumaq chari-ra:-mu-y!
well grab-stat-afar-2IMP

'Hold it well (over there)!'

228 Sumaq fiiha-y may-chaw ka-sha-n-ta-pis!
well establish-y where-loc be-sub-3P-Obj-indef

'Establish precisely where it is.'

229 ...karga-chaw sumaq sirbi-ku-pti-:
carrying-LOC well serve-refl-adv-1P

'...although I served well in carrying.'

mana alli 'badly'; e.g.:

230 ...mana alli rima-sha ka-r-pis.
not good speak-prtc be-adv-indef

'...although I was spoken of badly.'

Adverbs of means, i.e., adverbs expressing the means to achieve/accomplish some goal, are formed by *-naw-pa*. A consideration of 231 shows that *-naw+pa* makes "means" adverbs and not "manner" adverbs: "knowing" is not something that can be done in various manners, but one can come to know something by different means, so 231b is acceptable whereas 231a is not:

231 a. *Chay-naw	}	musya-ra-n. know-past-3
that-SIM		
b. Chay-naw+pa	}	
that-SIM+GEN		

b. 'In that way (by that means) he knew.'

Note too that adverbs formed by *-naw+pa* are very distinct from the similes formed by simple *-naw* (discussed in 10.11.2).

5.6. Derived Adverbs

Adverbs may be derived from substantives (section 5.6.1) or from verbs (section 5.6.2).

5.6.1. Adverbs Derived from Substantives

De-substantival adverbs are derived by *-ta* or *-pa*.

5.6.1.1. The De-Substantival Adverbializer *-ta*

-ta is not a productive adverbializer in HgQ, but there are a few adverbs derived from substantives with it. Perhaps these started as objects of transitive verbs; when they became adverbs they could then be used with intransitive verbs too. For example, from *achka* ‘much, many’ one gets *achkata*. Here are some others:

Degree

232 Aru-yka-n mas-ta.
work-impfv-3 more-ADV

‘He works more.’ or ‘He continues to work.’

233 Chanin-ta kubra-n.
expensive-ADV charge-3

‘He charges a lot.’

In example 234, *mas achka-ta* cannot be the object of *yayku-*, ‘enter’ because *yayku-* is an intransitive verb; 234 is acceptable because *achkata* is an adverb:

234 ...mas achka-ta yayku-na-n-paq.
more more-ADV enter-sub-3P-PUR

‘...so that more will enter.’

Direction

In example 235, the adverb *hanaqta* gives the direction of jumping:

235 Chawra hanaq-ta hanaq-ta hanaq-ta-na-shi rinka-yka-n.
So up-ADV up-ADV up-ADV-now-IND jump-impfv-3

‘So she jumped up and up and up.’

In example 1308, p.321, the adverb *ruri-ta* gives the direction of digging. In example 1039 (p.257) *mamanpa qepanta* indicates the direction the son is going. This spatial use of *qepanta* has been extended to a temporal use: *qepantaraq* ‘latter, following behind in time’, formed with *-raq* ‘yet’.

Time

In 236, *hunaqta paqasta* is a temporal adverbial phrase:

236 *Paqas-ta hunaqta aywa-ku-yka-:.*
 night-ADV day-ADV go-refl-impfv-1

'I go by night and day.'

237 *naka-y-ta-raq*
 take:a:long:time-inf-ADV-yet

'yet a while later'

Reason

238 *Aywa-nki-taq+chu tamyata-ga.*
 go-2-NEG rain-ADV-TOP

'Don't go because it is raining.'

(approx. 'How could you consider going? Its raining!')

5.6.1.2. The De-Substantival Adverbializer *-pa*

This section discusses adverbialization with *-pa*.¹⁰ In section 10.9, the case uses of *-pa* were discussed; there is no clear distinction between the use of *-pa* as an adverbializer and as a case marker. A wide range of adverbs are derived from substantives by *-pa*; e.g.: e.g.:

239	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a. } \text{chaki-pa.} \\ \text{b. } \text{chakay-pa.} \\ \text{c. } \text{sasa-pa.} \\ \text{d. } \text{rasun-pa} \end{array} \right.$	(foot-ADV)	means
Shamu-shka-:		(night-ADV)	time
come-perf-1		(difficult-ADV)	manner
		(real-ADV)	truth
'I came	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a. on foot.} \\ \text{b. by night.} \\ \text{c. with difficulty.} \\ \text{d. really.} \end{array} \right.$		

The following are some of the various functions of adverbs derived by *-pa*:

Means

See example 1538, p.366.

Degree

240 ...tukuy shonqo-:-pa yus-ta maña-ku-:.
 all heart-1-ADV God-OBJ pray-refl-1

'...I pray to God with all my heart.'

241 Chawra warmi-pa tayta-n mama-n fiyu-pa rabya-n...
 so woman-GEN father-3P mother-3P bad-ADV enrage-3

'So the woman's parents become very angry...'

¹⁰Two other relevant sections are 14.4 and 10.12: the former discusses adverbs derived from verbs by *-y+lla+pa*; the latter discusses (among more case-related uses) the manner-adverbials formed with *-naw+pa*.

Direction or Orientation

242 Nirkur ruri-n-pa allpa-ta uchku-n.
then downward-3P-ADV ground-OBJ dig-3

'Then he digs downward into the ground (describing a beetle).'

243 Uma-lla-n-pa ichi-ra-n.
head-just-3P-ADV stand-past-3

'He stood on his head.'

(Also see section 10.9.2.)

Time

taarri-pa (afternoon-ADV) 'late in the afternoon'

paqas-pa (night-ADV) 'by night'

244 Hunaq-pa punu-shka-:.
day-ADV sleep-perf-1

'I slept by day.'

chakay-pa (night-ADV) 'by night' from *chaka+y* (be:dark+inf) 'night'; e.g.:

245 Chakay-pa yayku-yku-r...
night-ADV enter-impact-adv

'Entering by night...'

246 Chakay-lla-pa chay rusyun-ta rura-n.
night-just-ADV that procession-OBJ do-3

'They have that procession just by night.'

Other

arde:-pa 'on purpose' from *arde* 'purpose'

huti-n-pa willa- (name-3P-ADV tell-) 'to identify by name'

alli buluntaa-pa (good will-ADV) 'with good will', as in example 1584 (p.373)

rasun-pa (reason-adv) 'really'; e.g.:

247 Rasun-pa o llulla-ku-nki?
real-ADV or lie-refl-2

'Really, or are you lying?'

248 Rasun-pa-mi muna-:.
real-ADV-DIR want-1

'I really want to.'

249 ...tapu-n llapan kasta-n-kuna moosu-ta rasun-pa ni-sha-n-ta
ask-3 all clan-3P-plur man-OBJ real-ADV ask-sub-3P-OBJ

'...all her clan ask her if she really said it to the young man (i.e., agreed to marry him).'

See also example 878, p.221.

5.6.2. Adverbs Derived from Verbs

5.6.2.1. By Substantivization and Then Adverbialization

De-verbal adverbs may be derived from verbs by first substantivizing and then forming an adverb with one of the de-substantival adverbializers discussed in section 5.6.1. Particularly common are those formed with *-y-(lla)-pa* (see section 14.4), i.e., first infinitivalization (by *-y* ‘inf’), optionally adding *-lla* ‘just’, and finally adverbialization with *-pa* (as discussed in section 5.6.1.2).

5.6.2.2. Adverbs Derived by *-q*

One sort of adverb derived by *-q*, that involved in the purpose-motion construction, is discussed in section 13.4.4.2.¹¹ This section will show another use of *-q* to form adverbs. (Because these seem to be limited to very few cases, this use of *-q* should not be considered productive.)

tumariq is an adverb meaning ‘all around’, derived from the verb *tuma-* ‘circulate, go about’ and *-q*; e.g.:

250 ...inteeru kantu-n-pa tumari-q adurnu-wan adurna-n.
entire edge-3P-GEN circle-adv ornament-COM adorn-3

‘...they adorn it with ornaments all around the edge.’

251 Chay-ta hana-lla-n-pa kuchu-nchi tumari-q
that-OBJ top-just-3P-GEN cut-12 circle-adv

ruri-n-kaq-ta mana daaña-yllapa.
inside-3P-def-OBJ not damage-adv

‘We cut that just on the surface, all the way around,
being careful not to damage that which is inside.’

Mana [X]-*pis pishi-q* ‘all X without exception’; e.g.:

252 ...llapan kumun aru-q aywa-n mana huk-pis pishi-q.
all community work go-3 not one-indef lack-sub

‘...all the community goes to work, not lacking one.’

253 ...listu ka-na-n llapan mana ima-pis pishi-q.
ready be-sub-3P all not what-indef lack-sub

‘...everything should be ready without a thing lacking.’

¹¹For a more complete discussion, see Weber [45], sec. 5.4.2.

Chapter 6

OTHER WORD AND SUFFIX CLASSES

This chapter deals with minor word classes, i.e., those other than substantives, verbs and adverbs (section 6.1), and with suffixes not restricted by class, i.e., ones that apply to substantives, verbs, and other classes (section 6.2).

6.1. Other Word Classes

Verbal, substantival, and adverbial elements have been discussed in the preceding chapters. This section deals with some small classes: negatives, interjections, inter-sentential connectives ("links"), etc.

6.1.1. Negative

There are but two words in this class:

ama 'neg' is used with imperatives and conditionals; e.g.:

254 Ama sha-mu-y-chu!
not come-afar-2IMP-NEG

'Don't come!'

255 Ama chay-naw-qa ka-chun-chu.
not that-SIM-TOP be-3IMP-NEG

'May it not be that way!'

256 Ama rura-pa:-ma-shwan.
not do-ben==>1-12COND

'He might not do it for us.'

mana 'no/not' is used elsewhere; e.g.:

257 Mana rura-shka-:-chu.
not do-perf-1-NEG

'I did not do it.'

- 258 Sumaq chari-shka-: mana qeshpi-na-n-paq.
 well grab-perf-1 not escape-sub-3P-PUR
 'I held it well so that it would not escape.'

6.1.2. Interjections

There are two sorts of interjection. Some express reactions to external stimuli:

- achachaw* in reaction to something frightful or in reaction to pleasure (e.g.,
 good food)
akachaw in reaction to heat
ananaw in reaction to pain
allallow in reaction to cold

Others express emotions:

- achiyaa* to express pleasure
wawitu/wawiitu to express pity

6.1.3. Interactionals

The following are useful for successful interpersonal interaction:

- pakillaa* 'Thank you (upon receiving a gift)' (derived from Sp. *Díds se lo pague*)
awmilla(a) 'Thank you (upon accepting an invitation or receiving help or some service)'
kaa 'Here!' (i.e., 'Take it!')
katay 'Here, take it.' (from Sp. *Acá está*)
aytaa 'There it is.' (from Sp. *allí está*)
kayllaa 'Here (when returning something)'
haa 'Huh?' (i.e., 'Say again!')
imaa 'What? (to respond when being addressed or called)'
maa 'Let's see!' This generally co-occurs with a verb in the imperative; e.g.:

- 259 Maa koorri-shun.
 run-12IMP

'Let's run! (to see which of us will win).'

- 260 Maa deeru-yki-ta hati-y.
 finger2P-OBJ put:in-2IMP

'Stick your finger in (into its eyes, to verify that it is dead).'

- 261 Maa yupa-pa:-ma-y.
 count-ben-->1-2IMP

'Count them out for me (so that I can verify that there are as many as you say).'

kuyraa 'Be careful (not to), watch out (that not)' (from Sp. *cuidado*); see section 14.1.7 for examples and discussion.

6.1.4. Links

Links are words which occur (generally) as the first word of a non-initial sentence in a narrative. Links function as boundary markers between sentences, and indicate--to a very limited degree--the relation of the second sentence to the first. The most common links are:

chawra(s) 'so, then' is derived from *chay oora(s)* 'that time'

chaypita 'thereafter, then' is *chay* 'that' and *-pita* 'ABL'

nirkur/nikur/niykur 'thereupon, then' is derived from *ni-* 'say', a pre-transition suffix, and then *-r* 'adverbial clause, same subject'

All three are glossed simply as 'then'. Of the three, *chawra* is the most neutral. *Nirkur* 'thereupon' and *chaypita* 'thereafter' differ roughly in the time lapse indicated between the two events, *nirkur* indicating a short lapse and *chaypita* indicating a potentially long lapse. A more complete discussion and examples are given in section 18.4.

6.2. Suffixes Not Restricted to Class

Previous sections have introduced suffixes that apply just to substantives and suffixes that apply just to verbs. The suffixes discussed in this section (sometimes "independent" suffixes) may apply to words of any category except to some of the small, closed classes such as interjections, interactional (imperatives), and links (discussed in section 6.1). Except as they co-occur one with another, these suffixes always occur word-final. Their use is to some extent determined by discourse-related factors; since no small amount of discussion would do them justice, I will attempt none here. Various subclasses can be distinguished.

6.2.1. Shading Suffixes

The following are referred to as *shading* suffixes because they add fine shades of meaning:

-lla 'just, diminutive'; e.g.:

262 Kamcha-lla-ta miku-:.
toasted:corn-just-OBJ eat-1

'I just eat toasted corn.'

-pis ~ *-si* 'even, also, indefinite' (glossed 'indef' throughout, even when the meaning is clearly "even," "also," etc.); e.g.:

263 Noqa $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{-si} \\ \text{-pis} \\ \text{-indef} \end{array} \right\}$ aywa-shaq.
I go-1FUT

'I, too, will go.'

-na 'now, already'; e.g.:

264 Chaya-mu-sha-na.
arrive-afar-3PERF-now

'He has already arrived.'

-raq 'still, yet'; e.g.:

265 *Punu-yka-n-raq.*
 sleep-impfv-3-still
 'He is still sleeping.'

-na and *-raq* are temporally oriented while *-lla* and *-pis* have much more to do with the speaker's attitude toward what he is communicating. The shading suffixes are discussed in great detail in chapter 19.

6.2.2. Evidential Suffixes

These primarily indicate the source of information (firsthand, secondhand, conjecture); secondarily they may indicate the degree to which the speaker believes the sentence to be true. Generally only one occurs per sentence. They do not co-occur with each other, but do co-occur with the shading suffixes.

-mi 'direct information, assert'
-shi 'indirect information'
-chi 'conjecture'
-chaq 'surely'

These are discussed in chapter 21. A suffix much related to this class is *-qa* 'topic'¹ this suffix is discussed in chapter 20.

6.2.3. Question-Negative

The following are used to form questions and to negate:

-chu 'negative' or 'yes/no question marker'; e.g.:

266 *Aywa-nki-chu?*
 go-2-YN?
 'Are you going?' or 'You are not going.'

-taq is a question marker for WH questions; in using it, the speaker presupposes that the addressee knows answer to the question being asked; e.g.:

267 *Pi-taq chaya-mu-sha?*
 who-?? arrive-afar-3PERF
 'Who arrived?'

-raq is also a question marker for WH questions; however, it does not presuppose that the addressee knows answer to the question; e.g.:

268 *Pi-raq chaya-mu-sha.*
 who-?? arrive-afar-3PERF
 'Who might have arrived?'

¹There is some evidence that *-qa* belongs to the same distributional category as the evidentials: like the evidentials, it follows the shading suffixes, and does not co-occur with negation. It virtually never co-occurs in the same word with one of the evidential suffixes.

Chapter 7

WORD FORMATION

This chapter has three sections:

- the structure of verbs (section 7.1)
- the order of suffixes (section 7.2)
- word formation from the perspective that suffixes are operators (section 7.3)

7.1. The Structure of the Verbal Word

HgQ verbs have four parts, the first and third of which are obligatory, the second and fourth of which are optional:¹

+-----+
root/stem pre-transition transition post-transition
(obligatory) (optional) (obligatory) (optional)
+-----+

Table 7-1: The Structure of the Verbal Word.

For example, the parts of *maqaykama.nanpaq* ‘in order for him to hit me’ are as follows:

+-----+
stem pre-transition transition post-transition
-----+-----+-----+-----
maqa- -ykU -ma:nan -paq
+-----+

The “transition” is a complex of suffixes that function together to indicate the person of the object and subject, and the tense/subordination relationship (see section 8.1.2). A brief summary of pre-transition, transition, and post-transition suffixes will be given in this chapter.

¹I have adopted the term *transition* from the term *transición*, used in colonial descriptions of Quechua and Aymara to refer to combinations of subject and object persons (e.g., first person acting on second person, etc.). Whereas their use was basically semantic, I use the term to refer to a particular complex of suffixes.

7.1.1. Introduction to Pre-Transition Suffixes

The pre-transition suffixes are discussed fully in chapter 9 below. They have sometimes been referred to as "derivational suffixes,"² and include various diverse kinds of suffixes: aspectual suffixes, derivational suffixes, deictic markers, etc. The order of these suffixes is somewhat variable (see section 7.2). The following is a summary list of the pre-transition suffixes:

- rI* 'plural (subject or object)' occurs following a directional suffix (-*ykU*, -*rkU*, -*rpU* or -*rqU*), the reflexive suffix -*kU*, or a reciprocal suffix -*nakU*; e.g., *aywa-rkU:-ri-r* (i.e., /*aywarka.rir*/) 'they having gone'
- :shi* 'to help/accompany' *aru:-shi-* (work-help) 'to help work'
- cha:* 'make, cause to become' (an old causative form); e.g., *wamra-cha:-* (child-make-) 'to adopt; lit. to make (one's) child'
- chakU* 'repeatedly' *maki-chaku-* (hand-repeatedly-) 'to steal repeatedly (petty theft)'
- chi* 'causative' *wañu-chi-sha* (die-cause-3PERF) 'he killed him'
- ka:* 'passive'; e.g., *allcha-ka-sha* (fix-passive-3PERF) 'he got well' (lit. 'he was fixed'); *maqa-ka-sha* (hit-passive-3PERF) 'he was hit'
- ka:kU* 'completely'; e.g., *wañu-ka:ku-sha* (die-complete-3PERF) 'he died' (the verb *wañu-* is sometimes used to refer to unconsciousness)
- kU* 'reflexive', this extremely common suffix has a diffuse meaning, roughly 'for the benefit of self'
- lla:* 'polite'
- mu* 'cis/trans-locative' (see discussion in section 9.2)
- na:* 'desiderative' *miku-na:-* (eat-desid-) 'to want to eat'
- nakU* 'reciprocal'; e.g., *maqa-naku-* (hit- recip) 'to hit one another'
- pa* (non-productive) 'benefactive'
- pakU* 'verbalizer' *qonqor-paku-* (knee-verbalizer-) 'to kneel'
- pa:* 'benefactive'; e.g., *maqa-pa:-ma-n* (hit-ben=>1-3) 'he hit him for me (i.e., to my benefit or detriment)'
- pa:kU* 'plural'; e.g., *aywa-pa:ku-n* (go-plur-3) 'they (all together) go'
- pU* 'benefit'
- ra:* 'stative/durative'; e.g., *puñu-ra-yka-n* (sleep-stat-impfv-3) 'he is sleeping'
- rI* 'punctual'
- rka* 'plural' occurs only before -*yka:* 'impfv' *aywa-rka-yka-n* (go-plur-impfv-3) 'they are going'
- rkU* 'up, thereupon'; e.g., *chaya-rku-r willamasha* (arrive-thereupon-ADV he:told:me) 'upon arriving he told me'
- rpa* 'plural stative/durative'; this suffix occurs where -*ra:* 'stative/durative' would occur in the singular; e.g., corresponding to the singular 269a is the plural 269b:

²These suffixes have been the object of several studies; for Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua see Larsen [21], Parker [31], and Swisshelm's study in Pantoja et al. [28]; for Northern Junín Quechua, see Sayk Cruz [36].

- 269 a. Punku kicha-ra-yka-n.
 door open-stat-impfv-3
- b. Punku-kuna kicha-rpa-yka-n.
 door-plur open-plstat-impfv-3
- a. 'The door is open.'
 b. 'The doors are open.'

-rqU 'out'

-yka: 'imperfective'; e.g., *aywa-yka-n* (go-impfv-3) 'they are going'

-ykacha:/-kacha: 'vacillating'; e.g., *puri-ykacha-n* (travel-vacil-3) 'he wanders (aimlessly) about'

-ykU 'directly'

7.1.2. Introduction to the Transitions

The transition is a complex of suffixes which indicate the person of the object (if any), the person of the subject, and the tense or subordinator. See chapter 8 for a description of how the transitions are formed. At this point it will suffice to list them. The columns of table 7-2 contain finite tenses (PRESENT, FUTURE, etc.) and the columns of 7-3 contain nonfinite forms (ADVERBIAL and SUBSTANTIVE). The rows contain combinations of subject and object person. The notation $x=>y$ indicates that the subject is x-person (i.e., first person if 1, second person if 2, third person if 3, and first person plural inclusive if 12) and that the object is y-person (i.e., first person if 1, etc.). Thus, $3=>1$ indicates a third person subject and a first person object. The $3=>1$ PRESENT transition would be used as in *rika-man* (see- $3=>1$ PRES)³ 'he sees me'. The $x=>3$ transitions (where x is 1, 2, 3, or 12) are used for intransitive verbs, when X is the person of the subject.

	PRESENT	PAST	PERFECT	FUTURE	IMPERATV	CONDITIONL
2=>1	-manki	-marayki	-mashkanki	-manki	-may	-mankiman
3=>1	-man	-maran	-masha	-manqa	-maachun	-manman
3=>12	-manchi:	-maranchi:	-mashkanchi:	-maashun	-maashun	-mashwan
3=>2	-shunki	-shurayki	-shkashunki	-shunki	-shunki	-shunkiman
3=>3	-n	-ran	-sha	-nqa	-chun	-nman
2=>3	-nki	-rayki	-shkanki	-nki	-y	-nkiman
12=>3	-nchi:	-ranchi:	-shkanchi:	-shun	-shun	-shwan
1=>3	-n	-ra:	-shka:	-shaq	---	-:man
1=>2	-:	-ra:	-shka:	-shayki	---	-:man

Table 7-2: Nonsubordinating Transitions of HgQ.

³Note how this transition is glossed, with $x=>y$ TENSE where x is the person of the subject, y is the person of the object, and TENSE is the tense or subordinator. This sort of glossing will be used occasionally when glossing the entire transition, rather than the morphemes of which it is composed.

In addition to the transitions given in table 7-2, there are various compound tenses:

narrative past (see sections 8.13 and 8.9); e.g.:

270 Macha-sha ka-y-ni:-wan, alkaldi-ta maqa-naq ka-:.
drunk-prtc be-inf-1P-COM mayor-OBJ hit-NRP be-1

'Being drunk, I hit the mayor.'

imminent (see section 8.11); e.g.:

271 Tuni-na-n-paq ka-yka-n.
fall-sub-3-PUR be-impfv-3

'It is about to fall.'

habitual (see section 8.9); e.g.:

272 Kuka chaqcha-q ka-:.
coca chew:coca-sub be-1

'I used to chew coca.'

273 Uysha-ta suwaku-g.
sheep-ACC steal-NRP

'He would steal sheep.'

conditional (see section 8.7); e.g.:

274 Alli ka-nman ka-ran.
good be-3=>3COND be-3=>3PAST

'It would have been good.'

Simple transitions and compound constructions that result in finite verbs have been discussed. We will now consider transitions that form nonfinite verbs, typically used in subordinate clauses.

ADVERBIAL SUBORDINATORS			SUBSTANTIVAL SUBORDINATORS			
	-pti	-shpa	-r	-sha	-na	-q
2=>1	-maptiki	-mashpayki	-mar	-mashayki	-maanayki	
3=>1	-maptin	-mashpan	-mar	-mashan	-maanana	-maq(ni:)
3=>12	-maptinchi:	-mashpanchi:	----	-mashanchi:	-maananchi:	-maqinchi:
3=>2	-shuptiki	-shushpayki	-shur	-shushayki	-shunayki	-shuq(niki)
3=>3	-ptin	-shpan	-r	-shan	-nan	-q(nin)
2=>3	-ptiki	-shpayki	-r	-shayki	-nayki	
12=>3	-ptinchi:	-shpanchi:	-r	-shanchi:	-nanchi:	
1=>3	-pti:	-shpaa	-r	-sha:	-na:	
1=>2	-pti:	-shpaa	-r	-sha:	-na:	

Table 7-3: Subordinating Transitions of HgQ.

The clauses subordinated by *-pti* are adverbial clauses whose subject is not co-referential to the subject of the superordinate clause (i.e., the one to which the *-pti* clause is subordinated); e.g.:

275 Maqa-ptiki haytashunki.
hit-2=>3ADV he:will:kick:you

'After/Since/If you hit him, he will kick you.'

The clauses subordinated by *-r* and *-shpa* are adverbial clauses whose subject is co-referential to the subject of the superordinate verb/clause; e.g.:

276 Maqa- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a. } -\text{mar} \\ \text{=>1ADV} \\ \text{b. } -\text{mashpan} \\ \text{3=>1ADV} \end{array} \right\}$ hayta-shunki.
hit kick-3=>2FUT

a,b. 'When/After he hit me, he kicked you.'

The clauses subordinated by *-sha*, *-na*, and *-q* are used as relative or nominalized clauses:

277 Maqa-mashan runa haytashunki.
hit-3=>1SUB man he:will:kick:you

'The man who hit me will kick you.'

278 Maqa-mashan-ta musya-n.
hit-3=>1SUB-OBJ know-3=>3

'He knows that he hit me.'

279 Aywa-nan hunaq chayan.
go-3=>3SUB day it:arrives

'The day arrives on which he is to go.'

280 Aywa-nan-ta munaa.
go-3=>3SUB-OBJ I:want

'I want him to go.'

7.1.3. Introduction to the Post-Transition Suffixes

The post-transition suffixes include:

- the case markers (*-ta*, *-chaw*, *-paq*, etc.) follow substantivized verbs (see chapter 10)
- the pluralizer *-kuna*
- the "shading" suffixes *-lla* 'just', *-pis* ~ *-si* 'even', *-na* 'now', and *-raq* 'still' (see chapter 19)
- evidentials *-mi*, *-shi*, *-chi* (see chapter 21)
- the so-called "topic" marker *-qa* (see chapter 20)
- *-paq* 'future' follows future transitions to make explicit that the event indicated is to happen sometime in the future; e.g., *aywa-nki* can mean 'you go' (present), 'you will go' (future), or 'go!' (imperative), but *aywanki-paq* can only mean 'you will go'
- *-churaq*⁴ 'dubitive' is used to express a yes/no question for which the hearer is not presupposed to know the answer; e.g., *tamyā-nqa-churaq* (rain-3=>3FUT-dubit) 'might it rain?'
- *-man* 'conditional' (see 8.7); e.g., *aywa-:-man* (go-1=>3PRES-COND) 'I should go'

⁴This may be two suffixes: *-chu* 'YN?' followed by 'yet'; it is described here as a single suffix because its meaning is not obviously a function of the parts.

7.2. Suffix Order

The suffixes of HgQ generally occur in a fairly fixed order, but in some cases the order is free. There are basically three groupings: pre-transition, transition, and post-transition. The order of transition suffixes are discussed in chapter 8. This section treats the order of pre- and post-transition suffixes.

7.2.1. The Order of Pre-Transition Suffixes

Section 7.2.1.1 discusses some generalities about the order of these suffixes. Section 7.2.1.2 shows that alternate orders are possible, that some orders correlate with differences in meaning while others do not. Section 7.2.1.3 shows that the same suffix may occur more than once in the pre-transition zone. Finally, section 7.2.1.4 discusses some specific ordering constraints.

7.2.1.1. Generalities Regarding the Order of Pre-Transition Suffixes

There are some general tendencies concerning the order in which pre-transition suffixes occur:

1. Order is largely dictated by what one intends to say. Generally suffixes have in their "scope" all that precedes in the word (and perhaps more to the left); i.e., the meaning of a sequence of *n* morphemes is the meaning of the first *n-1* as modified by the *n*-th. Examples are given in section 7.2.1.2 below.
2. Suffixes that derive verbs from substantives precede other pre-transition suffixes. Consider example 281: *-chi* and *-cha:* both mean roughly 'cause'. *-cha:* occurs far left in 281b because it derives a verb from the substantive. On the other hand, *-chi* must follow *-ya:* in 281a because *-ya:* derives the verb:

281	Nina qoshpu-	{	a. <i>-ya-yka:-chi-n</i>	}	aqcha-n-ta.
	fire curly		b. <i>-cha-yka-n</i>		hair-3P-OBJ
	'The fire made his hair curly.'				

Of course, derivational suffixes may be preceded by other derivational suffixes:⁵

282	a.	<i>hucha-yoq-ya:-chi-</i>
		guilt-have-become-cause-
	b.	<i>qeshya-q-ya:-chi-</i>
		be:sick-sub-become-cause-
	c.	<i>miku-y-nirraq-ya:-</i>
		eat-inf-just:like-become-
	a.	'cause to become guilty'
	b.	'to make sickly (i.e., cause to become a sick person)'
	c.	'become just like food'

⁵I regard *-yoq*, *-q*, *-nirraq*, and *-ya:* as all being derivational suffixes.

3. The suffixes that undergo morpho-phonemic lowering tend to occur early in the pre-transition "zone" (i.e., they tend leftward); suffixes that cause morpho-phonemic lowering tend to occur late in the pre-transition zone (i.e., they tend rightward). Thus *-chi* and *-mu* generally occur far right, since they cause lowering; the directionals tend to occur far left, since they undergo lowering; and *-rI* 'plural' generally occurs in between, since it both undergoes and causes lowering; e.g., /hama-ykU:-rI-chi-r/ [hamayka:ráchir] 'seating them'.
4. Aspectual suffixes tend rightward (as though they were trying to reach the position of a tense marker). For example, *-yka:* 'imperfective' tends rightward. (In fact, it may occur following the object marker with habitual meaning: *maqa-ma-yka-n* (hit=>1-impfv-3) 'he habitually hits me'.)
5. Suffixes that modify the lexical meaning of a verb tend to occur close to that verb (i.e., tend leftward); suffixes that relate to a larger context tend rightward (since they naturally have wider scope). For example, *-ykU* may be used to indicate that a verb is carried out forcefully, modifying the sort of action indicated by the verb. In this case it tends leftward. But *-ykU* may also be used to indicate politeness; in this case it tends rightward (see example 471 below).

7.2.1.2. Alternate Order of Suffixes

The order of suffixes is sometimes dictated by what one intends, and alternate orders of suffix correlate with differences in meaning. Generally, the meaning of the whole is a product of the last suffix applied to the meaning of what precedes it. Consider example 283:

- 283 a. *Asi-chi-naku-nchi*.
 laugh-caus-recip-12
- b. *Asi-pa:-nakU-chi-ma-nchi*.
 laugh-ben-recip-caus=>1-12
- a. 'We make each other laugh.'
 b. 'He makes us laugh at each other.'

In 283a, the meaning of *asi-chi-naku-* is the result of modifying the meaning of *asi-chi-* 'cause to laugh' by *-nakU* 'reciprocal'. In 283b, the meaning of *asi-pa:-nakU-chi-* is the result of modifying the meaning of *asi-pa:-nakU-* 'laugh at each other' by *-chi* 'cause'. Thus, the order of *-chi* and *-nakU* are dictated by what one intends rather than an absolute ordering convention.⁶

Another example is 284, with alternate orders of *-chi* 'cause' and *:-shi* 'accompany':

⁶For Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua, Parker [31] says that *-chi* 'cause' may come between the *-na* and *-kU* of the reciprocal; this is not possible in HgQ.

- 284 a. Aru-chi-:shi-shu-nki.
work-caus-help-=>2-2
- b. Aru-:shi-chi-shu-nki.
work-help-caus-=>2-2
- a. 'He will make another to work for you.'
b. 'He will make you help another work.'

(A further example is 471, p.134.)

Not all suffix ordering is determined by semantic scope; e.g., *-mu* is always placed as far right as possible (in the pre-transition zone). To see this, consider example 285:

- 285 qati-:shi-mu-shu-na-yki-paq
herd-accom-afar-=>2-sub-2P-2
- 'in order to help you herd them (to here)'

From a semantic point of view, one would expect *-mu* to immediately follow *qati* 'herd' to say 'herd toward here', but such is not the case. This is because of *-mu*'s firm ordering convention, which overrides the tendency for order to reflect semantic scope.

In some cases alternate orders of pre-transition suffix makes little appreciable difference (although I suspect that alternate orders always signal some difference). Consider the bit of text in example 286; in 286a *-chi* 'causative' precedes *-ri* 'punctual', and in 286c it follows:⁷

- 286 a. Allqu-nchi miku-na-n-paq wanu-chi-pa-ri-shun.
dog-12P eat-sub-3P-PUR die-caus-ben-punct-12IMP
- b. Wara apa-nki washa pampa-pa.
tomorrow take-2IMP over:there plain-GEN
- c. Chay-chaw wanu-ri-chi-mu-nki.
that-LOC die-punct-caus-afar-2IMP
- a. 'Let's kill it for our dogs to eat.'
b. 'Tomorrow take it to that plain.'
c. 'Kill it over there.'

Example 287 shows alternate orders of *-chi* 'causative' and *-ku* 'reflexive'. In these cases the order of the suffixes seems to correlate with semantic scope, that is, CAUSE[SELF(incur:guilt)] in 287a and SELF[CAUSE(die)] in 287b. However, the order of *-ku* in 287a may be due to co-lexicalization with *huchalli*-:

- 287 a. Huchalli-ku-chi-shu-nki.
incur:guilt-refl-caus-=>2-2
- b. Wanu-chi-ku-sha.
die-caus-refl-3PERF
- a. 'He makes you incur guilt (to yourself).'
b. 'He killed himself.'

⁷The order in 286c. has nothing to do with *-mu*; the same speaker uses (in another text) *wanu-ri-chi-naq* 'he had killed them'.

7.2.1.3. Multiple Occurrences of a Suffix

Some suffixes may occur more than once per word.⁸ The multiple occurrences are not necessarily adjacent.

- 288 Wanu-chi-chi-nqa.
die-caus-caus-3FUT
'He₁ will have him_j kill him_k.'
- 289 Maña-ku-yku-ku-sha.
ask-refl-impact-refl-3PERF
'He asked (him).'

7.2.1.4. Specific Constraints on the Order of Pre-Transition Suffixes

There are a number of specific constraints on the order of suffixes. A brief list follows:

1. *-mu* 'afar' tends as far right as possible in the pre-transition zone;⁹ e.g.:
290 Sha-rI-mu-nki. 'Come back in just a moment.'
Sha-rqU-mu-nki. 'You just came a moment ago.'
Sha-yka:-mu-n. 'He is coming.'
Sha-yka:-chi-mu-n. 'He is making him come.'
2. *-rka* 'plural' must directly precede *-yka:* 'imperfective'; see section 9.3.
3. The pluralizer *-rI* must follow a directional suffix (*-rkU* 'up', *-ykU* 'in', etc.) or *-kU* 'reflexive' or *-nakU* 'reciprocal'; see example 291b, and the discussion in section 9.3.
4. *-rI* and *-ra:* precede *-ykU* and *-yka:* (respectively); see section 9.4.3.
5. *-pa:* precedes the directional suffixes:

⁸Some cases, like the following, are due to the fusion of the suffix as part of the root, and do not constitute real examples of this phenomenon:

- a. ya+yku-yku-y (enter-impact-2IMP)
b. hita+rI-rI-yku-mu-n (throw+pnct-pnct-impact-afar-3)
a. 'come in!'
b. 'he throws them (down to the ground)'

⁹The following is an apparent counter-example:

- Sha-mu-chi-ma-sha.
come-afar-caus=>1-3PERF
'He made me come here.'

Seemingly, *-chi* may follow *-mu*. But this is because *sha-* and *-mu* are becoming a single lexical item: *sha-mu-* 'come'. (In other dialects, e.g., Huaraz (Ancash), *sha-* and *-mu* have become fused into a single, inseparable unit.) Evidence of this is that this word has both *-mu* 'afar' and *-ma:* '=>1', which generally do not co-occur.

- 291 a. Afila-pa-rku-shu-nki.
sharpen-ben-up=>2-2
- b. Aywa-pa-ykU-:rI-ma-nqa.
go-ben-impact-plur=>1-3FUT
- a. 'He will sharpen it for you (a bit later, not right now).'
- b. 'They will go directly for my benefit.'

-pa: also precedes *-ra*: 'stative/durative':

- 292 Chari-pa-ra-:shayki.
grab-ben-stat-1=>2FUT
- 'I will be holding it for you.'

7.2.2. The Order of Post-Transition Suffixes

We now turn to the order of post-transition suffixes.

7.2.2.1. The Order of Post-Transition Suffixes for Substantives

The order of post-transition suffixes for substantives is as follows:¹⁰

possessive	plural	case	shading	evidential	post-positions
-:	-kuna	-ta	-lla	-mi	(-)kaq
-yki		-chaw	-na	-shi	(-)kama
-n		-pita	-raq	-chi	(-)ari
-nchi		-man	-pis	-qa	
		etc.			

Table 7-4: The Order of Post-Transition Suffixes for Substantives.

For example:

- 293 wamran-n-kuna-pita-pis-shi
child-3P-plur-indef-IND
- 'even from their children (it is said)'

This order would also apply to the suffixes following substantives derived from verbs (e.g., derived by suffixes such as *-sha* 'sub' and *-q* 'sub'):

- 294 a. aywa-yka-sha-:kuna-chaw-na-qa
go-impfv-sub-1P-plur-LOC-now-TOP
- b. rigi-q-kuna-paq-qa
believe-sub-plur-PUR-TOP
- a. 'now as we were going along'
- b. 'for those who believe'

Different orders of post-transition suffixes, depending on meaning, are possible. For example, *-kuna* 'plural' may precede or follow *-pa* 'genitive'; the order depends

¹⁰*Post-position* is included in this diagram for post-positions which may cliticize, such as *(-)kaq* 'definite' and *(-)kama* 'respectively'; see sections 12.7 and 12.6.

on what is pluralized:¹¹

- 295 a. *qam-pa-kuna-ta* (you-GEN-plur-OBJ)
 b. *qam-kuna-pa-ta* (you-plur-GEN-OBJ)
- a. 'to those which belong to you'
 b. 'to the one which belongs to you(plur)'

-naw 'similarity' may precede or follow other case markers with no difference in meaning:

- 296 a. *runa-man-naw* (man-GOAL-SIM)
 b. *runa-naw-man* (man-SIM-GOAL)

a,b. 'as though to a man'

- 297
- | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| <i>Ishka-n tikra-sha huknaylla</i>
two-3P turn-3PERF one | } | a. <i>-man-naw.</i>
GOAL-SIM |
| | | b. <i>-naw-man.</i>
SIM-GOAL |

a,b. 'Both became as though one.'

7.2.2.2. The Order of Post-Transition Suffixes for Verbs

The order of suffixes following the transition is as given in table 7-5. The transition supplement comprises the suffixes *-paq* 'future' and *-man* 'conditional'. The shading suffixes are discussed in chapter 19. The post-positions are *kama* 'respective', *kaq* 'definite', and *pacha* 'ever'.¹² The class labeled "evidential" is broader than the class of evidential suffixes discussed in chapter 21, including (among others) the negative and interrogative markers.

+-----+-----+-----+	+-----+-----+-----+	+-----+-----+-----+	+-----+-----+-----+
transition supplement	shading	evidential	post-positions
-paq	-lla	-mi	(-)kaq
-man	-na	-shi	(-)kama
	-pis	-chi	(-)pacha
	-raq	-qa	(-)ari
+-----+-----+-----+	+-----+-----+-----+	+-----+-----+-----+	+-----+-----+-----+

Table 7-5: The Order of Post-Transition Suffixes for Verbs.

Examples follow:¹³

¹¹One might think that the order *-kuna-pa* in 295 is possible because *qam+kuna* acts as a unit. However, this order of *-kuna* and *-pa* is widely attested; e.g., *wasi-kuna-pa* (house-plur-GEN) 'by way of the houses'.

¹²These are syntactically bound to the preceding verb, and may either occur phonologically dependent on it, in which case the word does not bear two (independent) stresses, or as independent, in which case the word and the post-position each has its own stress.

¹³The following does not fit because *-raq* is a shading suffix and *-taq* and *-chu* would be evidentials or post-positions; I have no explanation.

Puñu-yka-n-taq-raq-chu?
 sleep-impfv-3-??-yet-YN?

'He couldn't still be sleeping?'

298 *Aywa-shaq-paq-mi*.
go-1FUT-future-DIR

'I will go.'

299 *Rura-ka-n-man-mi*.
do-pass-3-cond-DIR

'It might be done.'

7.2.2.3. The Order of Post-Transition Suffixes for Adverbs

The order of post-transition suffixes for adverbs is as in table 7-6. These adverbs may be either lexical adverbs or adverbs derived with, e.g., *-r* or *-pti*.

shading		evidential	post-positions
-lla	-mi	(-)ari	
-na	-shi		
-pis	-chi		
-raq	-qa		

Table 7-6: The Order of Post-Transition Suffixes for Adverbs.

Examples follow:

300 *aywa-yka-pti-n-na-shi*
go-impfv-adv-3P-now-IND

'now as he was going along'

301 *miku-rku-r-raq-mi*
eat-up-adv-yet-DIR

'yet after I eat'

7.3. Suffix-as-Operator Morphology

One way to view word-formation processes is to treat suffixes as operators over categories. The categories used here pair two elements:¹⁴

1. The class is V (verb), S (substantive), or R (adverb), exactly as used elsewhere in this thesis.
2. The valence is 0, 1, or 2.

The valence of *x* is the number of referents (individuals or sets of individuals) for which the grammatical person must be indicated by affixes attached to *x*, for the composite to be well-formed. For example, in Quechua an intransitive verb stem has valence 1, because it lacks a suffix to indicate the person of the subject; *aywa* 'go' is not a well-formed word, but *aywa-n* (go-3SUBJ) 'he goes' is. A transitive stem has valence 2, because the persons of both the subject and the object must be indicated; *maqa-* (hit) is not a well-formed word, nor is *maqa-ma:-* (hit=>1) 'hit me', but *maqa-ma-n* (hit=>1-3) 'he hits me' is a well-formed, speakable word. Thus, *maqa-* has valence 2, *maqa-ma:-* has valence 1, and *maqa-ma-n* has valence 0.

¹⁴Assuming that the categories are simple pairs <class, valence> is a heuristic convenience. Allowing categories to be sets of features adds considerable power to this approach.

Two things should be noted about this definition:

1. "Valence" is not the number of affixes needed to indicate the referents. For example, a single affix may indicate both the subject and object. The Quechua suffix *-shayki* indicates first person subject, second person object, and future tense: *maqa-shayki* (hit-1=>2FUT) 'I will hit you'; nevertheless, the valence of *maqa-* is 2.
2. "Referent" is not intended to mean the number of participants. The valence of *sleep* in 'Seven million Americans are sleeping' is 1 and not seven million! A plural category counts as one referent; e.g., the valence of *maqa-* in *maqa-paaku-n* (hit-PLURAL-3) 'they hit him / he hits them / they hit them' is still 2.

Valence plays an important role in Quechua morphology because (a) suffixes may change valence, and (b) the occurrence of a suffix may be conditioned by valence. For example, returning to *maqa-ma-n* 'he hits me', each of the suffixes reduces the valence by one:

<i>maqa-</i>	has valence 2
<i>maqa-ma-</i>	has valence 1
<i>maqa-ma-n</i>	has valence 0

Note that *-ma* '=>1' reduces the valence to 1, and must follow a stem of valence 2. Notationally this will be represented as follows:

$[maqa]_{V2}$	or simply $maqa_{V2}$	'hit'
$[[maqa]_{V2}ma]_{V1}$	or simply $maqa_{V2}ma_{V1}$	'hit me'
$[[[maqa]_{V2}ma]_{V1}n]_{V0}$	or simply $maqa_{V2}ma_{V1}n_{V0}$	'he hits me'

Some suffixes affect neither valence or category; e.g., see *-yka:* and *-mi* in example 302:

302	$Aywa_{V1}yka_{V1}n_{V0}mi_{V0}$	$(go_{V1}impfv_{V1}3_{V0}DIR_{V0})$
	'He is going.'	

Not all valence-changing affixes indicate the person of the referent (like those shown to this point). Some, like a passive, reflexive, and reciprocal, simply reduce the valence, while aspectuals and tense simply pass it on unchanged; e.g.:

303	$Maqa_{V2}ka_{V1}ra_{V1}n_{V0}$	$(hit_{V2}pass_{V1}past_{V1}3_{V0})$
	'He was hit.'	

304	$Maqa_{V2}naku_{V1}n_{V0}$	$(hit_{V2}recip_{V1}3_{V0})$
	'They hit each other.'	

Some affixes, (e.g., benefactive and causative) increase the valence; e.g.:

305	$Aywa_{V1}pa_{V2}ma_{V1}n_{V0}$	$(go_{V1}ben_{V2}=>1_{V1}3_{V0})$
	'He goes for me.'	

306	$Aru_{V1}chi_{V2}nki_{V0}$	$(work_{V1}cause_{V2}=>3_{V1}2_{V0})$
	'You make him work.'	

It is possible to classify each suffix for its operational effect. In table 7-7, suffixes are given as operating *from* the category listed at the left *to* the category listed at the top. (The categories used combine the classes V (verb), S (substantive), and R (adverb) with the valence (0, 1, or 2).) For example, *-pa* in the third box of the

top row operates on S0's to yield R0's. Because space did not permit all the suffixes to be listed in the table, some labels refer to classes of suffixes which are listed directly below table 7-7; e.g., EVD is a class including *-mi*, *-shi*, etc.

	S0	S1	R0	R1	V0	V1	V2
S0	EVD CASE SHD POS -ni -kuna -taq -raq -la: -kaq HAVE LIKE	-ni	-pa -koq			-na: -ya: -cha: -ta: -pa(kU)	-pa: -cha(kU)
S1	POS	-lla					
R0			EVD SHD				
R1			POS	-lla			
V0					EVD SHD -paq -man -churaq -kuna		
V1	-y -na -sha -:ni -chi	-na -sha	-r -y+lla+pa	-pti -shpa	PERSON	TENSE PRTRN -lla: -na: PLURAL	-chi -pa: -:shi -kU -cha -pU
V2					-shayki -shkashunki	OBJECT -ka:	PRTRN

Table 7-7: The Operational Effect of Suffixes.

Terms used in table 7-7 for classes of suffix are as follows:

CASE: *-ta*, *-yaq*, *-kama*, *-wan*, *-man*, *-chaw*, *-paq*, *-pita*, *-pa*

EVD (EVIDENTIAL): *-mi*, *-shi*, *-chi*, *-qa*

HAVE: *-pa*, *-sapa*, *-yanaq*, *-yoq*

LIKE: *-naw*, *-niraq*

OBJECT: *-ma:*, *-shu*, \emptyset (for third person objects)

PERSON: *-:*, *-nki*, *-n*, *-nchi:*, *-shwan*, *-naq*, *-sha*, *-y*, *-chun*, *-shun*, *-shaq*,
-nqa

POS (POSSESSIVE): *-:*, *-Yki*, *-n*, *-nchi:*

PRTRN (PRE-TRANSITION):

plural: *-:rI*, *-pa:kU*, *-rka*, *-rpa*

aspect: *-yka:*, *-rI*, *-ra:*, *-ka:kU*

direct: *-ykU*, *-rkU*, *-rpU*, *-rqU*

other: *-kU*, *-chakU*, *-lla:* etc.

SHD (SHADING): *-na*, *-raq*, *-pis* ~ *-si*, *-lla*

TENSE: *-ra*, *-shka*

The following list of analyzed suffix combinations is included to illustrate suffix-as-operator morphology:¹⁵

¹⁵This represents approximately every 16th combination taken from a list derived from a computer-generated word list of several texts.

- $R_0lla_{R_0}na_{R_0}$ (-just-now)
- $s_0:s_0mi_{s_0}$ (-1P-DIR)
- $s_0chaw_{s_0}pis_{s_0}$ (-LOC-indef)
- $s_0ki_{s_0}kuna_{s_0}wan_{s_0}$ (-2P-plur-COM)
- $s_0kuna_{s_0}paq_{s_0}$ (-plur-PUR)
- $s_0la:s_0$ (-side)
- $s_0lla_{s_0}ta_{s_0}$ (-just-OBJ)
- $s_0lla_{s_1}n_{s_0}wan_{s_0}mi_{s_0}$ (-just-3P-COM-DIR)
- $s_0^n_{s_0}chaq_{s_0}$ (-3P-surely)
- $s_0^n_{s_0}kuna_{s_0}ta_{s_0}pis_{s_0}$ (-3P-plur-OBJ-indef)
- $s_0^n_{s_0}ta_{s_0}$ (-3P-OBJ)
- $s_0naw_{s_0}chu_{s_0}$ (-SIM-NEG)
- $s_0^nchi:s_0mi_{s_0}$ (-12P-DIR)
- $s_0ni_{s_1}n_{s_0}pa_{R_0}$ (- \emptyset -3P-GEN)
- $s_0nnin_{s_0}pa_{s_0}$ (-sup-GEN)
- $s_0pa_{R_0}shi_{R_0}$ (-GEN-IND)
- $s_0pita_{s_0}taq_{s_0}$ (-ABL-??)
- $s_0ta_{s_0}naw_{s_0}$ (-OBJ-SIM)
- $s_0ya_{V_1}nki_{V_0}$ (-bec-2P)
- $s_0yki_{s_0}man_{s_0}$ (-2P-GOAL)
- $v_1:v_0chaq_{V_0}$ (-1-surely)
- $v_1chaku_{V_1}na_{s_1}n_{s_0}paq_{s_0}$ (-concen-sub-3P-PUR)
- $v_1chi_{V_2}\emptyset_{V_1}na_{s_1}:s_0kuna_{s_0}paq_{s_0}$ (-caus= \Rightarrow 3-sub-1P-plur-PUR)
- $v_1chi_{V_2}\emptyset_{V_1}na_{s_1}n_{s_0}$ (-caus= \Rightarrow 3-sub-3P)
- $v_1chi_{V_2}\emptyset_{V_1}sha_{s_1}n_{s_0}pita_{s_0}$ (-caus= \Rightarrow 3-sub-3P-ABL)
- $v_1chi_{V_2}\emptyset_{V_1}sha_{V_0}qa_{V_0}$ (-caus= \Rightarrow 3-3PERF-TOP)
- $v_1chi_{V_2}\emptyset_{V_1}y_{s_0}ta_{s_0}$ (-caus= \Rightarrow 3-inf-OBJ)
- $v_1chi_{V_2}ma:v_1na_{s_1}n_{s_0}paq_{s_0}$ (-caus= \Rightarrow 1-sub-3P-PUR)
- $v_1ku_{V_1}na_{s_1}n_{s_0}chaw_{s_0}$ (-ref-sub-3P-LOC)
- $v_1ku_{V_1}pti_{R_1}n_{R_0}$ (-ref-adv-3P)
- $v_1ku_{V_1}rku_{V_1}sha_{V_0}$ (-ref-up-3PERF)
- $v_1ku_{V_1}shun_{V_0}$ (-ref-12FUT)

- $v_1ku_{v_1y_{s_0}ta_{s_0}}$ (-ref-inf-OBJ)
- $v_1mu_{v_1n_{v_0}chu_{v_0}}$ (-afar-3-YN?)
- $v_1mu_{v_1na_{s_1}n_{s_0}paq_{s_0}}$ (-afar-sub-3P-PUR)
- $v_1mu_{v_1sha_{v_0}chu_{v_0}}$ (-afar-3PERF-YN?)
- $v_1mu_{v_1shka_{v_1:v_0}kuna_{v_0}}$ (-afar-perf-1P-plur)
- $v_1n_{v_0}pis_{v_0}chu_{v_0}$ (-3-indef-NEG)
- $v_1na_{s_1}n_{s_0}man_{s_0}$ (-sub-3P-GOAL)
- $v_1na_{s_1}n_{s_0}pita_{s_0}$ (-sub-3P-ABL)
- $v_1na_{s_1}n_{s_0}yaq_{s_0}qa_{s_0}$ (-sub-3P-LIM-TOP)
- $v_1pa_{v_2}\emptyset_{v_1}ra_{v_1}n_{v_0}$ (-ben= \Rightarrow 3-past-3)
- $v_1pa:v_2\emptyset_{v_1}na_{s_1:s_0}paq_{s_0}pis_{s_0}$ (-ben= \Rightarrow 3-sub-1P-PUR-indef)
- $v_1pa:v_2ma_{v_1}nqa_{v_0}$ (-ben= \Rightarrow 1-3FUT)
- $v_1pa:v_2naku_{v_1}ra_{v_1}n_{v_0}$ (-ben- recip-past-3)
- $v_1pa_{v_1}q_{s_0}kaq_{s_0}ta_{s_0}$ (-ben-sub-def-OBJ)
- $v_1pa_{v_1}yku_{v_1}n_{v_0}shi_{v_0}$ (-ben-dir-3-IND)
- $v_1pti_{R_1}n_{R_0}$ (-adv-3P)
- $v_1q_{R_0}na_{R_0}$ (-sub-now)
- $v_1q_{s_0}kuna_{s_0}qa_{s_0}$ (-sub-plur-TOP)
- $v_1r_{R_0}pis_{R_0}$ (-adv-indef)
- $v_1r_{R_0}shi_{R_0}$ (-adv-IND)
- $v_1rI_{v_1}ykU_{v_1}mu_{v_1}q_{s_0}ta_{s_0}$ (-asp-dir-afar-sub-OBJ)
- $v_1ra_{v_1}q_{s_0}$ (-stat-sub)
- $v_1ra_{v_1}sha_{v_0}$ (-stat-3PERF)
- $v_1ra_{v_1}yka_{v_1}q_{s_0}man_{s_0}$ (-stat-impfv-sub-GOAL)
- $v_1ri_{v_1}ku_{v_1}r_{R_0}$ (-pnct-ref-adv)
- $v_1ri_{v_1}na_{s_0}$ (-pnct-sub)
- $v_1ri_{v_1}r_{R_0}raq_{R_0}$ (-pnct-adv-yet)
- $v_1ri_{v_1}sha_{s_1}nchi_{s_0}$ (-pnct-sub-12P) (-pnct-sub-12P)
- $v_1rkU_{v_1}chi_{v_2}\emptyset_{v_1}r_{R_0}$ (-asp-caus= \Rightarrow 3-adv)
- $v_1rkU_{v_1}mu_{v_1}pti_{R_1}lla_{R_1}n_{R_0}$ (-asp-afar-adv-just-3P)
- $v_1rka_{v_1}yka_{v_1}n_{v_0}$ (-plur-impfv-3)
- $v_1rka_{v_1}yka_{v_1}pti_{R_1:r_0}kuna_{R_0}$ (-plur-impfv-adv-1P-plur)

- $v_1 rku_{v_1 r_{R0}} pis_{R0}$ (-asp-adv-indef)
- $v_1 rku_{v_1 sha_{V0}} chu_{V0}$ (-asp-1FUT-YN?)
- $v_1 sha_{S1:S0} naw_{S0}$ (-sub-1P-SIM)
- $v_1 sha_{S1:S0} ta_{S0} pis_{S0}$ (-sub-1P-OBJ-indef)
- $v_1 sha_{S1 n_{S0}} ta_{S0} shi_{S0}$ (-sub-3P-OBJ-IND)
- $v_1 sha_{S1} nchi_{:S0} man_{S0}$ (-sub-12P-GOAL)
- $v_1 sha_{S1} nchi_{:S0} ta_{S0}$ (-sub-12P-OBJ)
- $v_1 sha_{S0} qa_{V0}$ (-prtc-TOP)
- $v_1 shka_{V1:V0} kuna_{V0}$ (-perf-1-plur)
- $v_1 shka_{V1:V0} mi_{V0}$ (-perf-1-DIR)
- $v_1 y_{S0} ni_{S1} lla_{S1 n_{S0}} wan_{S0} chu_{S0}$ (-inf-NI-just-3P-COM-NEG)
- $v_1 y_{S0} ni_{S1 n_{S0}} kuna_{S0} wan_{S0}$ (-inf-NI-3P-plur-COM)
- $v_1 ykU_{V1:ri_{V1}} sha_{V0}$ (-in-plur-3PERF)
- $v_1 ykU_{V1} chi_{V2 \emptyset} v_1 n_{V0}$ (-in-caus-=>3-3)
- $v_1 yka_{V1} pti_{R1:R0} kuna_{R0}$ (-impfv-adv-1P-plur)
- $v_1 yka_{V1} pti_{R1 n_{R0}} shi_{R0}$ (-impfv-adv-3P-IND)
- $v_1 yka_{V1} sha_{S1:S0} chaw_{S0}$ (-impfv-sub-1P-LOC)
- $v_1 yka_{V1} sha_{S1:S0} kuna_{S0} pita_{S0}$ (-impfv-perf-1-plur-ABL)
- $v_1 yka+cha_{V1} yka_{V1} nki_{V0}$ (-iter-impfv-2)
- $v_1 yka_{:V1} chi_{V2 \emptyset} v_1 sha_{S1} lla_{S1 n_{S0}} wan_{S0}$ (-impfv-caus-=>3-sub-just-3P-COM)
- $v_1 yka_{:V1} lla_{V1 r_{R0}} shi_{R0}$ (-impfv-pol-adv-IND)
- $v_1 yku_{V1 r_{R0}} mi_{R0}$ (-in-adv-DIR)
- $v_1 yku_{V1} sha_{V0}$ (-in-3PERF)
- $v_2 kU_{V1} rkU_{V1:ri_{V1 r_{R0}}}$ (-refl-asp-plur-adv)
- $v_2 kU_{V2} ma_{V1} sha_{S1} yki_{S0} naw_{S0}$ (-refl-=>1-sub-2P-SIM)
- $v_2 ka_{V1} sha_{V0}$ (-pass-3PERF)
- $v_2 ka_{:V1} mu_{V1} ra_{V1 n_{V0}}$ (-pass-afar-past-3)
- $v_2 ka_{:V1} na_{S1 n_{S0}} pita_{S0}$ (-pass-sub-3P-ABL)
- $v_2 ku_{V1 n_{V0}} man_{V0} na_{V0} chu_{V0}$ (-refl-3-cond-now-YN?)
- $v_2 ku_{V1} nki_{V0} na_{V0} chari_{V0}$ (-refl-2-now-surely)
- $v_2 ku_{V1} rka_{V1} yka_{V1 n_{V0}}$ (-refl-plur-impfv-3)
- $v_2 ku_{V1} shka_{V1:V0}$ (-refl-perf-1)

- $v_2ku_{v_1}yku_{v_1}r_{R0}$ (-refl-in-adv)
- $v_2ma_{v_1}q_{s0}ni_{s1}s_0$ (\Rightarrow 1-sub-NI-1P)
- $v_2ma_{v_1}sha_{v_0}$ (\Rightarrow 1-3PERF)
- $v_2naku_{v_1}n_{v_0}$ (-recip-3)
- $v_2shu_{v_1}sha_{s0}yki_{s0}qa_{s0}$ (\Rightarrow 2-sub-2P-TOP)
- $v_2yka:v_2shu_{v_1}nki_{v_0}$ (-impfv= \Rightarrow 2-2)

Chapter 8

TRANSITIONS AND TENSE

This chapter treats the formation and uses of the transitions. The transition is a complex of suffixes that function together to indicate the person of the object (if any), the person of the subject (possibly by reference to some other clause), and the tense (for finite verbs) or subordinator (for nonfinite verbs).¹ Section 8.1 presents various preliminaries, and following sections treat, one by one, the various transitions; the order of presentation is roughly (1) simple finite tenses, (2) compound finite tenses, (3) nonfinite transitions, first those that substantivize and then those that adverbialize.

8.1. Preliminaries

This section introduces some concepts which are basic to the transition.

8.1.1. Person

The person markers are by far the most frequent morphemes in HgQ. There are two sets,² those used on verbs and those used on non-verbs (including simple substantives, substantivized clauses, and adverbial clauses). Those used for verbs will be referred to as person markers and those used for non-verbs will be referred to as possessive suffixes.

¹I took the term "transition" from the Spanish *transición*, which was used in early Quechua grammars to refer to the possible subject-object relationships, i.e., first person subject and second person object, first person subject and third person object, etc. As such, *transición* was a semantic notion. By contrast, I have used "transition" to refer to a structural complex of verbal morphology. Perhaps INFL might have been a more appropriate label.

²It appears that the only difference between these two sets of person markers is in the second person. However, the possessive suffixes all have allomorphs beginning with /-ni/, used following consonants and long vowels. In some Quechua languages (particularly in the A branch) there are more distinctions than in HgQ; e.g., in the first person -ni for verbal and -y for non-verbal.

	+VERBS	-VERB
1	-:	-NI:
11	-:kuna	-NI:kuna
12	-nchi:	-NInchi:
3	-n	-NIn
2	-nki	-NIYki**

(**See section 23.8.9.)

Table 8-1: Person Markers.

The forms of example 307 illustrate the verbal person markers:

307	aywa-:	'I go'
	aywa-:kuna	'we(excl) go'
	aywa-nchi:	'we(incl) go'
	aywa-nki	'you go'
	aywa-n	'he goes'

The forms of example 308 illustrate the possessive suffixes:

308	uma-:	'my head'	hatun-ni:	'my big one'
	uma-:kuna	'our(excl) heads'	hatun-ni:kuna	'our(excl) big one'
	uma-nchi:	'our(incl) heads'	hatun-ninchi:	'our(incl) big one'
	uma-yki	'your head'	hatun-niki	'your big one'
	uma-n	'his head'	hatun-nin	'his big one'

In HgQ, *-:kuna* (-1-plur) is fusing to form a new person marker *-:kuna* 'first person plural exclusive (11)'. It is most common in the perfect tense; e.g., *aywa-shka-:kuna* (go-perf-11) 'we(excl) went'. It occurs in other tenses as well; e.g., in the present: *puri-rka-yka-:kuna* (travel-plur-impfv-11) 'we(excl) are going'. It also occurs as a possessive suffix; e.g., *rura-na-:kuna-paq* (do-sub-11P-PUR) 'in order that we(excl) do it'.

8.1.2. Introduction to the Transition

In section 7.1.2, the transitions were introduced as a single, unanalyzed complex. This section discusses the internal structure of the transition. It should be studied carefully, as following chapters presuppose an understanding of the data presented here.

The structure of the transition is basically as follows:

object marker	tense marker/subordinator	subject marker

For example, the parts of *maqaykama.nanpaq* 'in order for him to hit me' are as follows:

pre- stem	transition	transition			post- transition
		object	subordinator	subject	
maq-a-	-yku	-ma:	-na	-n	-paq

The transitions are best understood as follows. Suppose that person markers (for subject) are represented 1, 12, 2, and 3; object markers are represented $=>1$ and $=>2$ for first and second person, respectively; and any suffix marking first person subject and second person object is represented as $1=>2$. Then the system is as follows:

		O B J E C T			
		1	12	2	3
S	1	---	---	$1=>2$	1
U					
B	12	---	---	---	12
J					
E	2	$=>1$ 2	---	---	2
C					
T	3	$=>1$ 3	$=>1$ 12	$=>2$ 2	3

Table 8-2: The Basic Transition System.

Note that:

1. A third person object is indicated by the absence of an overt object marker; consequently, transitive verbs with third person objects are marked just like intransitive verbs.
2. In HgQ, reflexives ("he hit himself"), reciprocals ("they hit each other"), and plurals ("we hit him" "they hit us") are not indicated in the transition. They are indicated by pre-transition suffixes; see sections 9.3 and 9.6.
3. In the $3=>12$ and $3=>2$ forms, the subject slot suffix reflects the person of the object rather than of the subject. This anomaly (which I refer to as the "subject marking anomaly") affects all tenses and subordinate transitions. Example 309 provides convincing evidence that the use of a second person subject marker following a second person object marker is simply the language's mechanism to indicate a third person subject:³

- 309 a. Maqa-shu-y-ta muna-n.
hit- $=>2$ -INF-OBJ want-3
- b. Maqa-y-ta muna-shu-nki.
hit-INF-OBJ want- $=>2$ -2
- a,b. 'He wants to hit you.'

In 309b, the object suffix of the infinitival complement is moved into the main verb. But this has caused the subject marking to be adjusted: in 309a it is *-n* 'third person'; but in 309b it becomes *-nki* 'second person'. This is because of the subject marking anomaly: to indicate a third person following *-shu* ' $=>2$ ' requires a second person suffix.

³While some reflex of the subject marking anomaly is found in virtually every Quechua dialect, some have regularized considerably toward a straight object-tense-subject pattern, where the subject marking reflects the person of the subject. For example, in varieties in northern Perú, the $3=>2$ PAST form may be *-shu-rqa-n* rather than *-shu-rqa-nki*. I take such regularization, which occurs in different forms in different dialects, as indicative that the SMA really is rather anomalous.

Example 309a is ungrammatical in many Quechua dialects; 309b is certainly preferred in HgQ.

8.1.3. Agreement: Subject and Object Person Marking

Two facts about the use of the transitions are important.

1. The transition used to indicate the subject of an intransitive verb⁴ is the same as that used for transitive verbs with a third person object, i.e., the $x=>3$ transition, where x is the person of the subject. This is because intransitive verbs have no object, while third person objects (of transitive verbs) are indicated by the absence of an object marking suffix. For example, *maqa-n* (hit-3=>3PRESENT) 'He hits him' and *aywa-n* (go-3=>3PRESENT) 'He goes' employ the same transition, in this case simply the third person subject marker *-n*.
2. Indirect objects are marked in preference to direct objects.⁵ For example, in *pay qam-ta qu-maran* (he you-ACC give-3=>1PAST) 'He gave you to me' the transition is $3=>1$ because the *indirect* object is first person; the transition does not indicate the person of the second person *direct* object since it is superseded by the indirect object.

8.1.4. Auxiliary Suppression

This section is necessary to understand some of the transitions that are or were compound tenses, i.e., which involve the auxiliary *ka-* 'be'.

The auxiliary *ka-* is suppressed when it is third person and present, it is not used existentially, and it is not needed to support some other suffix (e.g., as an aspectual suffix). Thus, when one would expect *ka-n* (be-3), there is nothing. The paradigm that results (under just these conditions) is:

1		ka-:		'I am'
11		ka-:kuna		'we (excl) are'
12		ka-nchi:		'we (incl) are'
2		ka-nki		'you are'
3		∅		'he is'

For example:

- 310 a. Noqa hatun ka-:.
 I big be-1
 b. Pay hatun ∅.
 he big
 a. 'I am big.'
 b. 'He is big.'

⁴As defined in section 7.1, "transition" can apply equally well to intransitive and transitive verbs.

⁵This is fairly universal in the languages of the world, and is rooted in the fact that indirect objects are typically more animate than direct objects.

8.2. Present

The present tense is indicated by the absence of an overt tense marker (reflecting a universal tendency for the present tense to be the least marked). The transitions are as follows:

		O B J E C T			
		1	12	2	3
S	1	---	---	-:	-:
U					
B	12	---	---	---	-nchi:
J					
E	2	-manki	---	---	-nki
C					
T	3	-man	-manchi:	-shunki	-n

Table 8-3: Present Tense Transitions.

(1) The present tense is used to speak of events or situations holding at the time of speaking; (2) in a narrative--after establishing the time as past, the text may continue in the "historical" present; and (3) in describing procedures (i.e., "how to do" texts) and explanations of events/situations which either hold at the moment of speaking or do not relate to actual historical events (either past or projected).

8.3. Simple Past

The simple past tense is formed with the suffix *-ra* 'past'. This suffix foreshortens (because it is derived from the proto-Quechua form */rqa/ by the loss of /q/). In the second person, it takes the non-verbal person marker *-yki* instead of the verbal *-nki*.

		O B J E C T			
		1	12	2	3
S	1	---	---	-ra:	-ra:
U					
B	12	---	---	---	-ranchi:
J					
E	2	-marayki	---	---	-rayki
C					
T	3	-maran	-maranchi:	-shurayki	-ran

Table 8-4: Simple Past Transitions.

The simple past tense is giving way to the perfect as the "everyday" past tense, and is becoming more of a historical tense;⁶ e.g., 'he went' would ordinarily be said as in example 311a, and 311b would be more common in narrating some actual past event:

⁶This somewhat parallels the situation for dialects to the east, in which a recent tense has been innovated and the simple past tense becomes the remote past tense.

- 311 a. *Aywa-sha.* (go-3PERF)
 b. *Aywa-ra-n.* (go-past-3)
 a,b. 'He went.'

8.4. Future Tense

For the future tense, there are different person markers:

1	-shaq
12	-shun
3	-nqa
2	-nki
1=>2	-shayki

Table 8-5: Future Person Markers.

The second person future is the same as the second person present. Thus a sentence like *aywanki* is ambiguous between 'you go' and 'you will go.' These future person markers function in the expected way in forming the transitions:

		O B J E C T			
		1	12	2	3
S	1	---	---	-shayki	-shaq
U					
B	12	---	---	---	-shun
J					
E	2	-manki	---	---	-nki
C					
T	3	-manqa	-ma:shun	-shunki	-nqa

Table 8-6: Future Transitions.

It is possible to indicate an exclusive first person plural by adding *-kuna* 'plural' to *-shaq* '1FUT'; e.g.: *Aywa-shaq-kuna-paq* (go-1FUT-plur-fut) 'we (excl) will go'.

The future transitions may be followed by *-paq* 'future'. This suffix indicates (roughly) 'at some future time'. For example, *miku-shun-na* (eat-12FUT-now) means 'let's eat now', but *miku-shun-paq-na* (eat-12FUT-fut-now) projects our eating farther into the future, and means 'we are going to eat right away (i.e., in just a few moments but not right now).' Other examples:

- 312 **Dimanda-shayki-paq-mi** ni-ma-sha.
 denounce-1=>2FUT-fut-DIR say=>1-3PERF
 'He said to me, *I will denounce you (to the authorities).*'

 313 *Maqa-ma:-shun-paq* tayta-yki.
 hit=>1-12FUT-fut father-2P
 'Your father will hit us (when he returns from work).'

314 "Ama hita-rI-ma-y-chu" ni-nki. Y chawra mana
not throw-asp=>1-2IMP-NEG say-2IMP and then not

hita-ri-shu-nki-paq-chu.
throw-asp=>2-2-fut-NEG

'Say, "Don't throw me over!" Then he won't throw you over.'

315 Noqa-ta mana-m nunka-pis usha-ma-nki-paq-chu.
me-OBJ not-DIR never-indef finish=>1-2-fut-NEG

'You will never be able to finish me off.'

The future tense indicates future time. It may be used to indicate:

polite imperatives, (see section 8.5 below); e.g.:

316 Aywa-pa-ykU-ma-y. Wasi-:-ta watqa-ykU-mu-nki.
go-ben-impact=>1-2IMP house-1P-OBJ spy-impact-afar-2

'Please go for me. Please spy on my house (and then come back).'

conjectures:

317 Taqay-chaw runa-mi tiya-nqa.
there-LOC man-DIR live-3FUT

'Perhaps people live there.'

318 Willa-ku-pti-: kapas muna-nqa-mi.
tell-refl-adv-1P perhaps want-3FUT-DIR

'If I tell him (about them), perhaps he will want (some of them).'

See also example 1336, p.327.

a challenge with *ma*: (see section 8.5 below)

a threat with *-chu* 'YN?'; e.g.:

319 Yapay-shi ni-mu-n kundinaadu "Tuni-mu-shaq-chu?"
again-IND say-afar-3 condemned:one fall-afar-1FUT-YN?

'Again the condemned spirit says "Shall I fall down?"'
(The dismembered spirit falls in pieces, gathers himself together, and fights the hero.)

8.5. Imperative

In addition to the typical second person imperatives (e.g., "Give it to me!"), Quechua has third person imperatives (e.g., "May he give it to me!"). The person markers are different for imperatives. (Note that there are no first person singular imperatives.)

12	-shun
2	-y / -nki
3	-chun

Table 8-7: Imperative Person Markers.

Note that in the second person there are two possibilities: strictly speaking, the second person imperative form is *-y*, but the second person future form *-nki* has come to be used generally as an imperative. In HgQ, /-shu-nki/ is used for 3=>2 rather than /-shu-y/, which is attested in other dialects.

		O B J E C T			
		1	12	2	3
S	1	---	---	***	***
U					
B	12	---	---	---	-shun
J					
E	2	-may / -manki	---	---	-y / -nki
C					
T	3	-ma:chun	-ma:shun	-shunki	-chun

Table 8-8: Imperative Transitions.

In HgQ, many commands that could be given in the second person are given as third person or as first person plural inclusive; this is much more polite than the corresponding second person imperative. For example, 320b is much more polite than 320a; though both mean 'Come with me!'.

- 320
- | | | |
|----------|---|------------------|
| Noqa-wan | } | a. aywa-ku-y. |
| me-COM | | go-refl-2IMP |
| | | b. aywa-ku-shun. |
| | | go-refl-12IMP |
- a. 'With me, (you) come!'
b. 'With me, let's go!'

To say 'Leave it there!' rather than use a second person imperative, it is much more polite to use a third person imperative, as in 321:

- 321 Chay-lla-chaw ka-ku-yka:-chun.
there-just-LOC be-refl-impfv-3IMP
'Leave it right there!' (lit. 'May it be just there.')

Negative imperatives are formed with *ama* 'not' rather than *mana* 'not'; e.g.:

- 322 a. *Mana
not
- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| } | maqa-ma:-chun-chu! |
| | hit==>1-3IMP-NEG |
- b. Ama
not
- b. '(I hope that) he does not hit me.' 'May he not hit me!'

- 323 Hina ka-shun. Ama firsas-ta rura-shun-chu pi-ta-pis.
so be-12IMP not force-OBJ do-12IMP-NEG who-OBJ-indef
'Let's be so (like that). Let's not pressure anyone.'

This is true as well for imperatives formed with *-nki* (discussed below); e.g.:

- 324 Ama qepa-yki-pa-qa rikcha-kU-mu-nki-chu!
not back-2P-GEN-TOP look-refl-afar-2FUT-NEG
'Don't look behind you (to where you have come from)!'

Imperatives often occur with *maa* as a challenge to carry out some action; e.g.:

- 325 Maa pay-ta-raq tapu-y.
challenge he-OBJ-yet ask-2IMP
'(I challenge you to) ask him!'
- 326 Buyno, maa yarpa-chaku-shun ari.
well challenge think-concen-12IMP well
'Well, let's think the thing out.'

The future tense can be used as a polite way to give commands:

- 327
- | | | |
|-----------------------|---|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| Pampa-ta
floor-OBJ | { | a. picha-y!
sweep-2IMP

b. picha-nki!
sweep-2FUT |
|-----------------------|---|--------------------------------------------------------------|

'Sweep the floor.'

If what is being ordered is to be done in the future (and not right at the moment), then *-nki* '2FUT' is used in preference to *-y* '2IMP'; e.g., in example 328, *kutimunki* is much better than *kutimuy*:

- 328 Chaka-y oora kuti-mu-nki.
be:dark-INF time return-afar-2IMP

'Come back when it gets dark.'

Consequently, *-nki* '2FUT' is more appropriate for a general prohibition than *-y*; e.g., 329a would mean 'Don't eat it right now', 329b would mean 'Don't eat it right now or in the future' and 329c would mean 'Don't eat it in the future'.

- 329 a. Ama miku-y-chu!
not eat-2IMP-NEG

b. Ama miku-nki-chu!
not eat-2FUT-NEG

c. Ama miku-nki-paq-chu!
not eat-2FUT-fut-NEG

a. 'Don't eat it (now).'

b. 'Don't eat it (in the future).'

c. 'Don't (at any time in the future) eat it.'

8.6. Participles

Participles are mentioned here for the sake of completeness. The suffixation by which participles are formed from verb stems may be regarded as transitions in that (i) they never occur with any other transition, and (ii) like the other transitions, they indicate the persons of the subject and object, and the tense or subordinator of the clause. However, this suffixation, viewed as a transition, is somewhat reduced: the subject is always effectively third person but this is never indicated by a person marker; in a sense, the suffix which indicates "participle" also indicates "third person subject." The co-occurrence possibilities with an object marker are also somewhat reduced; *-sha* and *-q* may occur with an object marker (although both are strained with *-shu* '=>2'), but *-ni* never occurs with an object marker.

There is little to say beyond this about the morphology of participles. However there is much to say about their syntax and use; these are discussed in section 13.2.

8.7. Conditional Tense

The so-called "conditional" tense is formed by adding *-man* to the simple present tense form. There is one exception: the first person plural inclusive (12) form is *-shwan*.

		O B J E C T			
		1	12	2	3
S	1	---	---	-:man	-:man
U					
B	12	---	---	---	-shwan
J					
E	2	-mankiman	---	---	-nkiman
C					
T	3	-manman	-mashwan	-shunkiman	-nman

Table 8-9: Conditional Transitions.

The conditional is basically a compound tense. The forms given in table 8-9 do not have the auxiliary verb *ka-n* 'be-3' because in the most common case the auxiliary is third person present, and thus does not occur. When the auxiliary is not third person and present, i.e., when it bears tense, then it does occur; e.g.:

330 *Sha-mu-nki-man ka-ra-n.*
 come-afar-2-cond be-past-3

'You should have come.'

To negate a verb bearing conditional tense, *ama* 'not (prohibition)' or *mana* 'not' (see examples 857, p.218, and 338) and *-chu* 'neg' follows the conditional verb rather than the auxiliary; e.g.:

331 *Ama sha-mu-n-man-chu ka-ra-n pay.*
 not come-afar-3-cond-NEG be-past-3 he

'He should not have come.'

The conditional tense expresses various modalities, such as possibility, obligation, and necessity. These do not form distinct categories in Quechua as they do in English. (Some of these concepts are also expressed by a compound construction; see section 8.10.1.) They will now be illustrated.

In the following examples, the conditional is used to express possibility (including ability) or impossibility; e.g.:

332 *Ima-naw-pa-taq sunsu-ta wanu-chi-:-man.*
 what-SIM-GEN-?? stooge-OBJ die-caus-1-cond

'How might/could I kill the stooge?'

333 *Rura-y-ta puydi-:-man-churaq.*
 do-inf-OBJ be:able-1-cond-dubitative

'I might be able to do it, but maybe not.'
 'I wonder if I could do it.'

334 *Listu-ta rura-shwan fista-kuna-pa-ta.*
 list-OBJ make-12COND fiesta-plur-GEN-OBJ

'We could/should make a list of the fiestas.'

See also example 1334, p.326.

The conditional is used to express obligation and necessity; e.g.:

335 *Wamra nerda, qam punu-nki-man.*
 child (expl) you sleep-2-cond

'Child (expletive), you should be asleep!'

336 Por+imbidyoosu-chari rura-ma-shka-nki.
out:of:jealousy-surely do=>1-perf-2

Wawa-yki-ta-qa ni-nki-man ka-ra-n.
child-2P-OBJ-TOP say-2-cond be-past-3

'Out of jealousy you did it to me. You should have told your child.'

See also examples 330 and 331.

The conditional is used to express expectations; e.g.:

337 Todito hinan-chaw ushaqpaq kacha-ykU-ma-n-man
everything like:that-LOC completely leave-impact=>1-3-cond

ka-ra-n disgrasya-chaw.
be-past-3 misfortune-LOC

'Everything would have been left to me just like that, in misfortune.'

A conditional tense may be used to express one's attitude toward the possibility of an event (i.e., its desirability); e.g.:

338 Mana-mi qam-wan tiya-:-man-chu.
not-DIR you-COM live-1-cond-NEG

'I would not live with you (refusing a proposal of marriage).'

The event may be expressed with an adverbial clause in conjunction with the predicate *alli ka-* 'be good':

339 Tamy-pta-n alli ka-n-man.
rain-adv-3P good be-3-cond

'It would be good if it were to rain.'

If the conditional is in the past, the adverbial clause is counter-factual; e.g.:

340 Sha-mu-pti-ki alli ka-n-man ka-ra-n.
come-afar-adv-2P good be-3-COND be-past-3

'It would have been good if you had come.'

341 Chay-naw ka-pti-n alli ka-n-man ka-ra-n.
that-SIM be-adv-3P good be-3-cond be-past-3

'It would have been good had it been like that.'

Other examples of counter-factual conditionals are 330, 336, and 337.

8.8. Perfect Tense

The perfect tense will be discussed in two sections: the simple (present) perfect and the compound perfect.

8.8.1. The Simple Perfect

The simple perfect tense forms are given in table 8-10.

		O B J E C T			
		1	12	2	3
S	1	---	---	-shka:	-shka:
U					
B	12	---	---	---	-shkanchi:
J					
E	2	-mashkanki	---	---	-shkanki
C					
T	3	-masha	-mashkanchi:	-shkashunki	-sha

Table 8-10: Present Perfect Tense Transitions.

The simple perfect is used either as a perfect or as a simple past tense.⁷ In fact, the simple perfect is rapidly displacing *-ra* 'past' as the most common past tense (while the past tense formed with *-ra* 'past' is becoming a tense of "historical fact"; see section 8.3).

For example, the most common way to say 'he went' is *aywa-sha* (go-3PERF). Illustrations abound in the examples given below. (Note that *-shka* is glossed as 'perf', whereas the participle marker *-sha*, when used as a third person perfect, is glossed '3PERF'.)

8.8.2. Compound Perfect

The compound perfect is formed with the "participle+auxiliary" construction, i.e., the participle marker *-sha* followed by the auxiliary verb *ka-*.⁸ In table 8-11, the numbers <1>, <2>, <3> and <12> indicate a suffix of that person, option-

⁷The simple perfect came about by the collapse of /-shqa ka-/ to /-shka/. (This insight and the analysis below are due to Peter Landerman, personal communication.) The earlier stage of the perfect was like the forms of table 8-11, with the following clarifications:

1. The person markers represented by <1>, <12>, and <2> in 8-11 were *-;*, *-nchi;*, and *-nki*, respectively.
2. Since the auxiliary verb with third person (*ka-<3>*) would have been *ka-n*, and this is systematically suppressed as discussed in section 8.1.4, no auxiliary occurred in the 3=>1 and 3=>3 forms.

Note that in table 8-11, *-ma:* '=>1(2)' precedes the participle marker (where it is expected), but *-shu* '=>2' follows the auxiliary *ka-*; thus *-ma-shqa ka-* but *-shqa ka-shu-*.

Given these compound forms as the historical basis of the perfect, we can understand the present forms (as in table 8-10) as resulting from the merging of the participle and the auxiliary, accompanied by the suppression of /qa/ from the participle when it was directly followed by /ka/. Because *ka-n* was not present in the 3=>1 and 3=>3 forms, the collapse did not occur in these. With the loss of */q/ from all forms of PQ */-shqa/ 'participle', these become *-ma-sha* and *-sha*, respectively.

Other dialects (e.g., in Dos de Mayo) suppress the /ka/ of the auxiliary rather than (as in HgQ) the /qa/ of the participle. This yields a paradigm in which the perfect suffix is *-shqa* in all cases, unlike the HgQ forms where some are *-shka* and others *-sha*.

⁸Thus, the compound perfect is structurally identical to the syntactic passive construction; see section 11.2.

ally accompanied by a tense marker (or portmanteau with it). (Whenever <3> would be just *-n* '3', then *ka-n* 'be-3' is absent, in accordance with the rule discussed in section 8.1.4.)

		O B J E C T			
		1	12	2	3
S	1	---	---	-sha ka-<1>	-sha ka-<1>
U					
B	12	---	---	---	-sha ka-<12>
J					
E	2	-ma-sha ka-<2>	---	---	-sha ka-<2>
C					
T	3	-ma-sha ka-<3>	-ma-sha ka-<12>	-sha ka-shu-<2>	-sha ka-<3>

Table 8-11: Compound Perfect Transitions.

The result of inflecting the auxiliary as a present tense is a compound present perfect (section 8.8.2.1). The result of inflecting it with a past tense is a past anterior (section 8.8.2.2). The result of inflecting it with a future tense is a future perfect (section 8.8.2.3). The compound perfect may also be used in subordinate clauses (section 8.8.2.4).

To form the negative or yes/no question of a compound perfect, the suffix *-chu* 'neg, YN?' usually follows the participle; see examples 344, 343 and 349. Example 349 shows that this is not always the case.

8.8.2.1. Compound Present Perfect

Occasionally the present perfect occurs as a compound perfect (i.e., uncollapsed):

342 Wamra-qa puñu-ka:ku-sha-lla-mi ka-yka-n.
child-TOP sleep-compl-prtc-just-DIR be-impfv-3

'The child has just fallen fast asleep.' or
'The child has gone (soundly) to sleep.'

In some cases there is ambiguity between passives and perfects, and one must decide between them principally on the basis of what has become of the (logical) object of the verb, and in some cases on the context alone. For example, 344 is structurally ambiguous. Example 343, on the other hand, can only be interpreted as a perfect because (1) the logical object survives as a surface object, and (2) the verbal subject marking does not agree with the object. Thus, when 344 is an answer to 343, context dictates that 344 be interpreted as a perfect.

343 Qara-sha-chu ka-nki taqay runa-ta?
feed-prtc-NEG be-2 that man-OBJ

'Have you fed that man?'

344 Mana-mi qara-sha-chu ka-:.
not-assert feed-prtc-NEG be-1

'I have not fed (him).' or 'I am not fed.'

8.8.2.2. Past Perfect

The past perfect tense is a compound tense formed by *-sha* 'participle' and *ka-* 'be' inflected in some past tense, either simple past or perfect. Examples follow; the compound construction is underlined so as to avoid confusion with the simple perfects which occur in these examples.

345 *Mayna haru-ma-sha ka-shka-nki.*
 already step=>1-prtc be-perf-2
 'You had already stepped on me.'

346 *Pi-taq apa-sha ka-sha.*
 who-?? take-prtc be-3PERF
 'Who had taken it?'

347 *...mana-ku-yku-sha ka-sha kampana-ta tuka-na-n-paq.*
 ask-refl-impact-prtc be-3PERF bell-OBJ ring-sub-3P-PUR
 '...he had been asked to ring the bell.'

348 *Unay runa-kuna tiya-sha ka-ra-n chay pacha-qa.*
 long:ago man-plural live-prtc be-past-3 that place-TOP
 'Long before, people had lived in that place.'

To negate a past perfect, the *-chu* 'neg' may follow the auxiliary, as in example 349, or it may follow the participle, as in example 350. (For further discussion, see section 17.1.2.)

349 *...mana maqa-sha ka-shka-nki-chu.*
 not hit-prtc be-perf-2-NEG
 '...you had not hit her (before she died)
 (i.e., she did not die as a result of your hitting her).'

350 *Mana puyri-sha-chu ka-sha.*
 not be:able-prtc-NEG be-3PERF
 'He had not been able (to do it).'

In example 351, the verb is passivized by the suffix *-ra*: 'stative/durative' and then the tense is indicated as past anterior by the compound perfect:

351 *Achki-qa rika-ra:-mu-sha ka-sha bintaana-pa-si.*
 light-TOP see-stat-afar-prtc be-3PERF window-GEN-IND
 'The light had been seen through the window.'

8.8.2.3. Future Perfect

The future perfect is exceedingly uncommon. It is formed like the uncollapsed form of the present perfect, except that the auxiliary bears future tense marking. Examples follow:

352 *Aywa-ku-sha ka-nqa.*
 go-refl-prtc be-3FUT
 'He will have gone (by the time you get there).'

Just as futures may be used in a "dubitive" sense (see section 8.4), so the future perfect may be used:

- 353 Pay-kuna rura-sha ka-nqa mayqan-pis.
 they-plur do-prtc be-3FUT which-indef
 'One of them must have done it.'

8.8.2.4. The Compound Perfect in Subordinate Clauses

The compound perfect tense may be used in subordinate clauses, e.g., in adverbial and relative clauses as well as complements. It indicates past anterior time, as the examples below will demonstrate:

- 354 Achka-q-ta allcha-ka:-chi-sha ka-pti-n...
 many-human-OBJ fix-pass-caus-prtc be-adv-3P
 'Because he had healed many...'
 355 ...huk karni-ta shata-chaw wata-sha ka-yka-q-ta.
 one lamb-OBJ brush-LOC tie-prtc be-impfv-sub-OBJ
 '...a lamb which was/had been tied in the brush.'

See example 1369 (p.332), which contains an embedded alternative question with past perfect tense.

It is not possible to have a compound perfect applied to a syntactic passive; see chapter 11. However, example 351 shows that a compound perfect is possible following a verb which is morphologically passivized with *-ra*: 'stative/durative' and examples 354 (above) and 356 show the same for *-ka*: 'passive':

- 356 ...allcha-ka-sha ka-yka-sha-n-ta musya-r.
 ...fix-pass-prtc be-impfv-sub-3P-OBJ know-adv
 '...knowing that she had been healed (and remained in that condition)'

8.9. Habitual

The habitual refers to some customary action in the past. It is formed with the subordinator *-q* and the verb *ka*- 'be';⁹ e.g.:

- 357 Chay-naw achka-ta miku-q ka:-kuna.
 that-SIM many-OBJ eat-sub be-11
 'In that way we used to eat many (reminiscing about how as a child one would steal *cherimoyas*).'
 358 imay-pis rura-q ka-sha-n-naw
 when-indef do-sub be-sub-3P-SIM
 'as he had always done'

⁹This must be considered a construction: its meaning is not a simple product of its parts.

359 Ima-taq-shi? Ima-taq-shi?
 what-ques-IND what-ques-IND

Intiiru mundu-ta niti-q ka-yka-:.
 entire world-OBJ press-sub be-impfv-1

Yoraq-lla.
 white-just

'What is it? What is it?'
 'I am (habitually) pressing the entire earth.'
 'White.' (This is a riddle, the answer to which is 'clouds'.)

360 Chay-naw willa-pa:-ma-g tiyu-: ranshi.
 that-SIM tell-ben=>1-sub uncle-1P Francisco

'My Uncle Francisco used to tell me that.'

361 Biyaahi-ta puri-q ka-sha.
 trip-OBJ travel-sub be-3PERF

'He used to go on trips.'

See also examples 272 and 273 (p.80).

When a habitual is negated, if *-chu* 'neg' occurs, it follows the syntactically subordinate (semantically main) verb rather than the syntactically superordinate (auxiliary) verb; e.g.:

362 Mana sumaq karu-ta puri-q-chu ka-:.
 not very far-OBJ walk-sub-NEG be-1

'I didn't walk far (being only five years old at the time).'

See also example 1377, p.335. However, in some cases *-chu* does not occur; see the second sentence of example 364 below.

Section 8.13 below describes a narrative past tense formed with *-naq*. It is possible to use the habitual *-q* in very similar ways, but only when no auxiliary verb follows. This use is similar to the habitual use discussed above, in that both describe situations which persist. Indeed, some cases seem indeterminate between the two uses; e.g., in example 363 the gloss 'would sell' reflects a narrative past use and the gloss 'used to sell' reflects a habitual interpretation. Note that 363 (with *-q*) is used to establish the setting of a narrative:

363 Mas unay-qa runa-kuna-ta mas inutil ka-q-ta-qa
 more time:hence-TOP man-plur-OBJ more humble be-sub-OBV-TOP

rantiku-q-shi kastillaanu rima-y-ta yacha-q-kuna-qa...
 sell-sub-IND Spanish speak-inf-OBV know-sub-plur-TOP

yunka asinda-kuna-man chay-chaw aru-na-n-paq.
 jungle hacienda-plur-GOAL there-LOC work-PUR

'In times past, those who knew how to speak Spanish would
 sell (or 'used to sell') the humbler people to the
 haciendas in the jungle, so they would work there.'

-q (as either the habitual or narrative past) is used frequently in folk tales as a mechanism for backgrounding material, usually descriptive material out of the temporal sequence in which the text is proceeding; e.g., see the second and third sentences of 364:

364 Pero saapo sekreeto sumaq michi-pa-sha-na leetu-chaw
 but frog secret well spy-ben-prtc-now litigation-LOC
 ka-shpa-n. Kondor kada aywa-y-nin yaku puyñu-n-ta mana
 be-adv-3P condor every go-inf-3P water jug-3P-OBJ not
 kacha-yku-q. Hama-sha-n-kuna-chaw chura-yku-r gusto
 leave-impact-sub rest-sub-3P-plur-LOC place-impact-adv pleasure
 liberti-ku-q.
 free-refl-sub

'But the frog had secretly spied on him very well, in case he might be in litigation (with him). Every time the condor went, he would not leave behind his water jug. Having placed it in a resting place, he would enjoy his liberty.'

In 365 the second and third sentences are background, describing the situation in which the bear kept the woman:

365 Chay-chaw achka wata-shi uywa-sha. Chay-lla-man-shi
 there-LOC many year-IND raise-3PERF there-just-GOAL-IND
 ashta-pa-q llapan mikuy-ta suwa-ku-rku-r. LLachapa-ta-pis
 carry-ben-sub all food-OBJ steal-refl-asp-adv clothes-OBJ-even
 apa-q suwa-ku-rku-r-shi. Chay-naw achka wata qoya-sha.
 take-sub steal-refl-asp-adv-IND that-SIM many year pass-3PERF

'He raised her there for many years. He would take all the food, having stolen it. He would also take clothes, having stolen them. In that way many years passed.'

In the text fragment in 366, the time is established as past in 1 and 2. Then sentences 3-12 set the problem around which a text centers (the loosening of ropes). Note that in every case, the verb bears *-q*. After 12 the text continues in the (historical) present.

366 Chayshi buurru karan.¹ Ishkay buurru karan.² Chayshi pas wataq.³ Kara taarrishi kimsa ishkay waskawan wataq.⁴ Pas chayraqshi wataq.⁵ Yapayshi kachakasha waraamug.⁶ Yapayshi kachakasha waraamug, buurru.⁷ *Imanashtaq kay buurru?* niqshi, duyñonqa.⁸ Chawraqa kachakashallashi waskata ushar usharig.⁹ Manash chusku pichqa waskawan wataptinpis manasha naqchu.¹⁰ Pas warar wararkamug oqata ushashalla.¹¹ Llapan mikuyta ushashalla warark-wararkamug.¹² ...

'There was a donkey.¹ There were two donkeys.² They would tie them.³ Every evening they would tie them with two or three ropes.⁴ Yet they would tie them.⁵ Again they would be loose at dawn.⁶ Again they would be loose at dawn, the donkeys.⁷ "What does this donkey do?" he said, the owner.⁸ Then just being loose it would finish off the ropes.⁹ Even if they tied him with four or five ropes they did not hold.¹⁰ Morning after morning he would have finished off the oqa.¹¹ Morning after morning he would have finished off all the food.¹²

8.10. Obligation and Intention

8.10.1. Obligation and Intention with -na 'sub'

The construction *-na-POS ka-...-n* (-sub-POS be-...-3), where POS indicates the person of the subject, indicates either the obligation or the intention of doing what is indicated by the verb (see also section 8.7); e.g.:

367 Pillku-ta aywa-na-: ka-yka-n noqa.
Pillku-OBJ go-sub-1P be-impfv-3 I

'I have to go to Pillku.'

By the general principle discussed in 8.1.4, if the auxiliary would be third person present (i.e., *ka-n* 'be-3') then the auxiliary does not occur, leaving the verb substantivized with *-na-POS* as the predicate. Examples follow:

368 Pillku-ta aywa-na-:.
Pillku-OBJ go-sub-1P

'I should/must go to Pillku.'

369 Kanan noqa hayta-na-:.
now I kick-sub-1P

'Now it is my turn to kick.'

370 Simri upu-na-yki allcha-ka:-na-yki-paq.
always drink-sub-2P fix-pass-sub-2P-PUR

'You have to take (your pills) in order to get well.'

371 ...ka-n baara-n-kuna ... Bindisa-:ru chay-qa ka-na-n.
be-3 staff-3P-plur bless-prtc that-TOP be-sub-3P

'...there are their staves. ... Those should be blessed.'

372 Kara+oonu-n-pa tuka-q-nin-kuna-pis shuyni ka-na-n.
each:one-3P-GEN play-sub-3P-plur-indef apart be-sub-3P

'Each of their bands should be separate (i.e., not intermingled).'

373 Fiskal kampana-ta-pis tuka-na-n tapa-y-ta
fiskal bell-OBJ-indef ring-sub-3P watch-inf-OBJ

qalla-ri-sha-n-pita asta pampa-na-n-yaq.
begin-asp-sub-3P-ABL until bury-sub-3P-LIM

'The *fiscal* should ring the bell from the time they begin to watch (at the wake) until they bury him.'

See also examples 787 (p.208) and 1640 (p.385).

In the past tense, this construction indicates "unachieved intention":¹⁰

374 Wara puklla-na-n ka-ra-n.
tomorrow play-sub-3P be-past-3

'They were going to play tomorrow (but the game has been postponed).'

¹⁰See S. Steele's "Past and Irrealis" *International Journal of American Indian Linguistics*, vol. 41, no. 3, p. 201, quoting Hale: "...it is at least sporadically universal among the world's languages when an element which has the meaning (very approximately) *intention* occurs in the past tense, *unachieved intention* is implied."

8.10.2. Obligation with *-y-paq* ‘-INF-PUR’

A verb stem followed by *-y-paq* (-INF-PUR) may serve as the main verb of a sentence/clause, expressing that we (inclusive) ought to do whatever is indicated by that sentence/clause. Examples follow:

- 375 ...*ima-pita-pis* *allaapa* *chanin-ta* *manna-ma-sha-qa* *willa-y-paq*.
 what-ABL-indef too:much price-OBJ ask=>1-prtc-TOP tell-INF-PUR
 ‘...if they ask too high a price, we should report it (to the Municipal Council).’
- 376 *Chay-naw* *suwa-pa:-ma-sha-qa* *sumaq* *reqi-y-paq* *chay* *suwa-ta*.
 that-SIM steal-ben=>1-prtc-TOP well know-INF-PUR that thief-OBJ
 ‘If they steal from us like that, we ought to recognize that thief very well.’
- 377 *Kanan-qa* *simri* *wamra-nchi-kuna-ta* *iskuyla-man* *chura-y-paq*...
 now-TOP always child-12P-plur-OBJ school-GOAL place-INF-PUR
 ‘Now, we always ought to put our children into school...’
- 378 ...*huk* *papil-ta* *rura-chi-y-paq* *iskirbi-y-ta* *yacha-q-kuna-wan*.
 one paper-OBJ make-caus-INF-PUR write-INF-OBJ know-sub-plur-COM
 ‘...we should have a paper written by those who know how to write.’
- 379 *May-man* *aywa-na-paq-pis* *rimeeru* *aywa-y-paq* *dispaachu* *wasi-n-man*...
 where-GOAL go-sub-PUR-indef first go-INF-PUR office house-3P-GOAL
 ‘To go somewhere (on the bus), we should first go to the station... (to find out how much a ticket costs).’

8.11. Imminent

The imminent construction is formed with *-na-POS-paq ka-*, where POS and the person marking inflection of the auxiliary (*ka-*) agree with the subject.¹¹

- 380 *Apa-mu-na-:-paq* *ka-yka-shka-:-*.
 take-afar-sub-1P-PUR be-impfv-perf-1
 ‘I was about to bring it.’

See also example 271, page 80.

This tense often occurs in temporal adverbial clauses; e.g.:

¹¹This contrasts with the future relative construction (Weber [45], sec. 2.3.2.3 and 2.3.2.4). In the following, a. is an example of a future relative; the underlined person markers do not agree. The b. sentence is an example of the imminent construction; the underlined person markers do agree. Note that they differ in meaning:

<i>Naka-na-:-paq</i> suffer-sub-1P-PUR	}	a. <i>ka-yka-sha-<u>n</u>-pita</i> be-impfv-sub-3P-ABL b. <i>ka-yka-sha-<u>-</u>-pita</i> be-impfv-sub-1P-ABL	} <i>salba-ykU-ma-y</i> . save-impact=>1-2IMP
-------------------------------------------	---	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------

- a. ‘Save me from that which I will suffer.’
 b. ‘Save me from that which I am about to suffer.’

- 381 Pacha chaka:-na-n-paq ka-yka-pti-n...
firmament be:dark-sub-3P-PUR be-impfv-adv-3P
'When it was about to get dark...'
- 382 Chay rura-ka:-na-n-paq ka-yka-pti-n...
that do-pass-sub-3P-PUR be-impfv-adv-3P
'When that is about to happen...'
- 383 Mana musya-shka:-chu aywa-na-n-paq ka-yka-sha-n-ta.
not know-perf-1-NEG go-sub-3P-PUR be-impfv-sub-3P-OBJ
'I didn't know that he was about to leave.'

8.12. Periphrastic Future

The periphrastic future is formed with *-q aywa-* (-sub go-); it is rapidly displacing the simple future tense as the most common way to express futurity. Examples follow:

- 384 Fista-ta rura-q aywa-:.
fiesta-OBJ make-sub go-1
'I'm going to put on a party.'
- 385 May chikan-taq ka-q aywa-n.
very huge be-sub go-3
'It will be huge!'
(*may chikantaq* is a frozen expression)

Although the periphrastic future is two words (by phonological criterion), the subject marking anomaly (see section 8.1.2) spans it as though it were a single tense marker; e.g.:

- 386 Tari-pa-ma-q aywa-nchi.
find-ben=>1-sub go-12
'He will catch up to us.'
- 387 Maqa-shu-q aywa-nki / *aywa-n.
hit=>2-sub go-2 go-3
'He will hit you.'

8.13. Narrative Past

The narrative past with *-naq* is constructed with *-naq ka-* 'NRP be' inflected for tense and the person of the subject. If the auxiliary would be third person and present (by far the most frequent case), it does not occur.

The narrative past may be used in examples like 270 (p.80) and 388, where the subject was unconscious at the time of the action.

- 388 Kacha-yku-shu-sha-lla-yki-chaw wiyara:-ku-naq ka-nki.
leave-impact=>2-sub-just-2P-LOC remain-refl-NRP be-2
'You remained (probably unconscious) right where they left you.'

The narrative past tense may also be used in narratives for background events, particularly those which occurred prior to the time (in the narrative) at which they are mentioned (as some would say, "off the event line"); e.g.:

389 Y mayur-nin yayku-sha. Y huk hachaasu qo-sha chay
 and older-3P enter-3PERF and a axe:blow give-3PERF that
 punu-yka-sha-n-ta. Y chay-man-qa tiya-n-ta
 sleep-sub-3P-OBJ and that-GOAL-TOP aunt-3P-OBJ
 punu-rqU-chi-naq chay sonso.
 sleep-asp-caus-NRP that stooge

'And his older brother entered. And he gave an axe blow to that which was sleeping. But the stooge had made his aunt sleep there (and so escaped death at the hand of his older brother).'

See also example 1698, p.406.

The bit of text in 390 is told in the narrative past (with *-naq*). I believe that this is to mark these events as of less importance to the text (i.e., push them into the background) relative to what follows (the hero's rounding up the tigers and making them carry the firewood); this keeps the hero's actions in the foreground.

390 ...chaya-n munti-man-shi yantaku-q. Nirkur munti
 arrive-3 forest-GOAL-IND cut:wood-sub then forest
 kantun-man muula-n-ta wata-yku-r-shi yantaku-r
 edge-3P-GOAL mule-3P-OBJ tie-impact-adv-IND cut:wood-adv
 ka-ku-naq. Chaya-q-shi muula-n-ta tinri wahu-rI-chi-naq.
 be-refl-NRP arrive-sub-IND mule-3P-OBJ tiger die-pnct-caus-NRP
 mula-n rika-q aywa-na-n-paq miku-rka-yka:-naq
 mule-3P see-sub go-sub-3P-PUR eat-plur-impfv-NRP
 muula-n-kuna-ta.
 mule-3P-plur-OBJ

'...he arrives to the forest to cut wood. Then, having tied his mules to the edge of the forest, he was cutting wood. By the time he arrived, the tigers had killed his mules. By the time he went to see his mules, the tigers were eating them.'

The combination *-ra:-naq* (*-stat-NRP*) is used for a state which began some time before, but persists up to the time at which it is relevant in the event sequence; e.g.:

391 Chayta buurru wiya-pa-ra:-naq wasi waqta-n-pita.
 that-OBJ donkey hear-ben-stat-NRP house back-3P-ABL
 'The donkey had heard that from behind the house.'

The habitual tense discussed in 8.9 is sometimes used in ways similar to the narrative past.

8.14. Substantivizing Transitions

Substantivizing transitions are based on the substantivizers *-q*, *-na*, and *-sha*.

8.14.1. Substantivization with *-q*

Substantivizations with *-q* are used in various ways: agentive nominalizations, relative clauses, sensory verb complements, purpose-motion construction. In all uses

the subject of the clause subordinated by *-q* is either (1) third person or (2) established by reference to the superordinate verb. Consequently there are no forms with 1, 12, or 2 subjects.

	O B J E C T			
	1	12	2	3
SUBJECT 3	-maq(ni:)	-maqninchi:	-shuq(niki)	-q(nin)

Table 8-12: Transitions Substantivizing with *-q*+Possessive.

Note that substantivizations with *-q* may sometimes be followed by possessive suffixes, these being of the person of the object. This is possible for some of the above-mentioned uses but not for others (and the situation differs from dialect to dialect). In HgQ, possessive suffixes may occur with relative clauses but not with purpose motion or sensory verb complements.¹²

	O B J E C T			
	1	12	2	3
SUBJECT 3	-maq	-maqninchi	-shuq	-q

Table 8-13: Transitions Substantivizing with *-q*.

Examples of the use of the substantivizer *-q* follow:

Agentive nominalizations; e.g., *pishta-ku-q* (slaughter-refl-sub) 'slaughterer'

Relative clauses (see section 13.1); e.g.:

392 *willa-ma-q-(ni:)* runa
tell-=>1-sub-(1P) man

'the man who told me'

Sensory verb complements (see section 13.3.2.4); e.g.:

393 *Aywa-yka-q-ta* rika-shka-:.
go-impfv-sub-OBJ see-perf-1

'I saw him going.'

Purpose motion construction (see section 13.4.4.2); e.g.:

394 *Rika-q* aywa-shka-:.
see-sub see-perf-1

'I went to see him.'

8.14.2. Substantivization with *-na*

¹²Peter Landerman informs me (personal communication) that in other Quechua dialects it is possible to use possessive suffixes following *-q* used in the purpose motion construction and in sensory verb complements.

		O B J E C T			
		1	12	2	3
S	1	---	---	-na:	-na:
U					
B	12	---	---	---	-nanchi:
J					
E	2	-ma:nayki	---	---	-nayki
C					
T	3	-ma:nan	-ma:nanchi:	-shuwayki	-nan

Table 8-14: Transitions Substantivizing with *-na*.

Examples of some of the uses of this transition follow:

Relative clauses (see section 13.1); e.g.:

395 *chaya-mu-na-n* oora
 arrive-afar-sub-3P time
 'the (future) time he arrives'

Complements (see section 13.3.2.1); e.g.:

396 *Rika-na-n-ta* muna-n.
 see-sub-3P-OBJ want-3
 'He wants him to see it.'

Purpose clauses (see section 13.4.4.1); e.g.:

397 *Miku-na-nchi:-paq* yanu-ku-shka-:.
 eat-sub-12P-PUR cook-refl-perf-1
 'I cooked it so that we could eat it.'

8.14.3. Substantivization with *-sha*

		O B J E C T			
		1	12	2	3
S	1	---	---	-sha:	-sha:
U					
B	12	---	---	---	-shanchi:
J					
E	2	-mashayki	---	---	-shayki
C					
T	3	-mashan	-mashanchi:	-shushayki	-shan

Table 8-15: Transitions Substantivizing with *-sha*.

Examples follow:

Relative clauses (see section 13.1); e.g.:

398 *qo-shu-sha-yki* runa
 give=>2-sub-2P man
 'the man who gave it to you'

Complements (see section 13.3.2.3); e.g.:

399 *Aywa-sha-yki-ta* musya-:.
 go-sub-2P-OBJ know-1
 'I know that you went.'

8.15. Adverbial Clause Transitions

There are three adverbializers that form transitions: *-pti*, *-r*, and *-shpa*. The clauses they form are discussed in chapter 14.

8.15.1. Adverbial Clause--Different Subject with *-pti*

The subordinator *-pti* is used when the subject of the adverbial clause is different from the subject of the superordinate clause; it is always followed by a possessive suffix indicating the person of the subject of the adverbial clause.

		O B J E C T			
		1	12	2	3
S	1	---	---	-pti:	-pti:
U					
B	12	---	---	---	-pti-nchi:
J					
E	2	-maptiki	---	---	-ptiki
C					
T	3	-maptin	-maptinchi:	-shuptiki	-ptin

Table 8-16: Different Subject Adverbial Clause Transitions with *-pti*.

For example:

400 Chaya-mu-pti-n lloqshi-shka-:.
 arrive-afar-adv-3 leave-perf-1
 'When he arrived, I left.'

8.15.2. Adverbial Clause--Same Subject with *-r*

The subordinator *-r* is used when the subject of the adverbial clause is the same as the subject of the superordinate clause. In HgQ, *-r* is never followed by a possessive suffix. This is just what one might expect, since *-r* indicates that the subject is the same as the subject of the superordinate clause, and thus there is no need to indicate it explicitly.

		O B J E C T			
		1	12	2	3
S	1	---	---	-r	-r
U					
B	12	---	---	---	-r
J					
E	2	-mar	---	---	-r
C					
T	3	-mar	-mar	(see below)	-r

Table 8-17: Same Subject Adverbial Clause Transitions with *-r*.

In table 8-17, the 3=>2 form has been left blank. The form that one would expect is *-shurniki* (-=>2-adv-2P); however, this involves a possessive suffix following *-r*, which, as stated above, does not occur. Instead *-shushpayki* is used for the 3=>2 same-subject adverbializer; see table 8-18 below. It is also worth noting that the possessive suffix is not used with the 3=>12 form, for which one might expect *-marninchi* (-=>1(2)=-adv-12P) rather than simply *-mar* (-=>1(2)-adv).

The transitions of table 8-17 are used in examples like the following:

401 Chaya-r miku-ra-:.
 arrive-adv eat-past-1
 'I ate when I arrived.'

8.15.3. Adverbial Clause--Same Subject with *-shpa*

The subordinator *-shpa* is used when the subject of the adverbial clause is the same as the subject of the superordinate clause; it is always followed by a possessive suffix indicating the person of the subject.¹³

		O B J E C T			
		1	12	2	3
S	1	---	---	-shpa:	-shpa:
U					
B	12	---	---	---	-shpanchi:
J					
E	2	-mashpayki	---	---	-shpayki
C					
T	3	-mashpan	-mashpanchi:	-shushpayki	-shpan

Table 8-18: Same Subject Adverbial Clause Transitions with *-shpa*.

For example:

402 Allaapa-ta miku-shpa-yki wira ka-nki-paq.
 much-OBJ eat-adv-2P fat be-2FUT-fut
 'If you eat much/many, you will be fat.'

¹³By contrast, *-r* is never followed by a possessive suffix in HgQ. Just the opposite situation is found in Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua: *-shpa* is not followed by possessive suffixes, and *-r* is.

Chapter 9

PRE-TRANSITION SUFFIXES

The pre-transition suffixes occur between the verbal root and the transition suffixes (as sketched in chapter 3). They will be treated here in the following groups:

- the directional suffixes (section 9.1)
- the suffix *-mu* ‘afar’ (section 9.2)
- the pluralizers (section 9.3)
- aspectual suffixes (section 9.4)
- transitivizing (section 9.5)
- the reflexive and reciprocal suffixes (section 9.6)
- other pre-transition suffixes (section 9.7)

9.1. Directional Suffixes

The class of directional suffixes includes the following (given with their historical meanings):

<i>-rkU</i>	‘up’
<i>-rpU</i>	‘down’
<i>-rqU</i>	‘out’
<i>-ykU</i>	‘in’

In the right context, any of these can be used with, e.g., *aypa*:- ‘to be sufficient (in length, quantity, duration, etc.), to extend to’. Consider various contexts for saying ‘it doesn’t reach’: *-rkU* ‘up’ would be appropriate when using a pole to touch something up high, *-rpU* ‘down’ would be appropriate when using a bucket on the end of a rope to get water out of a well, *-rqU* ‘out’ would be appropriate if someone were stuck in a cave and was trying to extend a pole out to someone at the mouth of the cave, and *-ykU* ‘in’ would be appropriate if the person at the mouth of the cave was extending the pole in to the person who was stuck.

The directional suffixes form a natural class in that they share the following properties:

- have the shape *-CCV*
- undergo morpho-phonemic lowering

- take *-rI* (following) as the appropriate pluralizer
- derive historically from suffixes with directional meanings

Parker [31] (pg. 22 ff.) points out that certain verbs can be analyzed historically as two morphemes, where the second is one of the directional suffixes.¹ This is illustrated for HgQ in the following:

403	<i>ya+rkU-</i>	'to go up'	<i>qa+rkU-</i>	'to hill (potatoes)'
	<i>ya+rpU-</i>	'to go down'	<i>qa+rpU-</i>	'to throw down'
	<i>ya+rqU-</i>	'to leave'	<i>qa+rqU-</i>	'to drive out'
	<i>ya+ykU-</i>	'to enter'	<i>qa+ykU-</i>	'to drive into a corral'

Other patterns are less complete; e.g., *hu+rpU-* 'to hill (tubers) a second time' and *hu+rqU-* 'to remove'; *wa+rkU-* 'to hang over a line' and *wa+yku-* 'to stoke (an oven)'.¹

Directional suffixes tend to lose their identity, becoming co-lexicalized with other morphemes or reinterpreted as members of another class. For example:

1. *-ykU* has merged with *ya-* to form the root *yayku-* 'enter'; this verb may now be followed by another *-ykU*: *ya+yku-yku-n* 'he enters'.
2. When it merges with some other morpheme, a directional suffix may lose the property of undergoing morpho-phonemic lowering (discussed in sections 3.1.2.2 and 23.8.11); e.g., either *horqamun* (lowered) or *horqomun* (unlowered) is possible for 'he takes it out'.
3. There is a tendency for *-rqU* to be reinterpreted as an aspectual suffix; some dialects go so far as to re-analyze it as a tense marker.

Some of the directional suffixes preserve a meaning of direction to a greater extent than others; from best preserved (*-rpU*) to least preserved (*-ykU*), the order is roughly: *-rpU* < *-rkU* < *-rqU* < *-ykU*. This is the order in which these suffixes will be discussed below.

9.1.1. *-rpU* 'down'

-rpU preserves to a great degree its meaning 'down'. Not surprisingly, then, *-rpU* frequently occurs on verbs that have 'to go down' as a component of their meaning; e.g.:

404	... <i>"shallak"</i>	<i>ni-r-shi</i>	<i>kacha-rpU-mu-n.</i>
	(sound)	say-adv-IND	release-down-afar-3
	'...(God) releases (the chain) down (from heaven).' (* <i>"shallak"</i> is the sound of the chain falling)		
405	... <i>yaqa-ku-rpu-sha</i>	<i>pampa-man-shi.</i>	
	fall-refl-down-3PERF	ground-IND	
	'...he fell to the ground.'		

¹Peter Landerman (personal communication) informs me that this was pointed out by Gonzales Holguín in his 1607 *Gramática y arte nuevo de la lengua general de todo el Perú. llamada lengua qqichua o del Inca*.

406 ...pukutay ura-ka-rpU-mu-ra-n.
 cloud descend-pass-down-afar-past-3
 '...the clouds came down about them.'

In some cases, *-rpU* 'down' adds the meaning 'going in a downward direction'; e.g., with *kuti-* 'to return' it adds the idea that the return was down the hill. In a folk tale, the villain leaves the scene of his crime and returns down the hill to his house; then the next morning he comes back to the scene of his crime:²

407 Y nirkur kuti-rpu-r-qa ya warannin tuta shamu-sha.
 and then return-down-adv-TOP now next:day early come-3PERF
 'And then, having returned down there, early the next morning he comes (back to the scene of the crime).'

In example 408, *-rpU* 'down' is used to suggest that the subject leans over the top of the sack, working from above it:

408 Kustal-man yayku-rku-pti-n baaya hira-rpu-sha.
 sack-GOAL enter-up-adv-3P wow sew-down-3PERF
 'When he (the hero) got into the sack, he (the villain) sewed him into it.'

Swisshelm [41] (pg. 497) shows that *-rpU* may be used in a figurative sense of 'lower' (e.g., with 'be sick' to indicate change for the worse) or 'fall' (e.g., with darkness falling). The only example of this kind I have come upon for HgQ is 409:

409 Jesus wanu-rpu-sha-n oora...
 Jesus die-down-sub-3P time
 'Right when Jesus died...'

-rpU is frozen in the expression *taksha-rpu-q* 'a bit smaller' from *taksha* 'small'; see example 1135. This use of *-rpU* is very curious since *taksha* is a substantive and *-rpU*, with the exception of this example, only follows verbs.

9.1.2. *-rkU* 'up'

Historically, *-rkU* meant 'up', as evidenced by verbs like *wa+rkU-* 'to hang up' (see discussion above). But the synchronic uses of *-rkU* go far beyond this directional sense. (*-rkU* will nonetheless be glossed 'up'.) This discussion is divided into two sections: first, those cases in which *-rkU* occurs in finite verbs; and second, its occurrence in adverbial clauses.

9.1.2.1. *-rkU* in Finite Verbs

In examples 410 and 411, *-rkU* means 'up' in a fairly straightforward directional sense:

²The "point of reference" does not go down the hill with the villain, but stays with the hero at the scene of the crime; thus the use of *shamu-* 'come' for the villain's return.

410 Rumi ichi-ku-rku-sha.
rock stand-refl-up-3PERF

'The rock stood on end/stood up.'

In example 411, a witch is climbing up a rope after a fleeing child:

411 ...wamra-ta-si aypa-rku-n-raq-shi achakay-qa.
child-OBJ-indef reach-up-3-yet-IND witch-TOP

'...the witch has yet to catch up to the child.'

In the following cases, *-rkU* means roughly 'to completion':

kumli-rkU- 'to come to completion'; e.g.:

412 Kontraato diya kumli-rku-n.
contract day complete-up-3

'The day arrives on which they are to keep their contract.'

miku-kU-rkU- (eat-refl-up-) 'to eat up, to eat to completion'

upu-rkU- and *upya-rkU*- (drink-up-) 'to drink to completion'; e.g.:

413 Qam upu-rku-nki-man-chu?
you drink-up-2-cond-YN?

'Would you be able to drink it up (i.e., to drink it all)?'

usha-kU-rkU- 'to finish off'; see example 1722, p.416.

In some cases, *-rkU* 'up' with imperatives indicates politeness. This use is usually carried out by *-ykU* 'impact'; see section 9.1.4.4. The difference seems to be that *-rkU* adds the idea that little is being asked of the hearer; e.g.:

414 Yapa-rku-ma-y.
add-up-=>1-2IMP

'Give me a bit more.' (lit. 'Add more to me.')

See also example 531, p.154.

In some cases, *-rkU* 'up' flags surprising turns of event (much as one would report a surprising development in English with "He up and hit him"); e.g.:

415 Chaki-n-pita "haq" ni-r amu-ku-rku-n.
foot-3P-ABL say-adv clench:in:teeth-refl-up-3

'Saying "haq", he bites him in the foot.'

416 ...bensi-yka-pti-n-na-shi gaallu kanta-rku-n.
conquer-impfv-adv-3P-now-IND rooster crow-up-3

'...right when he was winning, a rooster crowed (signaling dawn, at which the *condenado* who was winning would lose his strength).'

Example 417 reports the happy and surprising outcome of a story:

417 Chay-pita kushi-sha-na runa keeda-rku-n
that-ABL be:happy-prtc-now man remain-up-3

ukumarya-ta wanu-yka-chi-r.
bear-OBJ die-impact-caus-adv

'Thereafter, the man was happy, having killed the bear.'

In narratives, *-rkU* sometimes marks proleptic allusions, i.e., events which turn out to have significant consequences later in that narrative. The following is such a

case because the momentum of the stone carries the fox into the river, causing him to drown:

418 ...chupa-n-man ruyru rumi-ta wata-ku-rku-n.
tail-3P-GOAL round stone-OBJ tie-refl-up-3

'...he tied a round stone to his tail.'

The *-rkU* in example 419 marks proleptic allusion, because the husband finds out about the affair his wife is having and kills her lover:

419 ...huk-wan warmi-n tiya-ku-rku-sha, runa-wan.
other-COM wife-3P live-refl-up-3PERF man-COM

'...his wife lived with another man.'

Another example of proleptic allusion is 1287 (p.314); the bear that arrives spells real trouble, as becomes evident as the story unfolds.

In some cases, *-rkU* indicates the suddenness or brevity with which something happened. This is very similar to *-rI-ykU* 'sudden' (see section 9.4.3), and may be evidence that, in some cases, *-rkU* resulted from the collapse of *-rI-ykU*. In example 420, *-rkU* is added to *watqa-* to indicate the momentariness of the spying, i.e., a peek rather than a prolonged look:

420 Chawra buurru ni-n-shi: "Watqa-rku-shaq-chu? Wakin-kuna-qa
then donkey say-3-IND spy-up-1FUT-YN? other-plur-TOP

chawra ni-n-shi: "Maa watqa-rku-y. Chawra buurru
then say-3-IND challenge spy-up-inf then donkey

watqa-rku-n-shi.
spy-up-3-IND

'Then the donkey says, "Shall I peek?" The others then say,
"Go on and peek!" Then the donkey peeks.'

In other cases, the brief lapse in time is understood as between the time of speaking and the initiation of the event, rather than the duration of the event; e.g., see example 291, p.86.

When *-rkU* 'up' occurs with *yuri-* 'to be born, to appear', the combination means 'to show up, to come onto the scene'; e.g.:

421 Y mayllanta yuri-rku-mu-sha.
and suddenly appear-up-afar-3PERF

'And suddenly he appeared/showed up.'

422 Kondor yuri-rku-n may oora paasa-sha-n-pita-na.
condor appear-up-3 long time pass-sub-3P-ABL-now

'The condor shows up after a lot of time has passed.'

Other examples of *-rkU* 'up':

423 Huk-ta watya-ku-rku-shun kuchi-ki-ta.
one-OBJ roast-refl-up-12FUT pig-2P-OBJ

'Let's roast one of your pigs.'

424 Qam-qa ima-naw-taq wara-rku-shka-nki?
you-TOP what-SIM-?? dawn-up-perf-2

'And you, how did you wake up?'

9.1.2.2. -rkU in Adverbial Clauses

When *-rkU* occurs in the verb of an adverbial clause, it may be used as in the previous cases, i.e., as an extended use of 'up'. For instance, in example 425, *-rkU* fits the meaning 'up' in that the shearing proceeds from the feet of the sheep *up* to the middle of its back:

- 425 Rutu-y-ta qalla-ri-nchi rikra-n hana-n-pita ... pullan
 shear-inf-OBJ begin-pnct-12 arm-3P top-3P-ABL half
 loomu-n-yaq chaya-rku-chi-r.
 back-3P-LIM arrive-up-caus-adv
 'We begin to shear it from the top of the arms ... until
 we cause (the path) to arrive in the middle of his back.'

However, most cases, when *-rkU* occurs in an adverbial clause, it is not used in any sense of 'up'; rather it means roughly that the event referred to by the superordinate clause follows directly the completion of the event referred to by the adverbial clause. I.e., if X is the event referred to by the adverbial clause with *-rkU*, and Y is the event of the superordinate clause, then *-rkU* means roughly "upon the completion of X, there followed Y."

In a body of texts studied, there were over 200 examples of *-rkU*, 83% of these occurring in the verb of an adverbial clause. And of these, 90% occurred in same-subject adverbial clauses with the subordinator *-r*. This distribution is consonant with the meaning sketched above: it is more likely that one event will be seen (and presented) as directly following another if they have the same subject (i.e., when--typically--they are performed by the same agent/actor). Because discontinuities of subject generally involve discontinuities of time, adverbial clauses with a subject different from that of the superordinate clause seldom have *-rkU*. Examples 426-432 illustrate *-rkU* with same-subject adverbial clauses:

- 426 Payla-wan yanu-rku-r kachi-ta chay-man tinku-rI+ykU-chi-r
 pot-COM cook-up-adv salt-OBJ that-GOAL meet-sud-caus-adv
 qara-naku-n.
 feed- recip-3
 'Having cooked it in a pot, having mixed salt into that,
 they serve it.'
- 427 ...horqo-rku-r kuti-rkU-chi-r, horqo-rku-r
 remove-up-adv return-up-caus-adv remove-up-adv
 kuti-rkU-chi-r...
 return-up-caus-adv
 '...repeatedly taking it out and putting it back...'
- 428 Chay-naw rura-rku-r apa-ku-n dereechu inlisyaman.
 that-SIM do-up-adv take-refl-3 straight church-GOAL
 'Having done that, they take it directly to the church.'
- 429 Llachapa-ta-pis apa-q suwa-ku-rku-r-shi.
 clothing-OBJ-indef take-NRP steal-refl-up-adv-IND
 'He would also take clothing, having stolen it.'

- 430 ...[[kumun-ta pusha-ku-rku-r] ruqru miku-q] aywa-na-n-paq.
community-OBJ lead-refl-up-adv ruqru eat-sub go-sub-3P-PUR
'...to have the community go eat *roqro* (a potato dish),
upon having been lead there.'
- 431 Chay-naw listu-kU-rku-:ri-r aywa-n...
that-SIM prepare-refl-up-plur-adv go-3
'Having prepared like that, they go...'
- 432 Chay-ta usha-rku-r rutu-y-ta qalla-yku-nchi tihira-wan.
that-OBJ finish-up-adv shear-inf-OBJ begin-impact-12 scissor-COM
'Having finished that, we begin to shear it with a scissors.'

See also example 76 (p.32) and 788 (p.208).

Same-subject adverbial clauses with *-rkU* occur frequently as reduplications; see example 1307 (p.321) and other examples in sections 15.3.1.2 and 15.3.1.3.

Examples 433-436 illustrate *-rkU* with different-subject adverbial clauses:

- 433 Noqa-ta-pis chay-naw ni-ma-sha karga-chaw sunaq
I-OBJ-indef that-SIM say=>1-3PERF cargo-LOC well
sirbi-ku-pti-:.
serve-refl-adv-1P
'He told me that too, although I served well in (carrying) cargo.'
- 434 Chay-ta miku-y-ta usha-rku-pti-n roqro-ta-na qara-n.
that-OBJ eat-inf-OBJ finish-up-adv-3P roqro-OBJ-now feed-3
'When they₁ finish eating that, they₁ then feed them *roqro*.'
- 435 Tinku-rku-pti-n oosu-shi apa-ku-ra-n...
meet-up-adv-3P bear-IND take-refl-past-3
'When they met, the bear took her off...'
- 436 Wanu-rku-pti-n hinan oora willa-n agenti-ta...
die-up-adv-3P very time tell-3 agent-OBJ
'When he dies, at that very time they tell the agent...'³

See also example 408, p.123.

9.1.3. -rqU 'out'

Except as frozen in certain roots (e.g., *qa+rqU-* 'to expel'), *-rqU* 'out' has lost virtually all directional meaning. It has assumed various meanings: temporal, 'having just happened'; aspectual, 'having happened with remarkable speed'; and modal, 'unexpectedly, surprisingly'.

In examples 437 and 438, *-rqU* is used *temporally*:

³It is important that this be done right when someone dies, as it is the *agente's* responsibility to come and verify that the death occurred as reported.

437 Allichu wara-rqU-nki?
good-YN? dawn-out-2

'How did you dawn?' (said only to someone soon after they had gotten up)

Example 438 shows an interesting temporal/aspectual contrast; in 438a, with *-rqU* 'out', the meaning is past, whereas in 438b, with *-ri* 'punctual', it is future (projected):

438 a. Sha-rqU-mu-nki. (come-out-afar-2)
b. Sha-ri-mu-nki. (come-asp-afar-2IMP)

a. 'You have just come.'
b. 'Come back in just a minute.'

In examples 439 and 440, *-rqU* is used *aspectually*:

439 Llapan-ta wañu-rqU-:ri-chi-n buurru-qa.
all-OBJ die-out-plur-caus-3 donkey-TOP

'The donkey kills them all (quickly).'

The condor, having flown, assumes that the frog, coming on the ground, would be far behind. When he finds the frog already at their destination, he asks:

440 Saapo, ima-naw-pa-taq qam sha-rqU-mu-nki?
frog what-SIM-GEN-?? you come-out-afar-2

'Frog, how did you come so quickly?'

In examples 441-443, *-rqU* is used to express that something happened *unexpectedly* or *surprisingly*:

441 Chay kontra-nchi yana saako chukru botas asendaado
that opponent-12P black coat hard boots hacienda:owner
gaana-rqU-ma-nchi.
beat-out-=>1-12

'That black coat, hard boots hacienda owner who opposes us beat us (surprisingly, unjustly).'

442 Y chay-man-qa tiya-n-ta puñu-rqU-chi-naq chay sonso.
and that-GOAL-TOP aunt-3P-OBJ sleep-down-caus-NRP that stooge.

'And the stooge made his aunt sleep there!
(where she would be killed instead of himself).'

443 Chawra heqa-rqU-sha chay runa.
So come:from:around-out-3PERF that man

'So the man comes (quickly).'

9.1.4. *-ykU* 'in'

Historically, *-ykU* meant 'in' but this meaning has been generalized to mean roughly 'with force, impacting upon, with intensity'.⁴ There are three major divisions in the use of *-ykU*. The first is its aspectual use in conjunction with *-ri* in the combination *-ri+ykU* (see section 9.4.3). The second and third uses differ in terms of the object to which the force/impact/intensity is perceived to be directed.

⁴This probably proceeded through stages 'into' and 'to impact upon'.

In one class of cases it is directed toward some goal or object of the action referred to by the verb to which *-ykU* is suffixed. For example, *maqa-* means simply 'hit', but *maqa-ykU-* means 'to hit forcefully' (see sections 9.1.4.1-9.1.4.3). In other cases, the force is directed toward the hearer of the utterance; here *-ykU* is intended to evoke some special reaction (e.g., compassion, joy, humor, etc.) or move the hearer to some action (see sections 9.1.4.4 and 9.1.4.5). Finally, *-ykU* can intervene between a root and a causative, making the causative "indirect" rather than "direct" (see section 9.1.4.6).

With a certain small class of verbs including *puñu-* 'to sleep', *chura-* 'to place', *hama-* 'to sit', and *pampa-* 'to bury', the addition of *-ykU* changes the meaning from static to dynamic. What would have been a locative phrase (with *-chaw* 'LOC') with the static verb becomes a goal (with *-man* 'GOAL') with the dynamic one; e.g.:

- 444 a. Kay-chaw puñu-n. (here-LOC sleep-3)
 b. *Kay-man puñu-n. (here-GOAL sleep-3)
 c. ?Kay-chaw puñu-yku-n. (here-LOC sleep-impact-3)
 d. Kay-man puñu-yku-n. (here-GOAL sleep-impact-3)
- a. 'He sleeps here.'
 d. 'He puts himself to sleep here.'
 (or 'He lays himself down to sleep here.')

Some examples from texts of this use are:

- 445 Chay rus-ta ka-sha-n-man chura-ykU-:ri-r...
 that cross-OBJ be-sub-3P-GOAL place-impact-plur-adv
 'Placing the crosses back where they had been...'
- 446 Punku-n-man hama-ykU-chi-r...
 door-3P-GOAL sit-impact-caus-adv
 'Seating them at the door (of his house)...'
- 447 ...kawallu-n-pa waqta-n-man hama-yku-r waqa-sha.
 horse-3P-GEN back-3P-GOAL sit-impact-adv cry-3PERF
 '...having sat down onto the back of his horse, he cried.'

9.1.4.1. Success

-ykU may indicate that the verb to which it is attached was carried out with enough energy to be successful. Consider example 448; note that achieving success in the search (for someone to wash the body) is a prerequisite to having him wash it.⁵ The addition of *-ykU* to *ashi-* 'seek' makes it 'seek with success', i.e., 'to find'.

- 448 ...haapa runa-ta piyun-ta ashi-yku-r arma-chi-n yaku-wan.
 ...foreign man-OBJ peon-OBJ seek-impact-adv bathe-caus-3 water-COM
 '...having sought (successfully!) a foreigner, they have
 him wash (the corpse) with water.'

In examples 449-452, *-ykU* occurs in an adverbial clause the success of whose action

⁵A "foreigner" (i.e., someone from another town) must do this washing, because (it is believed) if a relative of the deceased washes the body, it would cause the whole clan to die.

is a prerequisite to the action of the main clause:⁶

449 Y yoorachaw punku-ta ranka-yku-lla-r-shi puñu-sha.
and tree-LOC door-OBJ lodge-impact-just-adv-IND sleep-3PERF

'And having succeeded in lodging the door in the tree,
they slept (on top of the door).'

450 Niykur qayku-pa-yku-pti-: buurru-ta yaku apa-ku-n.
then push-ben-impact-adv-1P donkey-OBJ water take-refl-3

'Then when we succeeded in pushing it into the water, the
water carried off the donkey.'

451 Chay-chaw gaana-yku-r kondor-qa ni-n *Kanan-qa marka-ta
that-LOC beat-impact-adv condor-TOP say-3 now-TOP town-OBJ

apa-ku-:-na-mi*.
take-refl-1-now-DIR

'Having won there, the condor says, "Now I will take over
the town."'

452 Chawra runa nubillu-n-ta qellay-paq rantiku-yku-r
then man steer-3P-OBJ money-PUR sell-impact-adv

pullan qellay-ta paaga-yku-n atoq-ta.
half money-OBJ pay-impact-3 fox-OBJ

'Then the man, having sold his steer for money, pays half
of the money to the fox.'

See also *ashta-ku-yku-r* (carry-refl-impact-adv) in example 842 (p.216) and the first line of example 1639 (p.385).

9.1.4.2. With *qo-* 'give'

In most cases in which *qo-* 'give' is followed by *-ykU*, the ownership of some physical object is transferred to a recipient; e.g., in 453 the money (its ownership) is transferred to the speaker:

453 Qellay-ta qo-ykU-ma-nqa.
money-OBJ give-impact==>1-3FUT

'He will give me money.'

Without *-ykU*, *qo-* 'give' generally means simply that one hands or entrusts the object to the recipient, without intending that the recipient become its owner. Compare examples 454a and b:

454 Qam-ta qo- { a. -yku } -:.
you-OBJ give { b. -∅ } i

'I give it to you.'

Example 454a implies that the recipient is the new owner, whereas 454b does not.

Some idioms borrowed from Spanish with *qo-* 'give' do not have *-ykU*, as there is no physical object being transferred to the recipient:

⁶As far as I have been able to discover, this use of *-ykU* is limited to adverbial clauses.

- 455 Yus-ninchi:-qa bindisyun-ta qo-kU-ma-nchi.
 God-12P-TOP blessing-OBJ give-refl=>1-12
 'God blesses us (i.e., gives us blessing).'
- 456 Chawra-qa rimeeru eskirbaanu parabin-ta qo-n.
 then-TOP first scrivener for:good-OBJ give-3
 'Then the scrivener congratulates him first.'
 (The text goes on to explain that a *parabin* is the act
 of shaking the hand of the man who is entering office.)
- 457 Pay-kuna-pa ka-n numramintu-n. Qo-n rasun-pa awturidaa-kuna...
 he-plur-GEN be-3 title-3P give-3 real-adv authority-plur
 'They have their titles. The authorities really give
 (the titles) to them (for the duration of the fiesta).'

See also example 1476, p.353.

In contrast to these, which do not have *-ykU*, there are some like 'give a kick (a blow, etc.)' which do have *-ykU*, as in example 458. Since the meaning implies that the goal/object is directly affected by the action, such cases support the claim that *-ykU* indicates increased impact on the goal/object of the action.⁷

- 458 ...huk hachaasu qo-yku-sha.
 one axe:blow give-impact-3PERF
 '...he struck a terrific blow with an axe.'
 (*hachaasu* from Sp. *hacha* 'axe')

9.1.4.3. With Verbs of Perception

With verbs of perception (e.g., *rika-* 'to see', *wiya-* 'to hear', *watqa-* 'to spy', etc.), *-ykU* indicates that the one who perceives gets the full impact of what he is perceiving.⁸ Rather than just seeing or hearing, with *-ykU* one grasps the consequences of what is perceived; e.g.:

- 459 Rika-yku-r awtoridaa ni-n "Chay papel titulu-yki alli
 see-impact-adv authority say-3 that paper title-2P good
 ka-yka-n".
 be-impfv-3
 'Upon seeing it (and grasping its significance), the authority
 says, "(According to) that paper, your title is in order."

⁷ Similarly, *usha-* 'finish' with *-ykU* can mean 'finish off, severely damage'; e.g.:

- i. ...kaara-n-pita-shi runa-ta raska-r usha-ykU-n.
 face-3P-ABL-IND man-OBJ scratch-adv finish-impact-3
 '...he scratches him severely in the face.'
- ii. ...runa-qa kallpa-yku-r-shi mutu-r usha-yku-n...
 man-TOP strengthen-impact-adv-IND chop-adv finish-impact-3
 '...the man, gathering his strength, chopping finishes him
 off...'

⁸ Note that whereas in other cases *-ykU* indicates increased impact on the object of the verb to which it is suffixed, with verbs of perception *-ykU* indicates increased impact on the subject, i.e., the one who perceives the object.

460 Chay-ta rika-yku-r muku aywa-ku-n mancha-ri-sha...
that-OBJ see-impact-adv lamb go-refl-3 scare-asp-prtc

'Upon seeing that (his owners were looking among the flock, and realizing that they were looking for him), the lamb goes off very frightened...'

461 Chay-naw wanu-sha-ta rika-yku-r agenti papil-ta
that-SIM die-prtc-OBJ see-impact-adv agent paper-OBJ

apa-chi-n alkaldi-man.
take-caus-3 mayor-GOAL

'Upon verifying that he died like that, the agent sends a paper to the mayor.' (This follows text which says 'Then the agent goes to look, in order to know precisely how he died.')

462 Chay-ta wiya-yku-r mishi aywa-sha muku-man-shi.
that-OBJ hear-impact-adv cat go-3PERF lamb-GOAL-IND

'Upon hearing that (and that they were going to kill the lamb), the cat went to the lamb.'

In a folk tale, when a husband is informed that his wife is having an affair with another man, he responds:

463 ...Kiki--raq-mi warmi--ta watqa-yku-shaq. Rika-yku-shaq.
self-1P-yet-DIR wife-1P-OBJ spy-impact-1FUT see-impact-1FUT

'...I myself will spy on my wife. I will see.'

By virtue of adding *-ykU*, the husband indicates that he will do more than simply observe; he will determine the significance of what he observes.

9.1.4.4. Politeness

When *-ykU* is used in imperatives, the effect is to make the command more polite; e.g.:⁹

464 *Imbita-pa-ykU-ma-y tiya--ta" ni-sha "chiicha-ta".
invite-ben-impact-=>1-2IMP aunt-1P-OBJ say-3PERF chicha-OBJ

'*Please invite my aunt,* he said, *to (come have) some chicha.*'

Not surprisingly, *-ykU* frequently co-occurs with *-lla*: 'polite'; e.g.:

465 Tiyuy kondor, horqo-ykU-lla:-ma-y ari.
uncle condor remove-impact-pol-=>1-2IMP well

'Uncle Condor, please take us out of here.'

466 Tayta lindu mishti, qam-pita ka-ykU-lla:-chun.
sir pretty white you-ABL be-impact-pol-3IMP

'Wonderful Mister Sir, may it be yours.'
(This is said by the frogs--the people--to their leader, who is conducting a legal battle for control of the township against the condor--the hacendado.)

Example 466 is interesting in that, while one would never expect *-ykU* to occur with *ka*- 'be' in the sense of 'impact on the goal/object', it does occur in uses indicating 'impact on the hearer' with the following third person imperative.

⁹Virtually every discussion of *-ykU* has made mention of its use in imperatives as a way to indicate politeness; e.g., section 3.20.2.7 of Swisshelm's treatment of derivational morphology in Pantoja et al. [28] and Cerrón Palomino [6], section 6.21.16.

9.1.4.5. At the Peak of an Episode

-ykU has a propensity for clustering at the peak ("climax") of episodes. For example, 'The Fight Between the Wasp and the Tiger' ends:

467 Y suncha allı-chaw keeda-yku-n hanaq-chaw.
and wasp good-LOC remain-impact-3 above-LOC

Tinri pasaypa perdi-yku-n.
tiger really lose-impact-3

'And the wasp remained fine up above.
The tiger really lost (by falling over a cliff).'

In the following examples (just given in English), a verb bearing *-ykU* is underlined:

468 So the man, having sold his steer, pays half of the money to the fox. And the man, with the fox's council, liberates his steer. And he remains with the bear's meat very happy.

One tale begins with the following, which I would consider a complete episode climaxed by the condor's winning:

469 An hacienda-owner-condor and a townsman-frog litigated, moving the boundary back and forth. And the hacienda-owner-condor won the litigation in the provincial authority with his good-for-nothing document.

Later, the frog and the condor race to the capital to present their case before the higher authority. The episode is climaxed by the following:

470 And he beats him to the authority's at the crack of dawn. They talk (briefly). He shows him his document. Upon seeing it (and grasping its significance), he says...

I doubt a fair case can be made that *-ykU* is in any sense a marker of (episodal) peak. Rather, I think it frequently occurs there because of its meaning: peaks are naturally the centers of increased impact.

While it is generally true that *-ykU* tends to cluster about the peaks of episodes there is considerable variation in the use of *-ykU*. There is variation from story to story. Some stories have a liberal sprinkling of *-ykU* throughout, whereas some have *-ykU* almost exclusively at the end. This may be because some stories are composed of various episodes rather than a single episode.

Frequency counts suggest that there is variation from speaker to speaker, and that this is best considered *stylistic* variation. Folk tales by three authors show the following: One author used .03 and .04 instances of *-ykU* per word (for two tales); these were strongly concentrated toward the end of his stories. Another used .05 instances of *-ykU* per word. The third used .07 instances of *-ykU* per word; these were fairly evenly distributed throughout the story. Thus it might not be reasonable to say precisely where *-ykU* will occur: it is to some extent a stylistic variable the speaker may control to his liking.

9.1.4.6. -ykU with Transitivizers

-ykU may intervene between a verb root/stem and a transitivizing pre-transition suffix (see section 9.5). The examples contrasted in 471 shows that this may make a causative less "direct," i.e., it increases the "conceptual distance between the cause and the result" (Haiman [18], p. 783). When -chi 'causative' directly follows the verb, as in 471a and b,¹⁰ the addressee is asked to kill the chicken himself; whereas when -ykU 'impact' occurs between the verb and -chi 'causative', as in 471c, the addressee is asked to kill the chicken "indirectly," i.e., through the agency of someone else. This illustrates Haiman's observation (p. 783ff) concerning the iconicity of direct/indirect causation: indirect causation involves at least as much morphological material as direct causation.

- 471 a. Kay wallpa-ta wañu-chi-pa:-ma-y.
 this chicken-obj die-caus-ben=>1-2IMP
- b. Kay wallpa-ta wañu-chi-pa-ykU-ma-y.
 this chicken-obj die-caus-ben-impact=>1-2IMP
- c. Kay wallpa-ta wañu-ykU-chi-pa:-ma-y.
 this chicken-obj die-impact-caus-ben=>1-2IMP
- a. 'Kill this chicken for me.'
- b. 'Kill this chicken for me (I beg you, please).'
- c. 'Have this chicken killed for me
 (by ordering someone else to do it).'

Example 472 is similar (but perhaps less clearly involves degrees of directness). In 472a, the recipient (the object of *makya-* 'to hand to') is the speaker; in 472b it is some other person.¹¹ I offer the following highly speculative explanation merely as a suggestion: in 472a, the object marker (-ma: '=>1') is close to the verb (*makya-* 'hand to'), and is thus readily available to be interpreted as the object of the verb, as well as serving as the object of the benefactive (-pa:). But in 472b, -ykU provides a buffer (more distance) between the verb and the object marker, and thus the recipient is understood as being some other person, and -ma: '=>1' is interpreted only as the object of the benefactive.

- 472 a. Makya- -pa:-ma-y. (hand:to- -ben=>1-2IMP)
 b. Makya-ykU-pa:-ma-y. (hand:to-impact-ben=>1-2IMP)
- a. 'Hand it to me (for my benefit).'
- b. 'Hand it to him for me.'

9.2. -mu 'afar'

After discussing where -mu 'afar' occurs within the verb (section 9.2.1), its various uses are summarized and illustrated (section 9.2.2).

¹⁰471b is included for three reasons. First, it illustrates another possible order of -ykU and -chi. Second, it should dispel any thought that the indirection of 471c is due to some semantic component brought by *ykU*; the indirection is simply due to the presence of -ykU between the root and the causative. Third, it illustrates the 'polite' use of -ykU discussed in section 9.1.4.4.

¹¹Note that 472a does not mean 'Hand it to him for me', as might be expected on the basis of 472b.

9.2.1. Distributional Considerations

-mu is the most rightward-tending pre-transition suffix; it occurs directly before the transition. For example, 473a is unacceptable because *-mu* precedes *-pa:*, whereas 473b is acceptable:

- 473 a. *Apa-mu-pa:-shayki.
 b. Apa-pa:-mu-shayki.
 take-ben-afar-1=>2FUT
 'I will bring it for you.'

Example 474 shows that *-mu* must follow *-yka:* 'impfv' and *-chi* 'caus':

- 474 a. *Apa-mu-yka:-chi-n.
 b. *Apa-yka:-mu-chi-n.
 c. Apa-yka:-chi-mu-n.
 take-impfv-cause-afar-3
 c. 'He makes him bring it here.'

-mu may not co-occur (in the same word) with the suffix *-ma:* '=>1'. This is probably because *-ma:* is derived historically from *-mu+wa* (where *-wa* is the first person object marker preserved in Quechua A languages).¹² When both *-ma:* and *-mu* might occur, *-ma:* occurs in preference to *-mu*; e.g.:

- 475 Kay-man apa-pa:-ma-y.
 here-DIR take-ben=>1-2IMP
 'Bring it here for me.'

9.2.2. Summary of the Uses of *-mu*

-mu has a variety of interpretations, depending on the verb to which it is attached. Among these, four are prominent:

- with motion verbs *-mu* means roughly 'toward here (from afar)' (section 9.2.2.1)
- with non-motion verbs it means roughly 'happening at a distance' (section 9.2.2.2)
- with non-motion verbs it may mean 'go off and do (with the implication of returning)' (section 9.2.2.3)
- with verbs indicating the emitting or the perception of some stimulus, it indicates that the perceiver and the emitter were separated by some considerable distance; (section 9.2.2.4)

9.2.2.1. 'Toward here' with Motion Verbs

With motion verbs, *-mu* means 'toward here' where "here" may be defined as either the location of the speaker or, in a narrative, the "perspective point" of the narrator. Examples:

¹²This observation is due to Peter Landerman, personal communication.

VERB	WITHOUT <i>-mu</i>	WITH <i>-mu</i>
<i>aywa-</i>	'go'	'come'
<i>apa-</i>	'take'	'bring'
<i>chaya-</i>	'arrive (to there)'	'arrive (to here)'
<i>kacha-</i>	'envoy (to there)'	'envoy (to here)'
<i>kuti-</i>	'return (to there)'	'return (back to here)'
<i>llalli-</i>	'to race (away)'	'to race (toward here)'
<i>pusha-</i>	'to lead (to there)'	'to lead (to here)'
<i>qati-</i>	'herd (away)'	'herd (toward here)'
<i>qeshpi-</i>	'escape (from here)'	'escape (to here)'
<i>sha-</i>	(see note below)	'come'
<i>tanga-</i>	'push (to there)'	'push (toward here)'
<i>ura:-</i>	'go down (from here)'	'descend (from uphill)'

Note that *-mu* is obligatory with *sha-*, i.e., there is no such verb as *sha-* 'go' corresponding to *sha-...-mu-* 'come'.¹³

For motion relative to a container (i.e., moving something into or out of anything conceived as a container--e.g., a jar, a house, a corral, etc.), the occurrence of *-mu* depends on whether "here" is inside the container or outside of it; e.g.:

VERB	WITHOUT <i>-mu</i>	WITH <i>-mu</i>
<i>lloqshi-</i>	'to go out' (said from inside)	'to come out' (said from outside)
<i>qarqU-</i>	'to drive out' (said from inside)	'to drive out' (said from outside)
<i>yaykU-</i>	'to go in' (said from outside)	'to come in' (said from inside)

"Here" may be where the hearer is or will be;¹⁴ e.g.:

476 *Aywa-yka:-mu-:* *qam ka-sha-yki-man.*
 come-impfv-MU-1 you be-sub-2P-DIR
 'I am coming to where you are.'

There are certain discourse types where "here" may be anchored. For example, in a description of a procession (in which an image is taken from the church, paraded, and returned to the church), all motion is with reference to the church.

9.2.2.2. 'At a distance' with Non-Motion Verbs

With non-motion verbs, *-mu* 'afar' means that the event referred to by the verb occurred at a distance from the place of speaking or, in the case of a narrative, the point of perspective in the narrative. Examples 477 and 481-483 illustrate this:

477 *Karu-chaw ka-yka:-mu-q-ta-pis* *sumaq rika-ra-n.*
 far-LOC be-impfv-afar-sub-OBJ-even very:well see-past-3
 'He saw well even that which was far away.'

¹³In some dialects (e.g., Huaraz, Ancash), *sha-* and *-mu* have become frozen into a single verb *shamu-*. That this is not the case in HgQ is evident from examples like *sha-yka:-mu-n* 'he is coming'.

¹⁴This is possible in English; e.g., 'I'll come to where you are'.

9.2.2.3. 'Go off and do' with Implication of Coming Back

With verbs that do not imply motion, the use of *-mu* means that the event referred to by that verb occurs at a distance from the speaker (i.e., from "here"). In some such cases, there is a strong implication that there will be motion to that place (before the event) and subsequent motion returning to "here." In these cases, a rough gloss might be 'go off, do it, and come back'. Some examples follow:

478 Tanta-ta ranti-rI-mu-y.
bread-OBJ buy-sud-afar-2IMP

'Go buy bread (and return quickly).'

479 Rika-ykU-mu-nki wasi-nchi:-ta ima-shi ka-yka:-n.
see-impact-afar-2IMP house-12P-OBJ what-IND be-impfv-3

'Go see what there might be in our house (and come back and inform me).'

480 wanu-chi-mu-sha-: aycha-ta
die-cause-afar-sub-1P-OBJ

'the meat that I killed (i.e., which I went off and killed and brought back here)'

In other such cases, there is no implication of motion away from or returning to the place of the speaker; e.g.:

481 Tayta-: ospital-chaw keeda-kU-mu-sha.
father-1P hospital-LOC remain-refl-afar-3PERF

'My father remained (over there) in the hospital.'

Examples 482 and 483 show that return to "here" after the event is not necessarily implied; indeed, the subject's life is to end "there":

482 Mihur kacha-shaq yunka-pa chay-chaw wanu-kU-mu-na-n-paq.
better send-1FUT jungle-GOAL there-LOC die-refl-afar-sub-3P-PUR

... tinri miku-mu-nqa.
... tiger eat-afar-3FUT

'Better that I send him off to the jungle so that he die over there. ... a tiger will eat him up (over there).'

483 Chay-chaw punu-mu-shaq.
there-LOC sleep-afar-1FUT

Nirkur warannin aywa-shaq Pillku-man.
then on:the:morrow go-1FUT Pillku-GOAL

'I will sleep there (at a distance).
Then the next morning I will go on to Pillku.'

9.2.2.4. Stimulus from a Distance

With verbs that mean emitting some stimulus (e.g., yell, flash) or with "sensory verbs" (perceiving some stimulus), *-mu* serves to indicate that there was some con-

siderable distance¹⁵ between the emitter and the perceiver. This use of *-mu* is reasonable if the situation being described is seen as a stimulus passing from the emitter to the perceiver. *-mu* is only appropriate if the stimulus passes from afar to "here", never the other way around. The sensory verbs include (among others; see section 13.3.2.4): *rika-* 'to see' and *wiya-* 'to hear'. Verbs in the category 'emitting stimulus' include *choqa-* 'to cough', *qapara:-* 'to yell', *kuntista-* 'to answer', *ni-* 'to say', *rata-* 'to burn (of a light)', *qaya-* 'to call to'. Examples follow:

- 484 *Ni-mu-sha-n* *wiya-ka:-mu-ra-n.*
 say-afar-sub-3P hear-pass-afar-past-3
 'That which was said (from afar) was heard (from afar).'
- 485 *Qam-ta rika-mu-:.*
 you-OBJ see-afar-1
 'I see you (over there).'
- 486 *Mas mas aywa-pti-n mas hatun-na-shi rika-kaa-mu-n achki.*
 more more go-adv-3P more big-now-IND see-pass-afar-3 light
 ... *Achki rika-ra:-mu-sha ka-sh bentaana-pa-shi.*
 light see-stat-afar-prtc be-3PERF window-GEN-IND
 'The farther on they went, the bigger the light was seen to be (from afar). ... The light had been seen (from afar) through a window.'

The following bit of text is particularly instructive. The fox is speaking at a distance from the man (who being the principal character, defines "here" in this stretch of narrative) and the bear is right next to the man. Note that when the fox speaks it is with *ni-mu-n* 'he says (from afar)', whereas when the bear or the man speak it is simply with *ni-n* 'he says'. And note that *mu* is only used when the stimulus travels from afar to "here"; for this reason the fox uses *ni-mu-n* to say that he does not hear the sound of the axe blow. (The superscript numbers are cross-referenced to the gloss.)

- 487 ... *Chawra ukumarya mancha-ka:ku-n-shi.¹ Y ni-n-shi*
 so bear fear-compl-3-IND and say-3-IND
- runa-ta, *'Mana-m rika:-chu' ni-y'.² Chawra runa-shi*
 man-OBJ no-DIR see-1-NEG say-2IMP so man-IND
- atoq-ta ni-n, *'Mana-m rika:-chu'.³ Atoq-shi ni-mu-n,*
 fox-OBJ say-3 no-DIR see-1-NEG fox-IND say-afar-3
- *Ima-taq nawpa-yki-chaw yana-ra-yka-n?⁴ Paqta-raq*
 what-?? side-2P-LOC black-stat-impfv-3 watch:out-yet

¹⁵What constitutes "considerable distance" is certainly relative, both to the nature of the stimulus and to the way the speaker wishes to present the situation of which he speaks. This should become clear in the examples given below.

chay-chaw yana runa ka-yka-n*.⁵ Ukumarya ni-n-shi,
there-LOC black man be-impfv-3 bear say-3-IND

'Chay-qa punchu--mi' ni-y.⁶ Chawra runa ni-n-shi,
there-TOP poncho-1P-DIR say-2IMP then man say-3-IND

Punchu--mi.⁷ Atoq-shi ni-mu-n, *Ma tapsi-rku-y*.⁸
poncho-1P-DIR fox-IND say-afar-3 shake-asp-2IMP

Ukumarya ni-n-shi chawra-qa, *'Chay-qa kullu--mi'
bear say-3-IND so-TOP that-TOP stump-1P-DIR

ni-y*.⁹ Chawra runa-shi ni-n, *Chay-qa kullu--mi*.¹⁰
say-2IMP so man-IND say-3 that-TOP stump-1P-DIR

Atoq-shi ni-mu-n, *Chawra ma: mutu-rku-y*.¹¹ Ukumarya
fox-IND say-afar-3 so chop-asp-2IMP bear

ni-n runa-ta, *Yanqa-lla mutu-qtu-kU-ma-nki*.¹² Chawra
say-3 man-OBJ in:vain-just chop-pretend-refl=>1-2 so

runa yanqa-lla-shi mutu-qtu-ku-n.¹³ Chawra-qa atoq-shi
man in:vain-just-IND chop-pretend-refl-3 so-TOP fox-IND

ni-mu-n, *'Paq' ni-mu-n-taqchu.¹⁴ Mas sinchi-lla
say-afar-3 say-afar-NEG more hard-just

mutu-rku-y*.¹⁵ Chawra-qa ukumarya ni-n-shi runa-ta,...¹⁶
chop-asp-2IMP so-TOP bear say-3-IND man-OBJ

'So the bear is very frightened.¹ He says to the man, "Say 'I do not see him.'² So the man says to the fox, "I do not see him."³ The fox says (from afar) "What is that beside you that is black?"⁴ Be careful lest that black man be there."⁵ The bear says, "Say 'That is my poncho.'⁶ So the man says, "My poncho."⁷ The fox says (from afar), "Well then, shake it."⁸ The bear says then, "Say 'That is my stump (cutting block).'⁹ So the man says, "That is my stump."¹⁰ The fox says (from afar), "Well then, chop it."¹¹ The bear says to the man, "Just pretend to chop me without really doing so."¹² So the man pretends to chop him without really doing so.¹³ Then the fox says (from afar), "It does not say (from afar) 'paq'.¹⁴ Hit it harder."¹⁵ So the bear says to the man,...¹⁶

In many other instances, *-mu* is interpreted relative to a metaphor of stimulus passing from afar to a perceiver. For example, to say 'it is there', if the speaker can see the object in question, he may say 488, but if it is not in view then he must say 489.

488 Chay-chaw ka-yka:-mu-n.
there-LOC be-impfv-afar-3

'It is there.'

489 Chay-chaw ka-yka-n.
there-LOC be-impfv-3

'It is there.'

Another example:

490 Rika-y! Kuchi-ta pishta-yka:-mu-n.
look-2IMP pig-OBJ slaughter-impfv-afar-3

'Look! They are butchering the pig (over there--watching from a hilltop).'

The metaphor is of the visual stimulus (generated by the act of slaughtering) traveling to the place where the speaker and hearer are.

Example 491 is instructive because the lion's quotation (which is underlined) would be redundant and unnecessary if it did not contain *-mu*. By having the lion repeat "Count them out!" (which he has said before, but without *-mu*), the narrator reminds the hearer/reader that the lion is at some distance from the cat. This is significant because this makes it possible for the cat to deceive the lion.

491 Then the cat deceptively counted out the head of the dead tiger which he had brought along. 'Well then, count them out over there!' ("Ma: yupa-mu-y" challenge count-afar-2IMP), says the lion. So the cat, repeatedly taking out and putting back the single head, counts it twelve times.

9.2.2.5. Perspective and Bi-Clausal Phenomena

-mu is highly dependent on the notion "here," i.e., the place where the speaker is, or the "perspective point" of a narrative. The perspective point of a narrative may be constantly shifting, but it generally resides with the main participant of each episode. For instance, in example 487 the man is the main participant, and "here" stays with him.

Are there syntactic constraints on the reference of perspective point? Yes. It must remain constant from subordinate to superordinate clause;¹⁶ it may not shift from one clause to another within the same sentence. For example, in example 492 the point from which one departs to take it is understood as the point to which he will return:

492 Qo-ykU-mu-na-n-paq apa-n.
give-impact-afar-sub-3P-PUR take-3

'He takes it to give to him (and then returns).'

Example 493a is unacceptable because the "beginning" must occur where the "bringing" originates. Since *qallari-* is a non-motion verb, *-mu* indicates that the

¹⁶This is not true of direct quotations, since they are not subordinate (although they are embedded).

"beginning" happens at a distance.¹⁷

493
 Apa-chi-mu-y-ta qallari- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a. } * \emptyset \\ \text{b. } \underline{-mu} \\ \text{-afar} \end{array} \right\}$ -na-n-ta muna-:.
 take-caus-afar-inf-OBJ begin- -sub-3P-OBJ want-1

'I want him to begin sending it here.'

9.2.2.6. Return to Normal State

With some verbs *-mu* is used as a metaphorical motion toward normal state.¹⁸ The following illustrate this:

hata-rkU- or *hata-rI-ykU-* 'to get up' may mean 'to sit up (from a prone position)' or 'to stand up (generally from a sitting position)'.¹⁹ Both verbs often bear *-mu*, it being more normal for people to be upright than prone, more normal for them to be on their feet than seated.

pawka- 'to sober up, to gradually come awake' frequently bears *-mu*, it being normal for people to be sober and awake.

wara:- 'to dawn' with *-mu* means 'to come into a new day, to wake up', people normally being up and about. (However, it may be that *wara:-mu-* indicates waking at some distance from the place where spoken.)

wayta-mu- 'to burst forth in flower', from *wayta-* 'to flower'.

wiña-mu- 'to grow on a vertical axis toward its normal size/condition'. This applies to plants, crops, children, piles, stacks, the level of a liquid (in a container, a lake, a river), etc.

yuri-mu- 'to come into existence, to appear' from *yuri-* 'to be born'.

Another case of *-mu* used in the sense of 'return to normal state' involves verbs that mean 'to fall', particularly those that mean 'to fall through space (free fall)' such as *heqa- ~ yeqa- ~ yaqa-*, *shikwa-*, and *tuni-*.²⁰ *-mu* occurs very frequently with these verbs. Often the combination of such a verb and *-mu* is consistent with the meaning 'motion toward "here"', but sometimes it is not. The exceptions can be seen as instances of 'return to normal state': things fall to the ground, which is where they normally are. For example, consider *hita-mu-* 'to throw down' (from

¹⁷It would be interesting to explore possible constraints on the occurrence of *-mu* in two clauses, one of which is subordinate to the other, such as 493 in the text and the following:

Yaku chaya-chi-mu-q sikya-ta aru-mu-shka-:.
 water arrive-caus-afar-sub ditch-obj work-afar-perf-1

'I worked the ditch toward here to make the water arrive (here).'

Limited data suggest that *-mu* occurs in each clause consistent simply with the semantics of that clause. An alternative position might hold that there are rules of structural concordance.

¹⁸This is insightfully discussed for English by Eve Clark [8].

¹⁹Either verb may be used for either meaning.

²⁰I mean to exclude some other verbs of falling, such as 'to fall off one's feet'.

hita- 'throw') in example 494. The story is told from the perspective of the bear-child (the protagonist), so the perspective point of 494 is with the bear-child, who throws the people from the belfry. Nevertheless, *-mu* is used because they are thrown to the ground, the normal place for people to be:

494 ... runa-ta-qa pampa inlisya punku-man-shi hita-rI-ykU-mu-n
 men-OBJ-TOP ground church door-GOAL-IND throw-asp-asp-afar-3

hanaq toorri-pita wanu-qpaq...
 high tower-ABL die-RESULT

'threw the men from the high tower to the ground at the door
 of the church with the result that they died.'

Later in the same text, a "condenado" threatens to fall on the hero, saying *tuni-mu-shaq-chu* (fall-afar-IFUT-YN?) 'Shall I fall onto you?' "Here", for the *condenado* who is speaking, is where he is, but the direction of travel he indicates is *from* there down to where the hero is. Unless we can understand this as a case of motion toward normal place, it seems contradictory to the basic meaning of *-mu* with motion verbs, i.e., 'toward "here"'.²¹

A final example: in the most normal state of affairs, the sun is somewhere overhead. Thus, the sun's rising, seen as motion toward normal state/position, is expressed with *-mu*: *heqa-mu-* 'to rise' (from 'to come from around, to fall'). The sun's setting is seen as departure from normal state/position and thus does not have *-mu*: *heqa* 'to set'.²²

9.2.2.7. *-mu* and Ambiguous/Vague Verbs

There are verbs that do not of themselves belong to any of the classes mentioned above. Other verbs are ambiguous in such a way that they belong to more than one of the above-mentioned categories. For example, the verbs *aru-* 'work' and *rura-* 'do, make' are not inherently motion nor non-motion verbs. Depending on the nature of what is being worked or made, the verb may act (with respect to *-mu*) as either a motion or non-motion verb: if one works on a house, since that activity is conceived to happen at a single place, *aru-* is treated as a non-motion verb. But if one works on an irrigation ditch, since that activity is conceived to occur on a path, *aru-* is treated as a motion verb. Thus in example 495, *-mu* means 'toward here', while in 496 it means 'go there to do it and then return':

495
 Sikya-ta aru-mu-shaq.
 ditch-obj work-afar-IFUT

'I will work the irrigation ditch (proceeding toward here).'

²¹Another possible explanation is that this is a case of "displaced ego", i.e., talking from the perspective of the hearer.

²²With objects other than the sun, *heqa-mu-* will ordinarily mean 'to fall to the ground'; in other dialects it means 'to climb, to go up'. *heqa-* is the reflex of PQ **siqa-*.

496

Wasi-ta aru-mu-shaq.
house-obj work-afar-1FUT

'I will work the house (going over there to do so and then returning, i.e., as commuting to work over there).'

The verb *kacha-* is ambiguous between 'to send (as an envoy)' and 'to leave behind'. The former sense suggests motion, whereas the latter is non-motion. Thus, *kacha-mu-* may mean 'to send to here' or 'to leave over there', and *kacha-* (without *-mu*) may mean 'to send to there' or simply 'to leave'.

qaya- 'to call' may mean 'to call from afar' or 'to call to come'. Examples follow:

497 Y qaya-kU-mu-shaq chay yana runa-ta rika-nki ni-shpa-:.
and call-refl-afar-1FUT that black man-OBJ see-2 say-adv-1

'I will call out (from afar), saying, "Watch out for that black man!"'

498 Chay-kuna kabildu-man qaya-mu-n.
that-plural chapter-GOAL call-afar-3

'They call them to come to the chapter (a room of the municipality).'

rika- is used for visual perception both with and without intent, i.e., for *see* (without intention) and for *look* (with intention). The former interpretation (*see*) is compatible with *-mu*'s sense 'stimulus coming from afar', whereas the latter (*look*) is more compatible with its sense 'go (over there) and look'.

9.3. Pluralization

Verbs are pluralized by adding one of the following pre-transition suffixes: *-rka*, *-ri*, *-pa:kU*, or *-rpa*, or--rarely--the post-transition suffix *-kuna*. Which pluralizer occurs depends on what other suffixes occur. The rule is basically as follows:²³ To pluralize a verb,

1. If *-ra:* 'stative' occurs, replace *-ra:* with *-rpa*; e.g.: the plural of *wichqa-ra-yka-n* 'it is open' is *wichqa-rpa-yka-n* 'they are open'; of *hama-ra-yka-n* 'he is seated' is *hama-rpa-yka-n* 'they are seated'; and of *qati-ra-n* 'he follows him' is *qati-rpa-n* 'they follow him'.
2. If *-yka:* 'imperfective' occurs, put *-rka* before *-yka:*; e.g.: the plural of *miku-yka-n* 'he is eating' is *miku-rka-yka-n* 'they are eating'.
3. If there is a directional suffix (*-rkU*, *-rpU*, *-rqU*, *-ykU*), a reciprocal suffix (*-nakU*), or sometimes when there is a reflexive suffix (*-kU*), put *-rI* after that suffix; e.g.: the plural of *miku-rku-r* 'having eaten (sing.)' is *mikU-rkU-ri-r* 'having eaten (pl)' ([mikarká:rir]); of *maqa-naku-n* 'they hit each other' (where there is no explicit plural) is *maqa-nakU-ri-n* 'they hit each other' ([maqanaká:riŋ]); of *hama-ykU-chi-n* 'he seats him' is *hama-ykU-rI-chi-n* 'he seats them' ([hamayka:ráchiŋ]); of

²³As a heuristic, this is written as an ordered rule, with only the first applicable case applying; I would not defend the linguistic reality of this ordering.

hama-ku-yku-pti-n ‘when he sits down’ is *hama-kU-ykU-:rI-pti-n* ‘when they sit down’ ([hamakayka:riptiŋ]); of *chari-nakU-rkU-r* ‘grab each other’ is *chari-nakU-rkU-:ri-r*.

4. If the subject is first person plural exclusive (11) and the person marker would be -: ‘1’, then use *-:kuna* ‘11’ instead of the simple first person suffix -:; e.g.: the plural of *aywa-shka-:* is *aywa-shka-:kuna*.
5. Otherwise, use *-pa:kU*; e.g.: the plural of *miku-n* ‘he eats’ is *miku-pa:ku-n* ‘they eat (all together)’.

There are a few more things to observe:

1. Ordinarily only one pluralizer occurs per verb, but it is possible to have more than one; e.g., in example 648 (p.182) pluralization is indicated both by *-rka* and by *-kuna*. Further, when the subject is first person plural inclusive (12), the verb does not ordinarily bear a pluralizer to indicate a plural subject. However, the occurrence of a pluralizer is not impossible; e.g.:

499 *Aywa-ku-rka-yka-:shun.*
go-refl-plur-impfv-12FUT

‘We will be going.’

2. *-pa:kU*, in addition to indicating plurality, adds the idea that the action (indicated by the verb) was done all together or as a group; e.g.:

500 ...llapan kumun chura-pa:ku-n.
all community put-plur-3

‘...all the community puts it (i.e., puts up the money).’

501 ...*aw aw* ni-pa:ku-n.
yes yes say-plur-3

‘...*yes yes* they all said (together, as with one voice).’

I suspect that *-pa:kU* may co-occur with one of the other pluralizers, although I do not have an example of this.

3. Pluralization added to a verb may apply to its subject, to its object, or to both. Thus *maqa-rka-yka-n* can mean ‘they are hitting him’, ‘he is hitting them’, or ‘they are hitting them’.
4. Verbal pluralization is not obligatory. Sentences like example 502, in which the verb is not pluralized, are natural and common:

502 *Runa-kuna sha-yka-:mu-n.*
man-plur come-impfv-afar-3

‘Men are coming.’

5. Dialects vary as to how much they actually indicate pluralization. In some dialects, virtually all of the verbs which could be pluralized are actually pluralized. I estimate that Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua pluralizes close to 70% of the verbs eligible for pluralization, whereas HgQ only pluralizes about 30% (my rough guess).

9.4. Aspect

The most fundamental aspectual distinction in HgQ is between *-ykU* ‘perfective’ and *-yka:* ‘imperfective’ (section 9.4.1). The second-most fundamental contrast is between *-rI* ‘punctual’ and *-ra:* ‘stative or durative’ (section 9.4.2). The inter-

action of the perfective-imperfective and punctual-durative contrasts is discussed in section 9.4.3, and iterative aspect, indicated by the suffixes *-kacha:*, *-ykacha:*, and *-cha:* as well as by reduplication of the verb root/stem, in section 9.4.4.

The order of pre-transition suffixes is somewhat flexible. The following, very loose generalization characterizes the relative ordering of two types of pre-transition suffix:²⁴ The suffixes of a more derivational character tend leftward (i.e., more toward the root), while those of a more aspectual character tend rightward (i.e., more toward the transition).

[DERIVATIONAL <-----> ASPECTUAL]

Further, suffixes which may be used either derivationally or aspectually (e.g., *-rqU*) tend to occur more leftward if used derivationally and more rightward if used aspectually. Examples throughout this section should bear this generalization out. Other comments on the order of pre-transition suffixes are in section 7.2.1.

9.4.1. The Perfective-Imperfective Aspectual Distinction

The most fundamental aspectual distinction in HgQ is the perfective-imperfective contrast, indicated by *-ykU* 'perfective' and *-yka:* 'imperfective'.²⁵

-ykU will be glossed 'perfective' in this discussion of aspect, but it is glossed

²⁴Note, there is no clear-cut distinction between the aspectual and truly derivational suffixes. For example, among the various uses of the directional discussed in section 9.1, some are aspectual (e.g., *-rqU* used to mean 'having happened with remarkable speed') and others are derivational (e.g., *-rqU* in *qa+rqU-* 'expel'). Also, consider the effect of adding what are basically aspectual suffixes to *achikya-* 'to emit light': *achikya-ra:-* means 'to glow', *achikya-ra+yka:-* means 'to shine', *achikya-rI-* means 'to flash' (a single time), *achikya-ykacha:-* means 'to blink, to flash repeatedly'. I think it would be wrong to say that these suffixes are simply aspectual in such cases, although I admit that this case could be debated.

²⁵In an unpublished paper titled "Aspect in Tarma Quechua" presented at the Fifth Symposium on Andean Linguistics, Ithaca, New York, 1981, Willem Adelaar writes: "Imperfective meaning, however, covers a wider range of possibilities than that of the marker *-ya(:)-* in Quechua. [Tarma *-ya(:)-* corresponds to HgQ *-yka:-DJW*] The latter does not refer to habitual events (including the statements of general facts), for which the unmarked form is normally used. As a result, the use of *-ya(:)-* is reserved for verbs with non-habitual imperfective meaning..." Adelaar suggests that "continuous" might be an appropriate gloss (along lines suggested by Comrie [10]), although he decides to use "durative."

In HgQ, there are also cases in which the presence of *-yka:* forces a non-habitual meaning. For example, when *-yka:* occurs on a verb that is inherently dynamic, under ordinary circumstances this is only interpretable as a progressive, and not as a habitual. Nonetheless, I decided to use "imperfective" (rather than "continuous," "progressive," or "durative") precisely because "imperfective" is the most inclusive of these terms. The argument that "imperfective" is inappropriate because *-yka:* does not occur with habituais does not strike me as compelling because:

1. Examples such as 359 (p.110) and 503b (p.146) suggest that, in the right context, certain verbs with *-yka:* can have a habitual meaning. This seems particularly true if one takes the fairly broad definition of habitual given by Comrie [10]:26ff.
2. Even if *-yka:* and a habitual meaning were mutually exclusive (which, as I have said, I do not believe to be the case), I am not sure that this should be taken (contra Comrie, p. 33) as a decisive criterion for rejecting "imperfective" in favor of a more specific gloss.

'impact' or 'in' elsewhere in this book. Various uses of *-ykU* were discussed in section 9.1.4. Fundamentally, these uses are consistent with the claim that *-ykU* is a marker of perfectivity.²⁶

-ykU 'perfective' contrasts sharply with *-yka:* 'imperfective'. These two suffixes do not ordinarily co-occur (exceptions being cases where *-ykU* is frozen with the root, such as *ya+yku-yka-n* 'he is entering').

-yka: is often glossed 'progressive' or 'continuative', but because it occurs with a wider range of verbs than either of these labels suggests, I have chosen to gloss it 'imperfective'. It may occur with verbs such as the following:

With statives:

ka-yka-n-na (be-impfv-3-now) 'there are some now'

pishi-yka-n (be:lacking-impfv-3) 'it is lacking'

kawa-yka-n-raq (be:alive-impfv-3-yet) 'it is still alive'

With events of a repeated but sporadic nature:

illqur-ya-yka-n (lightning-become-impfv-3) 'lightning is flashing'

rinka-yka-n (jump-impfv-3) 'he is jumping'

And with inherently iterative verbs:

kachkach+ya-yka-n (kachkach+sound-impfv-3) 'his teeth are chattering',

ko:rri-yka-n (run-impfv-3) 'he is running'

Generally *-yka:* 'imperfective' precedes *-ma:* '=>1', as, e.g., in 503a. I have elicited the opposite order, which is said to have a habitual meaning; see 503b:

503 a. *Maqa-yka:-ma-n.*
hit-impfv=>1-3

b. *Maqa-ma-yka:-n.*
hit=>1-impfv-3

a. 'He is hitting me (right now).'

b. 'He hits me a lot (daily or frequently, not necessarily right now).'

The order of *-yka:* and object marker in 503b is at best rare. It is probably not a systematic way to express habitual tense; see section 8.9 concerning the habitual tense formed by *-q ka-*.

In some cases, *-yka:* 'imperfective' and *-ykU* 'perfective' seem to differ by more than just aspect. For example, in 504 *-ykU* seems to add the idea of 'intentional activity'. (The Spanish meanings are as given by Teodoro Cayco Villar.)

504 a. *rika-yku-r* (see-perfective-adv)
b. *rika-yka-r* (see-impfv-adv)

a. 'looking at it/watching it' (Spanish: 'mirándolo')

b. 'seeing it' (Spanish: 'viéndolo')

²⁶This is the conclusion of an unpublished study I have done along the lines of Hopper and Thompson [19]. A review of the major uses outlined in section 9.1.4 should convince the reader familiar with Hopper and Thompson's article that it is very plausible that *-ykU* is a marker of *high transitivity.*

Further, if *-ykU* occurs with an inherently imperfective verb, the meaning may be somewhat altered; e.g., attached to *puñu-* ‘to sleep’, the result (*puñu-ykU-*) means ‘to put oneself to bed’. (This is consistent with the general meaning of *-ykU* ‘to impact upon’, as discussed in section 9.1.4 above.)

9.4.2. Punctual-Durative Aspectual Contrast

The second-most fundamental aspectual contrast in HgQ is the punctual-durative contrast, indicated by *-rI* ‘punctual’ and *-ra:* ‘stative or durative’.

-rI marks ‘punctual aspect’; i.e., the event/situation is presented as having occurred in an insignificant amount of time (usually in an instant). The suffix *-rI* ‘punctual’ cannot occur on a verb like *shuya-* ‘to wait’ (hence **shuya-ri-*), which is inherently durative.²⁷ *-rI* occurs with verbs like *usha-* ‘finish’, *lloqshi-* ‘come out of’, etc.

-ra: (which is glossed ‘stat’) marks ‘stative’ or ‘durative’ aspect; i.e., the event/situation is presented as persisting over a significant amount of time. For example, *puñu-ra-yka-n* (sleep-stat-impfv-3) ‘he is sleeping/he remains asleep’ differs from *puñu-yka-n* (sleep-impfv-3) ‘he is sleeping’ in emphasizing that the subject is sleeping for an extended period.

In my corpus, *-ra:* is attested with the following sorts of verbs:²⁸

1. Verbs (and even substantives) that state characteristics: *qarwa-ra:-* ‘to be toasted/yellow’ (cf. *qarwa-* ‘to toast’), *yana-ra:-* ‘to be black’ (cf. *yana* ‘black’).
2. Verbs stating some static relationship: *chari-ra:-* ‘to be holding onto’ (cf. *chari-* ‘to grab’), *laqa-ra:-* ‘to be stuck to’ (cf. *laqa-* ‘to stick to’), *kama-ra:-* ‘to be attractive/fitting’, *wata-ra:-* ‘to be tied to’ (cf. *wata-* ‘to tie’), and *aypa:-* ‘to reach’, as in the following example:
 505 *Aypa-ra:-mu-n.*
 reach-stat-afar-3
 ‘It reaches (to here).’
 (e.g., said of a tree on the opposite bank of a river whose branches reach over to where the speaker is)
3. Verbs that state some sort of emitting: *achikya-ra:-* ‘to shine/be shining (of a light)’, *shana-ra:-* ‘to shine/be shining (of the sun)’.
4. Stative verbs: *ichi-ra:-* ‘to wait for’ (cf. *ichi-* ‘to stand’), *hama-ra:-* ‘to be seated’ (cf. *hama-* ‘sit/rest’), *la:ta-ra:-* ‘to be stretched out prone’ (cf. *la:ta-* ‘to crawl’), *ankalla-ra:-* ‘to be lying flat on one’s back’, etc.
5. Verbs and substantives stating the inert position of some material: *gocha-ra:-* ‘to be puddled up’ (cf. *gocha* ‘lake’), *mashta-ra:-* ‘to be spread out’ (cf. *mashta-* ‘to spread out’), *gotu-ra:-* ‘to pile up’ (cf. *gotu* ‘pile’).

²⁷Presumably one cannot wait unless one passes some significant amount of time in doing so.

²⁸Note that *-ra:* ‘stat’ may passivize the verb to which it is suffixed; see section 11.1.2.

9.4.3. Perfective-Imperfective and Punctual-Durative

This section discusses certain interactions of the perfective-imperfective and punctual-durative contrasts.

-rI 'punctual' and *-ykU* 'perfective' co-occur, and *-ra:* 'stative' and *-yka:* 'imperfective' co-occur. However, *-rI* does not co-occur with *-yka:* 'imperfective'.²⁹ Nor does *-ra:* 'stative/durative' co-occur with *-ykU* 'perfective'.

-rI-ykU (punct-perfective)
 **-rI-yka:* (punct-impfv)
 **-ra-ykU* (stat-perfective)
-ra-yka: (stat-impfv)

The combinations *-rI-ykU* and *-ra-yka:* are very frequent; they will now be discussed briefly.

-ra-yka: indicates the prolonged extension in time of some state or activity. In some cases, *-ra-yka:* presents the situation as unduly or excessively prolonged; e.g.: *puñu-ra-yka-n* (sleep-stat-impfv-3) 'he is sleeping (an unusually long time)'; *shuya-ra-yka-n* (wait-stat-impfv-3) 'he is waiting (a long time)'. *-yka:* 'impfv' alone never has this meaning.

The suffixes *-rI* 'punctual' and *-ykU* 'perfective' frequently co-occur in what will here be considered a single, fused unit, *-rI+ykU* (which will be glossed 'sud' for 'suddenly').³⁰ It indicates that the action referred to by the verb is done suddenly, forcefully, intentionally, or is done so as to be finished with; e.g.:

506 *Kiki-n wañu-rI+ykU-chi-n awkin-qa.*
 self-3P kill-sud-caus-adv old:man-TOP

Ruksu-n-ta-shi kuchu-ri+ykU-n.
 testicle-3P-OBJ-IND cut-sud-3.

'The old man himself kills him (in a surprising, violent way).
 He cut off his testicles.'

In the following examples, *-ri+ykU* is used primarily to indicate the speed with which something is accomplished:

507 *Afila-pa:-ri+ykU-shu-nki.*
 sharpen-ben-sud==>2-2

'He will sharpen it for you right now (without delay).'

508 *Aywa-ri+ykU:-ri-y.*
 go-sud-plur-2IMP

'Go! (and come back without delay)'

²⁹There are some cases where *-yka:* follows *-rI*; e.g., *galla+rI-yka:-* 'to be beginning to'. However, in these cases *-rI* is co-lexicalizing with the verb root.

³⁰The high frequency of the co-occurrence of *-rI* and *-ykU* is not accidental. My study of *-ykU* shows that it is highly transitive, following Hopper and Thompson's cluster definition of transitivity (see reference [19]). In particular, *-ykU* is highly 'perfective,' contrasting with *-yka:* 'imperfective'. Thus, co-occurrence with a marker of punctuality is natural.

509 Limyu ka-pti-n qasa-q yaku-wan awi-ri+ykU-r maha-n.
clean be-adv-3P cold-sub water-COM rinse-sud-adv spread-3

'When they are clean, having rinsed them slightly with cold water, they spread them out (to dry).'

Whereas in the preceding cases *-ri+ykU* seemed to indicate the speed with which something was done, i.e., an aspectual use, in the following examples it seems to indicate notions like 'done on purpose' and 'forcefully'. These are different, but seem to be naturally related to the aspectual notion; perhaps the commonality is best expressed as 'unhesitatingly', which depending on the context will be taken to mean 'swiftly', 'suddenly', 'intentionally', 'deftly', or 'forcefully'.

In example 510, the fox is prancing about haughtily showing off. The effect of *-ri+ykU* is to suggest that he stepped on the frog on purpose:

510 ...sapu-ta haru-ri+ykU-n "cheq" ni-qpaq. "Sapu-ta-chi
frog-OBJ step-sud-3 say-result frog-OBJ-CNJ

ima-chi haru-ri+ykU-: hahaa hahahaha" ni-r-shi asi-ri+ykU-n.
what-CNJ step-sud-1 say-adv-IND laugh-sud-3

'...he steps right on a frog, with the result that it says "croak." He laughs, saying, "It seems I have stepped on a frog, haha hahaha."'

In example 511, the situation is that the stooge has lodged the door in a tree, and is sleeping on top of it. An ordinary person might have accidentally stepped on the edge and dislodged it, but here the effect of *-ri+ykU* is to indicate that it was done intentionally (and contrary to normal behavior):

511 ...punku-pa kantu-n-ta-shi haru-ri+ykU-sha upa-qa.
door-GEN edge-3P-OBJ-IND step-sud-3PERF stooge-TOP

'...the stooge stepped on the edge of the door (consequently falling with it to the ground).'

Likewise, in 512, the two stooges intentionally (and contrary to normal practice) pour flour on the ground to make bread:

512 Upa-kuna-shi mashta-ri+ykU-sha pampa-man harina-ta...
stooge-plur-IND spread-sud-3PERF ground-GOAL flour-OBJ

'The stooges spread the flour out on the ground... (because they did not know how to make bread).'

An interesting use of *-ri+ykU* contrasting with the use of simply *-ykU* is seen in the climax and anticlimax of the story of the 'The Four Musicians' (Cayco Villar [4]). At the climax, the cat scratches the man *raska-r usha-yku-n*, the dog bites him *amu-ku-rku-n*, the donkey kicks him *hayta-yku-n*, and the rooster crows *kakarakoo ni-ykU-mu-n*. All but one of these uses *-ykU*. When the man reports what happened to him, he exaggerates the incidents: an iron fisted man scratched *aspi-ri+yku-sha*, a man with a knife cut me *kuchu-ri+ykU-ma-sha*, a man with two wooden legs kicked me *hayta-ykU-ma-sha*, a judge was yelling *qaya-ri+ykU-mu-n*. Note that in all but one case he uses *-ri+ykU*, which serves to enhance the suddenness, swiftness, deftness, and/or forcefulness with which these things were done.

9.4.4. Iterative

Iterative aspect indicates action occurring in repeated parts. For example, a flag's flapping (in the wind) is iterative in that "flapping" involves repeated "flaps." In HgQ, iterative aspect is often expressed with reduplication; see section 15.3. Three pre-transition suffixes which indicate iterativity--*-ykacha:*, *-kacha:*, and simply *-cha:*--are dealt with here.

-ykacha: and *-kacha:* both mean roughly 'back and forth'. Although they are very close in meaning, there are minimal pairs in which they contrast; e.g.: *kuyu-ykacha:*- 'to move back and forth from one place to another'; *kuyu-kacha:*- 'to rock or sway back and forth in one place'. Examples 513 and 514 suggest that some verbs are restricted as to which iterative suffix may follow; in 513, *kuyu-* co-occurs with *-ykacha:* but not with *-kacha:*.

513 a. *Kuyu-ykacha:-chi-shun.*
move-iter-caus-12IMP

b. **Kuyu-kacha:-chi-shun.*

a. 'Let's make it move (back and forth).'

But in 514, *picha-* co-occurs with *-kacha:* but not with *-ykacha:*:

514 a. **Picha-ykacha-n.*

b. *Picha-kacha-n.*
sweep-iter-3

b. 'He sweeps it, a little here, a little there.'

In other cases there seems to be no contrast; e.g.: *tamya-(y)kacha:*- 'to drizzle' (cf. *tamya-* 'to rain'); *qapara-(y)kacha-* 'to yell (repeatedly)' (cf. *qapara-* 'yell').

The following three examples illustrate *-ykacha:* 'iter':

515 *Chay-pita paka-ykacha-y+lla+pa qeshpi-ku-rqa-:.*
that-ABL hide-iter-adv escape-refl-past-1

'After that I escaped, hiding here and there.'

516 *Wiya-ykacha-yka-nki imay oora chaya-mu-sha-:-ta-pis.*
hear-iter-impfv-2 when time arrive-afar-sub-1P-OBJ-indef

'You will be listening for when I arrive.'

517 *Chay-chaw laata-ykacha-yka-nki sapo noqa puri-ku-sha-: oora...*
that-LOC crawl-iter-impfv-2 frog I walk-refl-sub-1 time

'You are crawling about there, frog, when I am taking my walk...'

The following examples illustrate *-kacha:* 'iter':

nana-kacha-n 'it hurts at short intervals' (cf. *nana:*- 'to hurt')

koorri-kacha:-chi- 'to make to run around' (e.g., as a coach would make one run around a track; cf. *koorri-* 'run')

puri-kacha- 'to wander about aimlessly' (cf. *puri-* 'travel, walk'); e.g.:

- 518 a. Chawras tapu-n-shi wachwa
 then ask-3-IND goose
- b. "...imanir-taq mana puri-kacha-nki qam?"
 why-?? not travel-iter-2 you
- c. "Noqa puri-kacha-: mikuy-ni:-ta ashi-r" atoq ni-n.
 I travel-iter-1 food-1P-OBJ seek-adv fox say-3
- a. 'Then the goose asks,
 b. "...why don't you go away (i.e., wander off)?"
 c. "I am going about (here and there) seeking my food,"
 says the fox.'

qati-kacha:- 'to chase about'; e.g.:

- 519 Mishí qati-kacha-yka-sha ukush-ta.
 cat chase-iter-impfv-3perf mouse-OBJ
- 'The cat was chasing the mouse about.'

-cha: 'repeatedly' indicates iterativity; it is very rare as an isolated suffix, having become co-lexicalized in several other suffixes,³¹ e.g., *ñipchi-cha*:- 'blink' (cf. *ñipchi*- 'close the eye [slowly]').

9.4.5. *-kaakU* 'complete(ly)'

-kaakU 'complete(ly)' occurs with process verbs to indicate that the process is complete. *-ka:kU* both foreshortens and undergoes morpho-phonemic lowering; e.g., [pukayaka:kaché:] /puka-ya:-ka:kU-chi-:/ 'I cause it to become completely red'.

From a strictly distributional perspective, *-ka:kU* could be considered as *-ka*: 'passive' followed by *-kU* 'reflexive'.³² Indeed, in some cases [-ka:kU] is really /-ka:-kU/, i.e., *-ka*: 'pass' followed by *-kU*; e.g.:

- 520 ...kondor-pa puyñu-man kama-ka:-ku-n.
 condor-GEN jug-GOAL arrange-pass-refl-3

'...he (the frog) puts himself into the condor's jug.'

And in some cases there is a meaning of both 'passive' and 'complete'; e.g., in 521 the subject is *shimin hirashan* 'sewed mouth', but this is the logical object of *rachi*- 'to rip'. Nevertheless, the sense of 'completeness' is also present.

- 521 Chawra-qa shimi-n hira-sha-n rachi-kaaku-n.
 so-TOP mouth-3P sew-sub-3P rip-compl-3

'So his sewed-up mouth rips completely open (i.e., it is not just a simple tear).'

In this work, *-kaakU* is treated as a single suffix because its meaning is unrelated (except perhaps historically) to *-ka*: 'passive' and *-kU* 'reflexive'. Examples follow:

chaki-kaaku-sha 'It completely dried out' (cf *chaki*- 'to dry')

³¹*-cha*: is probably derived from *-yta*:- as reported in Sayk Cruz [36] (sec. 5.3, p. 72).

³²I do not know how dialectally limited *-kaakU* 'compl' is. It has not been reported outside of my work on HgQ. This may be due to the tendency in Quechua studies to "over-segment," coupled with the fact that *-ka:kU* is rather transparently derived from *-ka:-kU*, and thus is always considered to be two suffixes.

chawa-kaaku-ra-n 'It came to full completion' or 'It completely stopped' (cf. *chawa-* 'to come to completion; e.g., in being cooked')

chukru-ya-kaaku-n 'It becomes completely hard' (cf. *chukru* 'hard')

huk-niraq-ya-kaaku-sha 'His countenance fell (completely?)' (cf. *huk-niraq-ya:-* 'to become as another' is an idiom for 'become unhappy, disturbed')

pawka-kaaku-n 'He comes completely to' (cf. *pawka-* 'to struggle to one's senses, as from being drunk or in a deep sleep')

pashta-kaakU- 'to burst into bits' (cf. *pashta-* 'to burst')

shullay-ya-kaakU- 'to become completely wet with dew'; e.g.:

522 Tanya-ri-pti-n shullay-ya-kaaku-sha.
rain-pnct-adv-3P dew-become-compl-3PERF

'When it rained briefly, everything became covered with drops of water.'

geshya-kaakU- 'to become very sick' (i.e., more than a cold)' (cf. *geshya-* 'be sick')

wañu-ka:kU- 'to die' (cf. *wañu-* 'to die, to become unconscious')

wara-kaaku-sha 'It has completely dawned (i.e., it is now day)' (cf. *wara:-* 'to dawn')

In some cases, *-kaakU* seems to indicate the high intensity or degree to which the action expressed by the verb is carried out; e.g.:

mancha-kaakU- (be:afraid-compl) means 'to be extremely afraid' (cf. *mancha-* 'to fear, to be surprised') as in the following:

523 Chawra-qa liyun-qa mancha-ri-kaaku-n-shi *kapas
Then-TOP lion-TOP fear-inc-compl-3-IND surely

wanu-ykU-chi-ma:-shun* nishpa-n.
die-dir-cause-1obj-12FUT say-adv-3

'Then the lion was really frightened saying "Surely he will kill us (incl.)."'

puñu-kaakU- (sleep-compl) 'go sound asleep'³³ (cf. *puñu-* 'sleep')

9.4.6. Aspect in Adverbial Clauses

Aspect markers used in temporal adverbial clauses may indicate the time of the adverbial clause relative to the time of the superordinate clauses. The following notation will be used to discuss this:

- T(adv) 'the time over which the event/situation conveyed by the adverbial clause obtains'
- T(main) 'the time over which the event/situation conveyed by the superordinate clause obtains'³⁴

-ra-yka: (-stat-impfv) in the verb of the adverbial clause indicates that T(main) is

³³However, in some cases, *puñu-kaakU-* means 'to doze off'.

³⁴In most cases, this is simply the main clause.

co-extensive with or included within T(adv); e.g., in 524 the singing and the going are co-extensive:

524 Aywa-n kanta-ra-yka-r.
go-3 sing-stat-impfv-adv

'He goes along singing.'

If *-ykU* 'perfective' or *-rku* 'up' occurs in the subordinate adverbial clause, then the favored reading is that T(adv) preceded T(main); e.g., 525 contrasts *-ykU* and *-yka*: following the verb *qapara-* 'to yell':

525 a. Qapara-yku-r wanu-sha.
yell-perfective-adv die-3PERF

b. Qapara-yka-r wanu-sha.
yell-impfv-adv die-3PERF

a. 'He yelled and thereupon he died.'

b. 'He died yelling.'

Further, consider the following minimal pair:

526 a. Miku-rku-r aywa-ku-:.
eat-up-adv go-refl-1

b. Miku-ra-yka-r aywa-ku-:.
eat-stat-impfv-adv go-refl-1

a. 'Having eaten (immediately thereupon) I go.'

b. 'I eat as I go/while I am going.'

If *-rI+ykU* 'sudden' occurs in the adverbial clause, it suggests that the T(adv) and T(main) were the same instant; e.g.:

527 Kuchu-ku-ri+ykU-r qapara-sha.
cut-refl-sud-adv yell-3PERF

'Right when he cut himself, he yelled.'

528 Pay aru-y-ta usha-ri+ykU-pti-n noqa aru-y-ta
he work-inf-OBJ finish-sud-adv-3P I work-inf-OBJ

qalla-yku-shka-:.
begin-perfective-perf-1

'Right when he finished working, I began to work (at the same moment).'

9.5. Transitivity Pre-Transition Suffixes

The suffixes discussed in this section (principally *-pa*: 'ben', *-shi* 'accompany', *-chi* 'causative') imply the involvement of one more participant than would otherwise be the case for the root/stem to which they are suffixed. For example, *wañu-* 'die' involves one participant, namely the one who dies; *wañu-chi-* (die-caus-) 'kill' involves two participants, the one who dies and whatever causes this; *wañu-chi-pa*:- (die-caus-ben-) 'cause to die for the benefit/detriment of' involves yet another participant, the one for whose benefit or detriment the object was killed.

The morphological reflection of this property is that these suffixes make the root/stem to which they are suffixed transitive, thereby allowing an overt object marker to follow. For example, *wañu-* 'die' is an intransitive verb (and thus cannot bear an object marker: **wañu-ma*:-), but *wañu-chi-* 'kill' is a transitive verb and can be followed by an object marker: *wañu-chi-ma*:- 'kill me'.

Only one object marker (*-ma:* or *-shu*) may occur in a word.³⁵ When multiple participants are objects, which one is morphologically indicated in the verb? For example, in 'He makes you work for me', would the object marker be first person, to reflect the person of the benefactee, or second person, to reflect the person of the causative subject? The rule of thumb is this: The object marker reflects the person of the participant brought by the nearest transitivizing morpheme in the word. In *aru-chi-pa:-OBJ-* (work-caus-ben-OBJ-) 'cause to work for' the nearest transitivizing suffix to the object slot is *-pa:* 'benefactive', so the object reflects the person of the participant benefited: *aru-chi-pa:-ma-n* 'he makes you work for me'. To make explicit that he makes 'you' work (rather than someone else) would require an overt object phrase:

529 Qam-ta aru-chi-pa:-ma-n.
 you-OBJ work-caus-ben=>1-3
 'He makes you work for me.'

9.5.1. *-:shi* 'accompaniment'

-:shi (which will be glossed 'accom') means 'to help or accompany in doing' whatever is indicated by the verb to which it is suffixed; e.g., in example 530, *puklla-:shi-* means 'to accompany in play':

530 Puklla-:shi-ma-y.
 play-accom=>1-2IMP
 'Play on my team!' (lit. 'Accompany me in playing!')

The combination *qo-:shi-* 'give-accom-' is an idiom meaning 'to help'; it does not mean the literal 'accompany in giving'.

531 Qo-:shi-rku-y tayta!
 give-accom-asp-2IMP sir
 'Help him a little, sir (i.e., give him a hand).'

Other examples are:³⁶

- 532 a. Aru-:shi-chi-shu-nki.
 work-accom-caus=>2-2
 b. Aru-chi-:shi-shu-nki.
 work-caus-accom=>2-2
 a. 'He makes you help (someone else in their) work.'
 b. 'By making another work for you he accompanies you in working.'
- 533 Pampa-:shi-ykU-ma-y awkin!
 bury-accom-impact=>1-2IMP old:man
 'Please help me bury him, old man!'

³⁵This is because the structure of the transition only allows one object marker.

³⁶532b, but not 532a, could be used to explain that he fulfills his obligation to contribute work to you by paying another to do it.

534 ...karqu yayku-q-ta ashi-:shi-naku-na-n-paq.
 office enter-sub-OBJ seek-accom-recv-sub-3P-PUR

'...in order to jointly seek someone to enter the office
 (i.e., accompanying each other in seeking).'

535 ...warmi ashi-q aywa-:shi-na-n-paq.
 woman seek-sub go-accom-sub-3P-PUR

'...to accompany him in seeking the woman (i.e., seeking her
 hand in marriage).'

9.5.2. Benefactive

9.5.2.1. *-pa:* 'benefactive'

-pa: means roughly 'for the benefit or detriment of (the affected person)' and will be glossed simply 'ben'. The following are some of its characteristics:

1. *-pa:* is a pre-transition suffix. It tends to follow other pre-transition suffixes (occurring close to the transition), but some other pre-transition suffixes may follow, among them *-rI*, *-rI*, *-mu*, and the directionals (*-ykU*, *-rkU*, etc.).
2. *-pa:* foreshortens; e.g., from *achikya:-* 'to shine, illuminate', one gets /*achikyapa:may*/ not */*achikya:pa:may*/ 'illuminate it for me'; from *melana:-* 'to disgust' one gets /*melanapa:man*/ 'it disgusts him (to my detriment, as, e.g., if I want to feed him something but it disgusts him)'.
 3. *-pa:* causes morpho-phonemic lowering; e.g., /*qarqU-pa:-ma-y*/ [gargapá:may] 'expel it for me'.
4. The result of suffixing *-pa:* is always a transitive verb stem; perforce another referent, a "benefactee," is involved. For example, *michi-* 'to pasture' but *michi-pa:-* 'to pasture the animals of another'; *shuya:-ma-y* 'wait for me' but *shuya-pa:-ma-y* 'wait for him on my behalf'.
5. The object of the benefactive may be expressed with a substantive phrase bearing either *-ta* 'OBJ' or *-paq* 'PUR'. In either case, there may be another object expressing the object of the verb. For example:

536 a. Pay-ta he-OBJ	}	aru-pa-yka-:	karretera-ta.
b. Pay-paq he-PUR		work-ben-impfv-1	road-OBJ

'I am working for him.'

6. The person benefited must either be highly topical or known in the discourse context (he is often a principal participant in the discourse), or must be expressed by an overt noun phrase. This is in contrast to *-pa* 'ben' (discussed in section 9.5.2.3), for which the object of benefit may be low in topicality or unexpressed.

Some sentences explicate how the benefactee is benefited; this is usually done with a purpose clause. For instance, example 1243 says that a cord is tied (*wata-pa-n* tie-ben-3) to the deceased, for his benefit; the sentence then goes on to explain that this is to fend off any dogs that might attempt to bite him. As in this example, 537, and 538 below, if a verb with *-pa:* 'ben' is followed by a purpose clause, then

with overwhelming frequency the subject of the purpose clause is co-referential to the object of the benefactive.

- 537 ...alista-pa-n ... qaruti-ta-shi chay-wan pilya-na-n-paq...
 prepare-ben-3 rod-OBJ-IND that-COM fight-sub-3P-PUR
 '...he_i prepares for him_j... rods so that he_j can fight him_k...'
- 538 Mana regi-ma-pti-ki yupa-pa:-shayki regi-na-yki-paq.
 not believe=>1-adv-2P count-ben-1=>2FUT believe-sub-2P-PUR
 'If you don't believe me, I'll count them out for you
 so that you will believe.'

The following examples illustrate *-pa:* where the meaning is 'to the benefit of':

- 539 Punku-ta wichqa-pa-rkU-ma-nki.
 door-OBJ close-ben-up=>1-2
 'Close up the door for me.' (said by someone who could not
 close the door for himself because he was carrying something)
- 540 ...paka-y+lla+pa puri-pa:-naku-n.
 hide-adv travel-ben- recip-3
 '...they get together on the sly (i.e., they travel secretly
 to each other's benefit).'

See also example 1367, p.331.

The following examples illustrate *-pa:* where the meaning is 'to the detriment of' the object:

- 541 Hwan ollqo:-pa-q Pablu-ta.
 John become:angry-ben-NRP Paul-OBJ
 'John became angry with Paul.'
- 542 ...qeshpi-pa-yku-n hatun oosu-ta.
 escape-ben-impact-3 big bear-OBJ
 '...they escape from the big bear (who had been keeping them
 prisoner in a cave).'
- 543 ...kampanero suncha-pa wawa-n-man yaykU-pa-yku-n.
 wasp-GEN child-3P-GOAL enter-ben-impact-3
 '...he went (disruptively) into (the place of) the children
 of the *campanero* wasp.'
- 544 Manachaaqa aycha-nchii-ta usha-pa:-ma:-shun.
 otherwise meat-12P-OBJ finish-ben=>1-12
 'Otherwise he will finish our meat up on us.'
- 545 *Tiya-:-ta wanu-chi-pa-ykU-ma-nki* ni-r chari-sha.
 aunt-1P-OBJ die-caus-ben-impact=>1-2 say-adv grab-3PERF
 'Saying "You killed my aunt (to my detriment)" he grabbed
 him.'

-pa: changes *llulla-* 'to lie' into *llulla-pa:-* 'to deceive'; e.g.:

- 546 Chay mana musya-q-kuna-ta llulla-pa-nki.
 that not know-sub-plur-OBJ lie-ben-2
 'You deceive those who do not know.'

Of over 100 occurrences of the verb *chaya-* 'arrive', only two occurred with *-pa:* 'ben'; in both cases the subject is a protagonist who arrives with the intention of doing harm to the main character. One case is in example 1287 (p.314); the other is 547:

547 Ni-yka-pti-lla-n chaya-pa-yku-n leetu-q-nin kondor.
say-impfv-adv-just-3P arrive-ben-impact-3 litigate-sub-3 condor

'Just as he is saying that, the condor who is litigating
(with him) arrives.'

The following bit of text describes how various fathers might abuse a delegation that comes to ask for a daughter's hand in marriage. Note the recurrence of *-pa:* 'ben', clearly indicating that the actions were to the detriment of the delegation:

548 Although they enter like that, some men are bad. They do not speak
(*parla-pa-n-chu* speak-ben-3-NEG) for good. Seating them by the door, having
gone inside, they do not come out (*lloqshi-pa:-mu-n-chu*
leave-ben-afar-3-NEG). Some men escape (*qeshpi-pa-yku-n* escape-ben-impact-3)
to some other place.

In some cases *-pa:* adds the idea that some action was done intentionally rather than accidentally;³⁷ e.g., in a text about a trickster who convinces a man that a donkey skin can tell vital information, the trickster taps it with his foot. The verb is *toopa-pa-sha* (tap-ben-3PERF); without *-pa:* this might have been taken to mean that he bumped it (accidentally).

A related case: *-pa:* sometimes adds that something should be done with care; e.g., in describing the weaving of a poncho:

549 Awha-wan mashta-nchi may::ytu tinku-chi-pa-y+lla+pa.
needle-COM spread-12 very meet-cause-ben-adv

'We spread it with a needle very evenly (i.e., the
warp threads are very evenly laid out on the loom).'

550 Mishki-chi-pa-y+lla+pa miku-y!
be:sweat-cause-ben-adv eat-2IMP

'Eat, savoring the flavor of it.'

551 ...moqo-y-ta qalla-yku-nchi ... kuchillu-wan
disjoint-inf-OBJ begin-impact-12 knife-COM

kuchu-pa-y+lla+pa.
cut-ben-adv

'...we begin to separate the joints,...carefully cutting with a
knife.'

A final observation: Some verbal roots seem to be neither transitive nor intransitive, but depend on a following suffix--either *-pa:* 'ben' or *-kU* 'refl'--to dictate transitivity. For example, *hati-* 'to put (clothing) on' is intransitive with *-kU* (i.e., *hati-kU-* 'to dress one's self') but transitive when followed by *-pa:* (i.e., *hati-pa:-* 'to dress [another person]').

³⁷Peter Landerman (personal communication) suggests that this *-pa:* is different from the *-pa:* discussed above, this one being cognate with Southern Quechua *-paya*.

9.5.2.2. -pU 'benefactive'

HgQ speakers readily recognize *-pU* 'benefactive', but rarely use it. It seems to be nearly synonymous with *-pa:* 'benefactive', meaning approximately 'to the benefit or detriment of'; e.g.:

- 552 Y mayu-man hita-pu-shu-na-yki ka-yka-pti-n-qa...
 and river-GOAL throw-ben=>2-sub-2P be-impfv-adv-3P-TOP
 'and when he is about to throw you into the river...
 (to your detriment, or perhaps to his benefit).'

However, *-pU* and *-pa:* are not always synonymous:

- 553 a. Kuya-pu-shayki.
 love-ben-1=>2FUT
 b. Kuya-pa:-shayki.
 love-ben-1=>2FUT
 a. 'For you, I will love it.'
 b. 'I will feel compassion for you.'

In example 553, the difference can be attributed to the co-lexicalization of *kuya-* 'to love' and *-pa:* 'ben' to mean 'feel compassion for':

- 554 a. Rura-pa-shayki. (do-ben-1=>2FUT)
 b. Rura-pu-shayki. (do-ben-1=>2FUT)
 c. Rura-pa:-shayki. (do-ben-1=>2FUT)
 a,b. 'I will do it for you (right away).'
 (-pa is discussed in section 9.5.2.3 below)
 c. 'I will do it for you (sometime, perhaps tomorrow).'

Although there are differences in the meanings of *-pU* and *-pa:*, I have not found evidence in HgQ for the subtle difference reported for Ancash by Parker [31] (p. 52).

It may be that certain verbs are restricted to co-occurring with one of the benefactives but not the other(s). Example 555 is suggestive of this; I have no other explanation for this pattern:

- 555 a. Qo-yku-pu-shu-nki. (give-impact-ben=>2-2)
 b. Qo-yka-pu-shu-nki. (give-impfv-ben=>2-2)
 c. *Qo-yka-pa:-shu-nki. (give-impfv-ben=>2-2)
 d. *Qo-yku-pa:-shu-nki. (give-impact-ben=>2-2)
 a,b. 'For you, he will give it (to someone else).'

-pU 'benefactive' occurs with *ka-* 'be' to mean 'exist to the benefit of'. A common instance of this is in the expression *ka-pu-q-yoq* (be-ben-sub-have) 'a rich person, one who has much'. Another example of this combination is the following:

- 556 Qam-pa ka-pu-shu-nki-chu?
 you-GEN be-ben=>2-2-YN?
 'Do you have one?' (lit. 'Does yours exist to your benefit?')

Evidence seems to indicate that *-pU* may either foreshorten or not. ("Foreshortening" is discussed in section 23.8.13.1.) For example, the root *shuya:* has length, as shown in 557a and b, yet this length is not obligatorily foreshortened by *-pU*, as shown in 557c and d:

- 557 a. Shuya:-ma-y. (wait==>1-2IMP)
 b. *Shuya-ma-y. (wait==>1-2IMP)
 c. Shuya:-pu-n. (wait-ben-3)
 d. Shuya-pu-n. (wait-ben-3)
- a. 'Wait for me!'
 c,d. 'He waits for him (for someone else's benefit)'

9.5.2.3. *-pa* 'benefactive'

The suffix *-pa* 'ben' is similar to *-pa:* 'ben' in both form and meaning. (Indeed, there are contexts where it is impossible to tell which occurs.) It differs in form in that it does not have an underlying long vowel. It is similar in morpho-phonemic properties in that it causes foreshortening and morpho-phonemic lowering. It differs in distribution in occurring much earlier in the pre-transition zone than *-pa:*; to see this, consider examples 558 and 559. In 558, either *-pa* or *-pa:* may occur; in 559, only *-pa:* may occur, because the presence of other pre-transition suffixes has pushed the benefactive rightward beyond where *-pa* is allowed:

- 558 a. Allcha-pa-shayki. (fix-ben-1=>2FUT)
 b. Allcha-pa:-shayki. (fix-ben-1=>2FUT)
- 'I will fix it for you.'
- 559 a. Allcha-ka:-chi-pa:-ma-y.
 fix-pass-caus-ben==>1-2IMP
- b. *Allcha-ka:-chi-pa-ma-y.
 fix-pass-caus-ben==>1-2IMP
- 'Cure him for me.'

There is a significant discourse-pragmatic difference between *-pa* and *-pa:*. With *-pa:*, the person benefited is either stated as an overt noun phrase³⁸ or is highly topical/thematic in the discourse. (Usually it is one of the principal participants.) But *-pa* is often used when the person benefited is not highly topical. It need not be mentioned; in fact, it might not be known, or it might be for "the general good."

In many cases, the addition of *pa* indicates some 'institutional' carrying out of some action; in a sense, this changes some *action* into an *activity*. For example, the following refer not simply to the action of, e.g., weeding, but to the activity of weeding:

- achu-pa*- 'to weed' from *achu*- 'to pull up'
kuti-pa- 'to do the second corn cultivation' from *kuti*- 'to return'
tira-pa- 'to cultivate' from *tira*- 'to throw'

And the following (drawn from a description of burial) refer not simply to an action of, e.g., lighting a candle, but to lighting a candle in honor of the deceased, and as part of the sequence of activities that must be carried out in a proper burial:

- achki-pa*- 'to light, illuminate' from *achki* 'light'

³⁸This may have either *-ta* 'OBJ' or *-paq* 'PUR' as the case marker.

birsu-pa- 'to sing' from *birsu* 'religious verse'

kanta-pa- 'to chant (for deceased)' from *kanta-* 'to sing'; e.g.:

560 Chay tapay-chaw huk kantur kanta-pa-n warayllata.
that wake-LOC one cantor sing-ben-3 all:night

'At that wake a cantor sings all night.'

sindi-pa- 'to light a candle (in honor of someone)' from *sindi-* 'to light',³⁹

tuka-pa- 'to play music (as part of ceremony)' from *tuka-* 'to play music'.

Other examples of *-pa*:

chari-pa- 'to rape' from *chari-* 'to grab'

huti-n-ta chura-pa- 'to name' from *chura-* 'to put' and *huti* 'name'

hita-pa- 'to cast blame on' from *hita-* 'to throw'

muna-pa- 'to crave' from *muna-* 'to want'

puklla-pa- 'to tease' from *puklla-* 'to play'

qoya-pa- 'to stay much longer than appropriate' from *qoya-* 'to pass time'

raki-pa- 'to distribute' from *raki-* 'to separate, divide'

wika-pa- 'to throw over (to his death)'; e.g.:

561 Nirkur taqay-ta yaku-man wika-pa-ri-yku-shaq.
then that-OBJ water-GOAL throw-bn-pnct-impact-1FUT

'Then I will throw that one into the water
(that he die there).'

9.5.2.4. *-pa:ri* 'momentarily'

I suspect that the combination of *-pa:* 'ben' and *-rI* 'pnct' is becoming a single suffix *-pa:ri*, which will be glossed 'moment'.⁴⁰ As the examples below show, *pa:ri* has little vestige of any benefactive meaning. Examples follow:

562 Tapu-pa:ri-n.
ask-moment-3

'He inquires briefly.'

563 Miku-pa:ri-shaq.
eat-moment-1FUT

'I will eat a little (and then be done).'

564 Chaki-pa:ri-chun.
be:dry-moment-3IMP

'May it be really dry (so leave it a bit longer?)'

565 Hama-pa:ri-shun.
sit/rest-moment-12IMP

'Let's rest a bit.'

566 Unchu-pa:ri-shun pampa-lla-chaw-pis.
squat-moment-12IMP ground-just-LOC-indef

'Let's squat for a moment, even though it is just on the ground.'

³⁹In example 642 below, *sindi-pa:-* occurs with length.

⁴⁰Structurally, there is another possible origin: *-pU* 'ben' followed by *-rI* 'plural'. However, this is semantically implausible, because there seems to be no sense of plurality in the examples below.

567 Kiki-n rika-pa:ri-sha-n-chaw regi-sha.
self-3P see-moment-sub-3P-LOC know-3PERF

'When he himself looked intently at him, he recognized him.'

(It seems in example 567, that *rika-pa:ri-* means roughly 'to focus one's vision intently upon'.)

9.5.3. -chi 'causative'

-chi 'causative' may be interpreted as either 'to cause' or 'to allow'. Many cases of *-chi* meaning 'cause' are seen below. The following illustrate the meaning 'allow':

568 Puklla-chi-ma-y.
play-caus=>1-2IMP

'Let me play (e.g., on your team, in your game).'

569 Mana pi-ta-pis yayku-chi-n-chu.
not who-OBJ-indef enter-caus-3-NEG

'He doesn't let anyone enter.'

See also example 1578, p.372.

-chi 'caus' tends to occur far to the right in the pre-transition zone.⁴¹ Aspect suffixes which precede may refer either to the temporal nature of causation or to that of the event caused. For example, in *wañu-rI+ykU-chi-n* (die-sud-caus-3) the aspect suffix(es), indicating suddenness or forcefulness, refer not to the caused event--dying--but to the causation--the act of killing.

9.5.3.1. Grammatical Relations and Causatives

When causativized, the subject of an intransitive verb becomes an object; e.g., in 570a, *noqa* 'I' is the subject, whereas in 570b it is the object:

570 a. *Noqa* puñu-:.
I sleep-1
b. *Noqa-ta* puñu-chi-ma-n.
I-OBJ sleep-caus=>1-3

a. 'I sleep.'
b. 'It makes me sleep.'

In 571, the members of the community are the notional subject of *qachwa-* 'dance', but *kumun-kuna* 'members of the community' is the object of *qachwa-chi-*:

571 Orkista-pis quya-n kumun-kuna-ta qachwa-chi-r.
band-indef pass:day-3 community-plur-OBJ dance-caus-adv

'The band passes the day making the members of the community dance.'

When a causativized intransitive verb is an infinitive object, its object may (and

⁴¹ *-mu* 'afar' and *-pa:* 'ben' follow *-chi* 'caus'; *-chi* is not strictly ordered with respect to, for example, *-ykU*. In *wañu-chi-pa-ykU-ma-nki* 'you killed it to my benefit/detriment', *-chi* precedes *-ykU*. In the example given in the text, *-chi* follows *-ykU*. See section 7.2.

sometimes must) become the object of the superordinate verb. For example, in 572 the (logical) subject of sleep is 'you'; this becomes the object of the causative, but because *-chi-shu-y-niki-* is unacceptable,⁴² the object is marked in the superordinate clause:

572 *Punu-chi-y-ta muna-shu-nki.*
 sleep-caus-inf-OBJ want=>2-2

'He wants to make you sleep.'

Example 573 (which strikes me as very curious but which my language consultant insists is correct) literally says 'want to make him sleep' but actually means 'make him want to sleep':

573 *Punu-chi-y-ta muna-y.*
 sleep-caus-inf-OBJ want-2IMP

'Make him want to sleep.'

When transitive verbs are causativized, the situation is quite different. The normal situation is as follows: the subject of the causativized verb is indicated (optionally) by a substantive phrase bearing the comitative case marker *-wan* 'COM' and is not indicated morphologically in the verb. The object of the verb being causativized is marked as the object of the causative; e.g., in both 574a and b, the overt object phrase is *noqa-ta* 'I-OBJ' and the object marking suffix is *-ma:* '=>1':

574 a. *Qam noqa-ta maqa-ma-nki.*
 you I-OBJ hit=>1-2

b. *Pay gam-wan noqa-ta maqa-chi-ma-n.*
 he you-COM I-OBJ hit-caus=>1-3

a. 'You hit me.'

b. 'He makes you hit me.'

(Even if there is another substantive whose case marker is *-wan* 'COM', the subject of a transitive is marked with *-wan*; see 581 below.) Examples of causativized transitives follow:

575 *Kawallu-wan haru-chi-nchi triigu-ta nuchu-na-n-yaq.*
 horse-COM step-caus-12 wheat-OBJ come:loose-sub-3P-PUR

Nirkur wayra-wan apa-chi-nchi paaha-n-ta.
 then wind-COM take-caus-12 straw-3P-OBJ

(describing threshing) 'First we make the horses step on it until the wheat comes loose. Then we make the wind carry off the straw.'

576 *Chay minisru-n-kuna-wan tuka-chi-n kabildu-chaw warayllata...*
 that minister-3P-plur-COM play-caus-3 chapel-LOC all:night

'He makes his ministers play (music) all night in the chapel...'

577 *...apa-chi-sha chay chiinu-wan chiicha-ta.*
 take-caus-3PERF that chinaman-COM chicha-OBJ

'...he had the chinaman take the *chicha* (to her).'

⁴²In HgQ, possessive suffixes do not occur on infinitive complements.

578 ...mayurdoomu willa-chi-n sirbinti-n-wan iskirbaanu-ta...
 majordomo tell-caus-3 servant-3P-COM scrivener-OBJ
 '...the majordomo has his servant tell the scrivener...'

With these cases established, we now turn to cases which do not follow these rules. We will first discuss exceptions involving intransitives, and then cases involving transitives.

There are exceptions to the rule that the subject of a causativized intransitive verb is marked as the object. "Phenomenological" verbs, i.e., verbs like *tamya-* 'to rain' and *qasa:-* 'to be cold' (in an ambient sense) are intransitive, but when causativized, the object is the person/object suffering the effect; e.g., speaking of the wind, one can say *qasa:-chi-ma-nchi* (be:cold-caus=>1-12) 'it makes us cold'.⁴³

There are cases where, contrary to what has been said up to this point, the (logical) subject of a transitive verb does become the object of the causativized verb. Consider examples 579 and 580. In 579, the subject of 'believe' is 'I', and yet this becomes the object of the causativized verb:

579 Qam mentira-yki-wan noqa-ta kriyi-chi-ma-nki.
 you lie-2P-COM I-OBJ believe-caus=>1-2
 'You make me believe (it) with your lie.'

In example 580, the (logical) subject of 'expel' is 'we(incl)', but it becomes the object of the causativized verb:⁴⁴

580 Hita+ri-chi-ma-nchi kuru-ta pacha-nchi:-pita.
 expel-caus=>1-12 worm-OBJ stomach-12P-ABL
 'It causes us to expel the worms from our stomachs
 (speaking of a medicinal plant).'

Cole [9] provides the crucial insight into why the subjects of 'believe' and 'expel' become objects: it is because these subjects are viewed as non-agentive. This is typical of subjects which are experiencers, as in example 579, and of subjects viewed as not exercising control, as in example 580. The latter case is interesting in that one would ordinarily assume that the subject of 'expel' was highly agentive, but in the case of taking medicine so that it makes us expel worms, we are very non-agentive; we are patients.

⁴³Transitive phenomenological verbs are not exceptional since the object will be marked whether or not it is causativized. *ushma-* 'to wet' requires something wet as the subject. Speaking of rain, one can say *ushma-shu-nki* (wet=>2-2) 'it will make you wet'. Speaking of a person (who, say, is about to throw water at you) one would say *ushma-chi-shu-nki* (wet-caus=>2-2FUT) 'he is going to make you wet'.

⁴⁴In example 580, note that, due to the subject marking anomaly, the transition of the causativized verb is 3=>12.

9.5.3.2. Double Causative

Double causatives are rare but possible; e.g.:⁴⁵

581 Kuru-ta wañu-chi-chi-sha Hwan-wan macheeti-n-wan.
snake-OBJ die-caus-caus-3PERF John-COM machete-3P-COM

'He made John kill the snake with his machete.'

(But see the examples in section 9.5.4 below, where it seems a double causative is avoided.)

9.5.3.3. Idiomatic Uses of -chi 'causative'

Quechua has a relatively small number of roots, these being multiplied by pre-transition suffixes such as *-chi* which modify the total meaning.⁴⁶ In some cases the meaning is a straightforward product of the root/stem and the suffix, but in others it is not. The following examples show that the meaning of some causativized verbs is not a simple product of *-chi* 'causative' and the root/stem which it follows. Semantically, in these cases, we cannot say that *-chi* means 'cause' or 'allow':

ka-chi- (be-caus-) 'to have'; e.g.:⁴⁷

582 Mana papa-ta ka-chi-:-na-chu.
not potato-OBJ be-caus-1-now-NEG

'I don't have any potatoes now.'

mishki-chi-pa:- (sweet-caus-ben-) 'to savor'

noochi-chi- 'pass the night (in vigil, particularly in a particular fiesta)' from *noochi* 'night'

⁴⁵The following is not a double causative, but simply the repetition of *-chi* 'caus' in an infinitive and the verb to which it is subordinate:

Rika-ykU-chi-pti-n allpa-ta uchku-chi-y-ta
see-impact-caus-adv-3 ground-OBJ dig-caus-inf-OBJ

qalla-ykU-chi-n.
begin-impact-caus-3

'When he shows it (the plot) to them, they have them begin to dig (the grave).'

⁴⁶For example, the following are a few cases in which *-chi* and some root/stem do duty for what in English is a single lexical item: align *qaqa-chi-*, awaken *rikcha-chi-*, boil (tr) *timpu-chi-*, charge *paaga-chi-*, compare *tinku-chi-*, convince (*k*)*rigi-chi-*, diminish *wallka-yka:-chi-*, dry (tr) *chaki-chi-*, extinguish *upi-chi-*, frighten *mancha-chi-*, heal *allcha-ka:-chi-*, heat *aka-chi-*, insert *ushtu-chi-*, kill *wañu-chi-*, melt *chullu-chi-*, mix *taku-chi-/tinku-chi-*, moisten *oomi-chi-*, move (tr) *kuyu-chi-*, park *kwadra-chi-*, raise *wiña-chi-/hata-rI-chi-*, register *anuta-chi-*, remind *yarpa:-chi-*, remove *witi-chi-*, return (tr) *kuti-chi-*, seat *hama-chi-*, settle/arrange in place *kama-ka:-chi-*, show *rika-chi-*, take/send *apa-chi-/chaya-chi-*, tire *uti-ka:-chi-*, topple *saqta-chi-*, touch to *toopa-chi-*.

⁴⁷*ka-chi-* 'cause to be' can also be used with complements; e.g., *wamra-ynaq ka-chi-* (child-without be-caus-) 'to cause to be childless'.

penqa-ka:-chi- 'to shine in one's eye', e.g.:⁴⁸

583 *Nawi-:-ta penqa-ka:-chi-n.*
eye-1P-OBJ be:ashamed-pass-caus-3

'It shines in my eye.'

pultoq-ya:-chi- 'to stir violently' (said of water, so that it makes the sound "pultoq")

puri-chi- 'to take about (some inanimate object)' from *puri-* 'walk, travel'

qeshpi-chi- (escape-caus-) 'to release'; e.g., a tree which has too many young fruits releases them (self-pruning)

qoya:-chi- (pass:time-caus-) 'persist'; e.g.:

584 *Qoya:-chi-n kapas tanya.*
pass:time-caus-3 perhaps rain

'The rain will perhaps persist all day.'

rispita-chi- (respect-caus-) 'to acknowledge the authority of'; e.g., shepherds who have been punished by the town official for not keeping the animals out of the crops must kiss his staff

rura-chi- (do-caus-) 'to sponsor'; e.g., *misa-n-ta rura-chi-* (mass-3P-OBJ do-caus-) 'to sponsor a mass in his honor'

taapa-chi- (cover-caus-) 'to keep vigil (at a wake)'; this probably originated as a reference to covering the casket but now refers to the whole custom of which that act is but a small part

tinku-chi- (encounter-caus-) has two meanings:

'to compare, to measure up to'; e.g.:

585 *Kay-man tinku-chi-sha.*
this-GOAL encounter-cause-3PERF

'He measured it against (compared it to) this one.'

'to carry out some action along a path up to some point'; e.g., in example 1269 p.310, slashing is carried out along a path until it meets a previous slash.

tuma-chi- (go:about-caus-) 'to parade'; e.g.:

586 ...*santu-ta tuma-chi-n inteeru kall-n-pa...*
saint-OBJ go:about-caus-3 all street-3P-GEN

'...they parade the saint through all the streets...'

tushu-chi- (dance-caus-) 'to bounce (a child) on one's lap'

usha+chi- (finish+caus-) 'baptize' is probably no longer considered a causative, because of the considerable difference between 'cause to finish' and 'baptize'; *usha+chi-* might have originated from *ushma-chi-* (wet-caus-), which is the form in the neighboring dialect of Pachitea

"*weq weq*" *ni-chi-* 'to stick a pig' (lit. 'to make it squeal')

wiya-ra:-chi- 'to hold up, interrupt a process' (*wiya-ra:-* means roughly 'to desist from doing momentarily')

⁴⁸*mancha-chi-* (be:frightened-caus-) can be used with roughly the same meaning as *penqa-ka:-chi-*.

Some verbs are both intransitive and transitive, the transitive being understood as the causative of the intransitive. In these cases *-chi* may be optional; e.g., *qanra-* can be transitive: 'to soil, to make dirty', or intransitive: 'to be soiled/dirty'.

- 587 Ama qanra-(chi)-y-chu.
not soil-caus-2IMP-NEG
'Don't make it dirty.'

9.5.4. *-cha*: 'make'

-cha 'make' was probably long ago a fully productive causative marker, but it now shows very limited productivity. *-cha* 'make' occurs with substantives and is roughly equivalent to 'cause to become'; e.g.:

- allecha-* 'fix' from *alli-cha-* (good-make)
llanu-cha- 'to make thin/fine (as when spinning)' from *llanu* 'thin (of long, cylindrical things)',
llawchi-cha- 'sharpen' from *llawchi* 'sharp (having a pointed end)' and *-cha* 'make' (*llawchi* may in turn be derived from *llaw-chi* (ouch-caus).)

Other examples are found in section 3.2.5.

In some cases, *-cha-* is equivalent to *-ya:* followed by *-chi*; e.g.:

- 588
Chakra:-ta
field-1P-OBJ { hatun-cha-pa:-ma-sha.
big-make-ben=>1-3PERF
hatun-ya:-chi-pa:-ma-sha.
big-bec-caus-ben=>1-3PERF
'He enlarged my field for me.'

- 589
Nina qushpu-
fire curly { -ya-yka-chi-
bec-impfv-caus } -n aqcha-n-ta.
-cha-yka:- } 3 hair-3P-OBJ
make-impfv
'The fire is making his hair curly.'

However, the following shows that *-cha* and *-ya:-...-chi-* are not always interchangeable:

- 590
Ruyru-
round { *-ya-yka:-chi-
bec-impfv-caus } -chi-:..
-cha-yka: } -caus-1
-make-impfv
'I make him make it round.'

This probably reflects a preference to avoid a double causative.

9.6. Reflexives and Reciprocals

The reflexive suffix *-kU* is discussed in section 9.6.1 and the reciprocal suffix *-nakU* in section 9.6.2.

9.6.1. Reflexives

In its strictly reflexive sense, *-kU* restricts the reference of the object relative to the subject; this use is discussed in section 9.6.1.1. *-ku* ‘refl’ has many extended uses with roughly the sense ‘for the benefit of self’; these are discussed in section 9.6.1.2.

9.6.1.1. Reference Restricting Uses of *-ku* ‘refl’

In its truly reflexive use, *-kU* ‘refl’ indicates that the object and the subject are the same (refer to the same thing); e.g., in 591 the object and subject of ‘kill’ are the same person:⁴⁹

- 591 (Kiki-n) *wanu-chi-ku-ra-n*.
 self-3p die-cause-refl-past-3
 ‘He (himself) killed himself.’

In a text on bathing, bathing oneself is always expressed with *-kU*; e.g., (*arma-ku-n* (bathe-refl-3) ‘he bathes (himself)’) while bathing a child never is; e.g., *arma-n* (bathe-3) ‘he bathes (him)’.

9.6.1.2. Extended Uses of *-ku* ‘refl’

-ku ‘refl’ occurs very frequently with a wide range of verbs with rather diffuse meaning. I have little to say about these cases; a good discussion is Swisshelm’s appendix in Pantoja et al. [28]. I will limit my comments to what I regard as the most widespread use of *-kU*, that to mean ‘for the benefit/detriment of self’.

To express ‘for the benefit/detriment of x’, one generally uses *-pa:* ‘ben’ followed by an object marker to indicate the person of the beneficiary:

- 592 a. *-pa:-ma-* (-ben=>1) ‘for my/our(incl) benefit or detriment’
 b. *-pa:-shu-* (-ben=>2) ‘for your benefit or detriment’
 c. *-pa:-∅* (-ben=>3) ‘for his benefit or detriment’
 d. *-pa:-nakU* (-ben-recip) ‘for each other’s benefit or detriment’

Note in particular that, as shown by 592d, it is possible to indicate mutual benefit by following *-pa:* ‘ben’ with *-nakU* ‘reciprocal’. However, it is not possible to follow it with *-kU* ‘reflexive’ to indicate ‘for one’s own benefit’; see example 593a.⁵⁰ Rather, one uses simply *-kU* ‘refl’:

- 593 a. **-pa:-kU* (-ben-refl) ‘for one’s own benefit/detriment’
 b. *-kU* (-refl) ‘for one’s own benefit/detriment’

⁴⁹This is not due to having *kiki* ‘self’ as the object, since it is now more an emphatic than a reflexive pronoun.

⁵⁰The sequence *-pa:+kU* is acceptable as a verbal pluralizer; see section 9.3.

9.6.2. Reciprocals

-nakU ‘recip’ is a pre-transition suffix. It may occur in various orders with other pre-transition suffixes; see example 283 and accompanying discussion. Four uses of the reciprocal will be discussed: (1) the truly reciprocal (reference restricting), (2) the reciprocal of distributed activity, (3) the reciprocal as a distributed reflexive, and (4) as a modifier of the meanings of certain verbs.

9.6.2.1. Each Other

The prototypical reciprocal in HgQ means that, for every entity referred to by the subject, the relationship expressed by the predicate holds between that entity and every other entity referred to by the subject. More formally, it has the following characteristics (the first three of which indicate its form, and the last indicates its meaning):

- The verb must be transitive. Let P represent the predicate associated with the verb V.
- The subject must refer to a set of individuals, not just a single individual. Let S represent this set, and let *subj* represent the linguistic material (affixes and possibly an overt phrase) indicating the subject.
- The verb V is marked reciprocal with the pre-transition suffix *-nakU* ‘recip’.
- *V...-nakU...subj* is interpreted as P(x,y) for all possible pairs of x and y in S; i.e., the predication is understood to hold for every individual acting upon every other individual referred to by the subject.

This is clearest when the subject refers to just two individuals, say j and k; then the reciprocal is interpreted as [P(j,k) and P(k,j)]. For example, suppose that V is *kuya-*, so P is ‘love’, and that *subj* is *-nchi* ‘12’, which refers to S={you, I}. Then *kuya-naku-nchi* is interpreted as [love(you,me) and love(me,you)]. Likewise, in 594 the subject of *tapu-* ‘ask’ refers to the fox and the frog:

594 **Ima-taq rura-nki?** *tapu-naku-n.*
 what-?? do-2 ask-recip-3

‘They ask each other, ‘What are you doing?’’

In 594, *-nakU* ‘recip’ indicates that the frog asks the fox what he is doing, and the fox asks the frog what he is doing.

Other examples of simple reference-restricting reciprocals:

595 Y *ni-naku-n* **kanan musya-ka-nchi qam o noqa...**
 and say-recip-3 now know-pass-12 you or me

‘And they say to each other, ‘Now we will know (which of us is the more powerful), you or me...’’

596 *Chay-kuna ishka-n kuya-naku-n.*
 That-plur two-3P love-recip-3

‘The two of them love each other.’

597 ...*linda-ta qechu-naku-r leetu-naku-n.*
 boundary-OBJ take:from-recip-3 litigate-recip-3

‘...taking the boundary back and forth, they battled each other (in legal battles).’

598 ...hama-rpa-yka-n achka-q mas mayur runa-kuna-wan ...
 sit-stat-impfv-3 many-human more senior man-plur-COM
 kargu yayku-q-ta ashi-:shi-naku-na-n-paq.
 cargo enter-sub-OBJ seek-accom-recip-sub-3P-PUR
 '...they sit with many of the more influential men ...to
 accompany one another in seeking someone to enter the office.'

The scope of *-nakU* 'recip' (i.e., what it applies to) is sometimes more than a single root/stem. For example, in 594 the quotation forms a constituent with the root *tapu-* 'ask'; the reciprocal is added to this entire constituent:

599 [*Ima-taq rura-nki?" tapu]-naku-
 what-? do-2 ask-recip-

A similar case is discussed in section 14.3.3; see example 1245.

When the subject of a reciprocal comprises more than two entities, it usually does not mean literally that each member did something to every other member. For example, 600 does not mean that every tooth hit every other one:

600 Kiru-n-pis taka-naku-n.
 teeth-3P-indef strike-recip-3
 'His teeth clatter.' (lit. 'strike each other')

Three exceptional cases will be discussed: the activity is done in a distributed fashion by the group, the activity is done by each member to himself, or the members do some activity mutually, that activity being something slightly more/different than the simple activity suggested by the verb done one to the other.

9.6.2.2. Reciprocal of Distributed Mutual Activity

In the following examples, the action indicated by the verb to which *-nakU* is suffixed is performed by some members of a group on other members of the group; that is, that activity is distributed among members of the group, and not necessarily performed by each member on all others.

601 ...kachi-ta chay-man tinku-rI+ykU-chi-r gara-naku-n.
 salt-OBJ there-GOAL meet-asp-caus-adv feed-recip-3
 '...having mixed some salt into it, they pass the food around.'
 (lit. 'they feed one another')

602 Chay-pita willa-naku-sha sapo.
 that-ABL tell-recip-3PERF frog
 'After that, the frogs told one another (i.e., they spread
 the word among themselves).'

See also example 913, p.227.

9.6.2.3. Reciprocal as a Distributed Reflexive

In some cases, the reciprocal refers to a group to suggest that each does something to himself; e.g.:

603 ...mayu-pita punta-yaq chura-naku-yku-n...
 river-ABL peak-LIM place-recip-impact-3

'...they place themselves from the river to the peak...'
 (actually, each frog puts himself in a hole)

9.6.2.4. Extended Meanings

The reciprocal combines with some verbs to mean something more/different than expected; e.g.:

chari-nakU- (grab-recip) 'to take each other by the hand (i.e., to form a circle holding hands)'; e.g.:

604 ...llapan chari-nakU-rkU-:rI-r tumapa-n inteeru
 all grab-recip-asp-plur-adv go:around-3 entire

kantu-n-pa.
 edge-3P-GEN

'...they all go around (the tree) hand in hand.'

llalli-nakU- (beat:in:competition-recip) 'to race'; e.g.:

605 Señor Sapo, llalli-naku-shun punta-man.
 mister frog beat-recip-12 peak-GOAL

'Mister Frog, let's race to the peak.'

rima-nakU- (speak-recip) 'to argue'

shunta-nakU- (gather-recip) 'to congregate'

ashi-nakU- (search-recip-) in example 606 refers to the formal procedure by which a couple become engaged and married:

606 Chakra runa-kuna parla-sha-n huklla mana ashi-naku-n-chu.
 rural man-plur speak-sub-3 right:away not seek-recip-3-NEG

'Rural people don't seek (to get married) right upon having agreed to.'

puri-pa:-nakU- (travel-ben-recip-) 'to rendezvous'; e.g.:

607 ...paka-yllapa puri-pa:-naku-n.
 hid-adv walk-ben-recip-3

'...they meet on the sly.'
 (lit. 'hiddenly they walk to each other's benefit.')

suwa-nakU- (steal-recip-) 'to elope'; see example 826, p.826.

9.7. Other Pre-Transition Suffixes

This section deals with other pre-transition suffixes, ones that do not fit into any of the classes discussed above.

9.7.1. -na: 'desiderative'

-na: 'desiderative' is used in two cases. First, it is used with bodily functions:

chiwlla-na:- 'to need to urinate' (cf. *chiwlla-* 'to urinate')

ishpa-na:- 'to need to urinate' (cf. *ishpa-* 'to urinate')

miku-na:- 'to be hungry' (cf. *miku-* 'to eat')

puñu-na:- 'to be sleepy' (cf. *puñu-* 'to sleep'); e.g.:

608 *Puñu-na:-chi-shu-nki.*
sleep-desid-caus=>2-2

'It will make you sleepy.'

"Bodily function" would not include things like combing one's hair; 609 is not a suitable way to say 'He wants to comb his hair' (where the co-indexing indicates co-reference):⁵¹

609 **Naqcha-ku-na-yka-n.*
comb-refl-desid-impfv-3

'He₁ wants to comb his₁ hair.'

Second, *-na:* 'desiderative' is used with expressions about the weather:

looku-na:- 'to "want" to rain furiously' (cf. *looku tamya* 'torrential rain')

qeshya-na:- '(of the sky) to be clouded over' (cf. *qeshya-* 'to be sick'); e.g.:

610 *Qeshya-na-sha qoya-yka-n chakay tamya-rku-r.*
sick-desid-prtc pass:day-impfv-3 night rain-asp-adv

'All day it is clouded over, having rained last night.'

tamya-na:- '(of the sky) to be as though about to rain' (cf. *tamya-* 'to rain')

9.7.2. -pakU 'diffuse'

-pakU modifies the meaning of the root to which it is attached to indicate that it is not directed toward a particular object, but diffusely directed toward multiple objects. *-pakU* shifts the focus from the goal/object of an activity to the activity itself; e.g.:

aru-pakU- 'to work here and there, not for any particular person or at any particular task' (cf. *aru-* 'work'); an *arupakuq* is a day laborer

ashi-pakU- 'scavenger (i.e., searching for anything useful)' (cf. *ashi-* 'search, seek')

mallwa-pakU- 'take the mid-afternoon coca break, i.e., to rest' (cf. *mallwa-* 'to rest')

puri-pakU- 'to go about (for some good reason)' (cf. *puri-* 'walk'); e.g.:

611 *Ka-n mayur runa-kuna wakin rispita-sha-n.*
be-3 older man-plur other respect-sub-3P

Chay runa-kuna simri balumintu puri-paku-n.
that man-plur always representative travel-diff-3

'There are older men who are respected by others.
Those men always go about as representatives (e.g.
representing a suitor's clan to the bride's clan).'

⁵¹One possible way to say this is:

Naqcha-pa-y-ta muna-ku-yka-n.
comb-ben-inf-OBJ want-refl-impfv-3

'He₁ wants to comb his₁ hair.'

ranti-pakU- 'shop (i.e., to purchase a number of different things, perhaps in various places)' (cf. *ranti-* 'buy')

tuka-pakU- 'to play music here and there' (cf. *tuka-* 'play [a musical instrument]'). *tuka-pakU-* does not refer to the playing of music itself, but to the way a musician, a *tukapakuq*, goes from fiesta to fiesta to earn his living.

As in the following examples, when an overt object phrase occurs with a verb bearing *-pakU*, that substantive is plural; this is because the activity is diffusely directed to the collection rather than individually directed toward a single object. The subject of 612 is a bad woman who is more interested in what her husband has brought her from his trip than in his being home; the effect of *-pakU* is to portray her greedily tearing into the various bundles:

612 ...*paska-paku-q haku-n-kuna-ta ima-ta.*
untie-diff-nar shawl-3P-plur-OBJ what-OBJ

'...she would begin to untie her shawls and whatever (that her husband had brought her).'

613 ...*qellay-nin-ta-shi yupa-paku-rka-yka-sha...*
money-3P-OBJ-IND count-diff-plur-impfv-3PERF

'...they counted their money...'

9.7.3. *-qtu* 'pretend'

-qtu means 'to pretend'; e.g.:

614 *Asi-qtu-ku-n.*
laugh-pretend-refl-3

'He pretends to laugh.'

615 *Yanqa-lla mutu-qtu-ka-ma-nki.*
in:vain-just chop-pretend-refl=>1-2

'Pretend to chop me, but do so without force.'

-qtu has arisen by the collapse of *-q* 'agentive' and the verb *tuku-* 'to pretend to'.⁵² Following the collapse, the /ku/ of *tuku-* has been re-analyzed as *-kU*, and so undergoes morpho-phonemic lowering.⁵³

9.7.4. *-chakU* 'concentratedly'

-chakU 'concen' (for 'concentratedly') occurs with very few verbs; it is not a productive suffix. It occurs with verbs of cognition or perception, adding to the meaning of that verb that more concentration is invested than normal. For example, *yarpa:-* 'to remember' may involve no concentration at all, but

⁵²Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua also has the collapsed form. In many Quechua languages *tuku-* is still a separate word.

⁵³One might argue that the verb was originally *tukU-* (i.e., that the final vowel was susceptible to morpho-phonemic lowering). However, the dialects that maintain this as a separate verb never, that I know of, have morpho-phonemic lowering in roots.

yarpa-chakU- 'to think about' does require an effort. Similarly, *rika*- 'see, look' requires no exertion, whereas *rika-chakU*- 'to look intently at, to study visually' does.

-chakU 'concen' causes foreshortening and undergoes morpho-phonemic lowering; e.g., 616a shows that the final vowel of *yarpa:-* is underlying long, and 616b shows that it is foreshortened by *-chakU*:

- 616 a. *Yarpa:-chi-ma-nki.*
remember-caus=>1-2
- b. *Yarpa-chakU-chi-ma-nki.*
remember-concen-caus=>1-2
- a. 'You will remind me.'
b. 'You will make me think.'

9.7.5. *-lla*: 'polite'

-lla: 'polite' indicates politeness. Not surprisingly it co-occurs frequently with *-ykU* 'impact', which also indicates politeness; see section 9.1.4.4, particularly examples 466 and 465, p.132. *-lla*: 'polite' occurs in many greetings and leave-takings; e.g.:

- 617 a. *Aywa-lla-:.*
go-pol-1
- b. *Aywa-lla-y-raq.*
go-pol-2IMP-yet
- a. 'I am going.'
b. 'Go on then.'
- 618 *Paasa-lla:-mu-shka-:.*
pass-pol-afar-perf-1
- 'I have come in (i.e., passed in from outside).'

Example 618 is spoken (in a folk tale) by a villain who is about to take over the town; his use of *-lla*: 'polite' is--I believe--very sarcastic:

- 619 *Wara-kuna shunta-rku-lla-:-na-mi.*
tomorrow-plur gather-asp-pol-1-now-DIR
- 'One of these days soon, I will take it.'

-lla: 'polite' should be compared to the polite use of *-lla* 'just' that occurs on substantives and adverbs; see section 19.1.

Chapter 10

CASE AND GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

10.1. Introduction to Case

A case marker indicates the relationship between the substantive to which it is suffixed and either (a) the verb of the clause in which that substantive occurs or (b) another substantive (overt or implicit) in the same clause. Case and case-like suffixes are of roughly three kinds:

1. Those that indicate the relationship of a substantive to a verb: SUBJECTS, OBJECTS, LOCATIVES, GOALS, LIMITATIVE, and PURPOSE,
2. Those that may *also* be used to express substantive-substantive relations: (a) GENITIVE; e.g., *Hwan-pa maki-n* (John-GEN hand-3P) 'John's hand' and (b) COMITATIVE; e.g., *Hwan-wan Pablu* (John-COM Paul) 'John and Paul'.
3. Those that are most adverbial: SIMILARITY and MANNER. There is no clear boundary between these and the other case markers; both "modify" (at least in some extended sense) the verb or clause of which they are a part. Some cases could be considered either adverbs or cased substantive phrases; e.g., *achka-ta* (much-ACC) is clearly an adverb in examples such as *achkata maqamasha* 'he hit me a lot' and *achkata puriykan* 'he travels a lot'.

For each case marker, this chapter contains a comprehensive survey of its use. The discussion is organized along the lines of the three just-mentioned kinds of case marker.

10.2. Subject

In Quechua, the category/relation *subject* plays a major role in the grammar. This section deals with ways the grammar is sensitive to the category of subject.

There are no formal coding devices by which subjects can be uniquely identified. Word order is very free in Quechua (particularly in main clauses) and therefore cannot be relied upon to identify the subject of a clause. Word order might be an

adequate basis on which to define the subjects in doubly (or more) embedded clauses because the more embedded a clause, the more rigidly SOV it tends to be (see Weber [44] p. 36ff). However, such cases comprise only a very small percentage of all clauses.

Another possible coding device is case marking. Subjects bear no case marking (i.e., the nominative is indicated by $-\emptyset$), and this distinguishes them from objects and oblique noun phrases, all of which (at least potentially) bear some case marker (e.g., *-ta* 'ACC', *-wan* 'COM', *-pita* 'ABL', etc.). However, several factors complicate the identification of a subject as a noun phrase that lacks any case marker: Temporal nouns or noun phrases (e.g., *wara* 'tomorrow', *kanan hunaq* 'this day') are also without case markers, and usually function as temporal adverbs rather than subjects. Further, it is not unusual for the object marker to be dropped in subordinate clauses, particularly within purpose clauses subordinated by *-q* to a motion verb, as in the following example:

620 Hwan warmi-(ta) ashi-q aywa-ra-n.
John woman-(OBJ) search-sub go-past-3

'John went to search for a wife.'

Cases such as these make a formal definition of subject difficult or impossible. However, in practice there is almost never any problem in recognizing what the subject is. This is because of the many morpho-syntactic evidences of subjects, now to be discussed.

Verbal inflection constrains what noun phrase may be taken as the subject of a clause: verbs are inflected to agree in person (and optionally, in number) with the subject. For example:

621 noqa	aywa-:	(I go-1)	'I go.'
qam	aywa-nki	(you go-2)	'You go.'
pay	aywa-n	(he go-3)	'He goes.'
noqanchi	aywa-nchi	(we(incl) go-12)	'We(incl) go.'

For some subordinate clauses it would seem--at first glance--that verbal inflection does not constrain the person of the subject; for example, infinitives bear no inflection for subject agreement. However, by virtue of the essential co-reference between the subject of an infinitive clause and the subject of the superordinate clause, the person of the former is constrained by the person of the latter. The same is true of adverbial clauses whose switch reference marking is *-r* 'adv(ss)'.¹

Having considered the coding of subjects, let us proceed to other ways the grammar is sensitive to the category of subject.

Adverbial clause subordination obligatorily indicates whether the subject of the subordinate and its superordinate clause are the same or different. For example, in 622a, *-r* indicates that the subject of the subordinate and main clauses are the same, whereas *-pti* in 622b indicates that they are different:

- 622 a. Chaya-r miku-shka-:.
arrive-advSS eat-perf-1
- b. Chaya-pti-n miku-shka-:.
arrive-advDS-3P eat-perf-1
- a. 'When I arrived, I ate.'
b. 'When he arrived, I ate.'

A more complete discussion of this is given in section 14.1.1.

Relativization is sensitive to whether the "embedded co-referent" (the argument of the modifying sentence co-referential to the head of the relative clause) is or is not the subject of the modifying sentence. *-q* cannot be used (in HgQ)¹ if the embedded co-referent is anything other than the subject (of the modifying sentence). For example, 623 can only mean 'the man who hit (him)', where the embedded co-referent is the subject of the modifying sentence:

- 623 maqa-q runa
hit-sub man
- 'the man who hit (him)'

Example 623 could not mean 'the man who was hit', where the embedded co-referent is the object of the modifying sentence. By contrast, example 624 can mean either 'the man who was hit' (perhaps the favored reading) or 'the man who hit (him)':

- 624 maqa-sha-n runa
hit-sub-3P man
- 'the man who was hit' or 'the man who hit (him)'

There are two instances where one could say--speaking in derivational terms--that a subject becomes (i.e., is "raised to") the object of a higher clause. First, a sensory verb complement consists of an object complement subordinated by *-q* to a sensory verb ('see', 'hear', etc.); e.g.:

- 625 Rika-ra-: [Hwan Tumas-ta maqa-yka-q]-ta.
see-past-1 John Tom-OBJ hit-impfv-sub-OBJ
- 'I saw John hitting Tom.'

From 625, *Hwan* may become the object of *rika*- 'to see':

- 626 Hwan-ta rika-ra-: [Tumas-ta maqa-yka-q]-ta.
John-OBJ see-past-1 Tom-OBJ hit-impfv-sub-OBJ
- 'I saw John hitting Tom.'

Second, when a verb is made causative by the addition of *-chi*, its subject becomes the object of the causative verb/clause. For example, compare 627a and 627b:

- 627 a. Noqa aywa-:. (I go-1)
b. Pay noqa-ta aywa-chi-ma-n. (he me-OBJ go-cause=>1-3)
- a. 'I go.'
b. 'He makes/allows me to go.'

In 627a, the subject is *noqa* 'I', and the verbal inflection indicates a first person

¹Some dialects are more rigid; for example in Ayacucho Quechua, *-q* is used if the embedded co-referent is the subject, and *-shqa* (or its reflex) if it is not.

subject. But in 627b, *noqa* has become an object, with the verbal inflection indicating a first person object.

There are various ways to passivize, i.e., to "promote" the object of a clause so that it becomes the subject. First, this can be accomplished by the addition of *-ka*: 'passive' or *-ra*: 'stative/durative'. Compare 628a and 628b with *rika-n* 'he sees it' and *pampa-n* 'he buries it', respectively.

- 628 a. *Rika-ka-n*. (see-pass-3)
 b. *Pampa-ra-n*. (bury-stat-3)
- a. 'It is seen.'
 b. 'It is buried.'

Passivization can also be accomplished by the addition of *-sha* 'participle' followed by *ka-* 'be'; compare example 629a, in which *noqa* is an object, with 629b, in which it has become the subject:

- 629 a. *Noqa-ta rika-ma-n*.
 I-OBJ see=>1-3
- b. *Noqa rika-sha ka-:*.
 I see-prtc be-1
- a. 'He sees me.'
 b. 'I am/was seen.'

This concludes our survey of the morpho-syntactic reflexes of the category of "subject."

10.3. -ta 'object'

This section deals with the suffix *-ta* 'OBJ' and the roles indicated by it. It is organized as follows:

- "direct" objects (section 10.3.1)
- "indirect" objects (section 10.3.2)
- object agreement (section 10.3.3)
- cases in which objects are not marked with *-ta* (section 10.3.4)
- subjects of causativized verbs (section 10.3.5)
- directional use of *-ta* (section 10.3.6)
- temporal use of *-ta* (section 10.3.7)
- some non-systematic (idiomatic) uses of *-ta* (section 10.3.8)

10.3.1. Direct Object

-ta 'OBJ' marks substantives that are the *direct* object of a clause; for typical events, such substantives usually refers to that person/thing most affected by the event. For example, 630 presents the potatoes as most affected by the event of 'digging up', and a subset of them, i.e., the small ones used for seed, are most affected by the event of selection:

630 Nirkur papa-ta alla-rku-r muru-ta akra-nchi
 then potatoes-OBJ dig-asp-adv seed-OBJ choose-12

minuuda-n-kuna-ta.
 small-3P-plur-OBJ

'Then having harvested the potatoes, we choose the seeds,
 i.e., the small ones.'

Objects that are less affected, such as an object of perception, are also marked with *-ta* 'OBJ'; see, e.g., 629a.

The direct object may be the subject of an intransitive verb that has been causativized with *-chi* 'caus'; e.g., compare the a and b sentences in examples 631 and 632:

- 631 a. Wamra punu-n. (child sleep-3)
 b. Wamra-ta punu-chi-n. (child-OBJ sleep-caus-3)
 a. 'The child sleeps.'
 b. 'He makes the child sleep (i.e., puts the child to sleep).'
- 632 a. Yaku timpu-yka-n. (water- boil-impfv-3)
 b. yaku-ta timpu-ri+ykU-chi-r (water-OBJ boil-sud-caus-adv)
 a. 'the water is boiling'
 b. 'boiling the water'

The direct object may be a complement; in example 25 (p.18), the first instance of *-ta* 'OBJ' is on an infinitive complement and the second is on a complement subordinated by *-na*. In example 633, the object is a sensory verb complement:

633 Qam-ta rika-shka-: sha-yka:-mu-q-ta.
 you-OBJ see-perf-1 come-impfv-afar-sub-OBJ

'I saw you coming.'

Note that example 633 contains two instances of *-ta* 'OBJ'; this is explained in section 13.3.2.4.

10.3.2. Indirect Object

Indirect and direct objects are not distinct syntactic categories in HgQ; both trigger verbal agreement marking, both use *-ta* to mark the overt substantive.² However, indirect objects do differ semantically from direct objects: in the

²Perhaps both are susceptible to morphological raising from infinitives; see Weber [45], sec. 4.2.2.

prototypical case, the indirect object is the recipient of something transferred.³ This need not be some physical thing; in many cases it is the result of speaking. Few verbs allow indirect objects in HgQ.⁴ Not all substantives which refer to recipients are marked with *-ta*; e.g., in 634, it takes *-man* rather than *-ta*:

634 Chawra warmi-n-man karta-ta apa-chi-mu-sha.
so wife-3P-GOAL letter-OBJ take-caus-afar-3PERF

'He sent his wife a letter (over here).'

Perhaps this is because *apa-chi-* 'take DO to IO/GOAL' implies a path, the end point of which is the recipient. The notion of "endpoint of a path," discussed in section 10.6.1, overrides the less semantically rich "recipient".

10.3.3. Object Agreement

The transition of a verb, discussed in chapter 8, agrees with its indirect objects in preference to its direct objects. For example, in 635 the transition is *-maran* '3=>1PAST' because the direct object is first person and because there is no indirect object to mark. By contrast, in 636 the transition is *-maran* '3=>1' (where the direct object is second person), because the indirect object is first person; the transition does not indicate the person of the second person direct object since it is superseded by the indirect object.

635 Pay noqa-ta maqa-ma-ra-n.
he me-OBJ hit-=>1-past-3

'He hit me.'

636 Pay qam-ta qu-ma-ra-n.
he you-ACC give-=>1-past-3

'He gave you to me.'

³I suspect that the grammar's treating "recipients" as indirect objects is a fairly recent innovation in Quechua B. In Quechua A they are treated as "goals":

	Direct Object	Indirect Object	Goal
Quechua A	-ta	-man	-man
Quechua B	-ta	-ta	-man

I would explain this as a case where there are different degrees of grammaticization. In Quechua A, indirect objects are treated as goals and marked with the lexically richer suffix *-man*. In Quechua B, they have been grammaticized as objects.

⁴The following verbs (by no means a comprehensive list) take indirect objects; note that more than half of these are borrowed from Spanish: *gaana-* 'to beat IO out of DO', *imbita-pa:-* 'to invite X', *indruga-* 'to turn DO over to IO', *kubra-* 'to charge IO for DO', *kunbira-* 'serve DO to IO', *makya-* 'to hand DO to IO', *mañaku-* 'to ask IO for DO', *ni-* 'to say to IO' (and *ima+ni-* 'what say to IO'), *parla-/pa:-* 'to speak to IO', *paaga-ykU-* 'to pay DO to IO', *piñakU-* 'to charge/upbraid IO', *pusha-* 'to lead DO to IO', *qara-(ykU)-* 'to feed DO to IO', *qaya-* 'to call IO', *qo-(ykU)-* 'give to X' (and *direechunta qo-*), *rura-* 'do DO to IO', *ruwa-kU-* 'to beg DO of IO', *sirbi-* 'to serve DO to IO', *tapu-* 'to ask IO for DO', *urdina-* 'to order IO to do PUR', *willa-/willa-pa:-/willa-ykU-* 'to tell IO'.

10.3.4. Lost *-ta* 'OBJ'

The *-ta* 'OBJ' marking direct objects is sometimes omitted when the object directly precedes the verb of which it is an object. In main clauses, this is largely restricted to a few expressions in which objects are closely associated with a particular verb; e.g., *papa-TA alla-* (potato-OBJ dig-) 'harvest potatoes'. This is certainly the first step toward a verb for 'dig potatoes' in which the object has been incorporated. However, object incorporation is generally regarded as being limited to indefinite objects; many cases of the loss of *-ta* cannot be considered object incorporation because the object is definite (e.g., a named person, a possessed object, etc.).

The omission of *-ta* is more frequent when the object occurs in a subordinate clause, particularly in a purpose-motion complement;⁵ e.g., (where *-TA* signifies a "missing" case marker):

637 *Cristobal-TA ashi-q aywa-shka-:.*
Christof seek-sub go-perf-1

'I went to look for Christof.'

638 *Ayku-: hara-:-TA urya-q-mi.*
go-1 corn-1P cultivate-sub-DIR

'I go to cultivate my corn.'

639 *teeha-TA rura-y-TA yacha-q-kuna*
tile make-inf know:how-sub-plur

'those who know how to make tiles'

Throughout a text on engagement practice, either *warmi-ta ashi-* or *warmi ashi-* (as in 640) is used for the process of seeking a wife:

640 *...llapan-ta warmi ashi-y-chaw nisita-kaa-na-n-paq ka-q-ta.*
all-OBJ wife seek-inf-LOC need-pass-sub-3P-PUR be-sub-OBJ

'...everything which will be needed in the wife-seeking.'

Example 641 shows the utility of supposing that a basic structure with *-ta* underlies a structure without it. Assuming 641a to be the basic structure, the relative clause is moved rightward and in the process inherits the case marker of the constituent out of which it is moved (in this case *-ta*); this is discussed in section 10.15.5. *Subsequently* the case marker on *chakra* 'field' is deleted:

641 a. *[[[Marsu killa-chaw chakma-sha-:] chakra]-ta yapya-q]*
March month-LOC break-sub-1P field -OBJ plow-SUB

aywa-shka-:.
go-perf-1

b. *[Chakra yapya-q] aywa-shka-: [Marsu killa-chaw*
field plow-SUB go-perf-1 March month-LOC

chakma-sha-:] -ta.
break-sub-1P -OBJ

'I went to plow the field that I had broken in March.'

⁵Weber [45], sec. 5.4.2.

10.3.5. Subjects of Causativized/Benefactive Verbs

As illustrated above (see example 627), the subject of a causativized, intransitive verb becomes an object. Whether this object should be considered an indirect or a direct object is indeterminate.

The object of benefactives is an indirect object:⁶

642 chay wanu-sha runa-ta sindi-pa:-na-n-paq
that die-prtc man-OBJ light-ben-sub-3P-PUR

'to light (candles) for that dead person'

643 ...qeshpi-pa-yku-n hatun oosu-ta...
escape-ben-impact-3 big bear-OBJ

'...they escape from the big bear...'

10.3.6. Direction

With certain verbs of motion, *-ta* can mark the endpoint of the path along which the motion takes place.⁷ These "objects" never trigger verbal agreement (perhaps simply because places are always third person). Examples follow:

644 punta-ta chaya-r
peak-OBJ arrive-adv

'arriving at the peak'

645 Y wakin-kaq qaqa-ta ... iski-ka-rpu-n.
and other-def boulder-OBJ fall-pass-down-3

'And the others fell ... over the cliff.'

646 Pillku-ta aywa-shka-: awardenti-man.
pillku-OBJ go-perf-1 firewater-GOAL

'I went to Pillku to get firewater.'

647

Hwan ka-yka-sha-n	}	a. *-ta	aywa-n.
John be-impfv-sub-3P		OBJ	
		b. -man	
		GOAL	

'He goes to where John is.'

See also example 362, p.110.

In 648, the substantive bearing *-ta* indicates the path itself (and not just its endpoint):

648 ...puri-rka-yka-:kuna kantu-n-ta.
walk-plur-impfv-11 edge-3P-OBJ

'...we(excl) walked along the bank.'

⁶That is, by the criterion of verbal marking: it is morphologically marked in the verb in preference to a direct object.

⁷The following verbs (by no means a complete list) may use *-ta* in this way: *apa-* 'to take', *aywa-* 'go', *chaya-* 'to arrive to' (but usually takes *-man*), *iski-* 'to fall', *puri-* 'to walk/travel', *tuma-* 'go about', *qoti-* 'to scrape (out a hole)', *uchku-* 'to dig a hole'.

10.3.7. Time Lapse

-ta may occur on a substantive which refers to a length of time to indicate a lapse of that much time.⁸ (These cases never trigger verbal agreement.) For example, in example 649, *wata-ta* indicates a lapse of one year:

649 Wakin runa-qa ashi-sha-n-pita wata-ta mas minus-ta kasara-n.
other man-TOP seek-sub-3P-ABL year-OBJ more less-OBJ marry-3

'Other men marry within a year of when they have sought
(their bride).'

650 Qalla-ri-sha-n-pita soqta hunaq-ta usha-ra-n.
begin-pnct-sub-3P-ABL six day-OBJ finish-past-3

'He finished six days from when he started.'

651 ...wanu-sha-n-pita pichqa hunaq-ta rura-n...
die-sub-3P-ABL five day-OBJ do-3

'...they do on the fifth day after he died...'

See also example 1643, p.386.

-ta may occur on a substantive referring to either a time period or a recurring time: it indicates recurring events at the space of those periods (e.g., 652) or at those recurring times (e.g., 653).

652 Wakin-qa arma-n chusku hunaq pichqa hunaq-ta.
some-TOP bathe-3 four day five day-OBJ

'Some bathe them every four or five days.'

653 Y sha-mu-nki mirkulis taarri-ta.
and come-afar-2 Wednesday evening-OBJ

'Come every Wednesday evening.'

654 Aywa-ku-yka-: paqas-ta hunaq-ta...
go-refl-impfv-1 night-OBJ day-OBJ

'I go day and night...'

655 Ishkay-ta kanta-rku-pti-n pashta-r-shi aywa-ku-ra-n kundinaadu.
two-OBJ sing-asp-adv-3P burst-adv-IND go-refl-past-3 ghost

'The second time it crows, bursting, the *kundinaadu* leaves.'

10.3.8. *-ta* in Non-Systematic (Idiomatic) Expressions

Some expressions which are not formed by the more systematic mechanisms of the language (e.g., loan translations from Spanish) use *-ta*, sometimes in non-systematic ways:

⁸Some instances seem quite idiomatic; e.g., *raatunninta* 'in just a moment', *warayllata* 'all night, right until dawn'. The following is a case where *-ta* seems to be used temporally, but not quite like the other cases of this section:

Wara-mi pishta-shu-nki qam-ta kumpaari-n
tomorrow-DIR slaughter=>2-2 you-OBJ compadre-3P

chaya-mu-y-nin-ta.
arrive-afar-inf-3P-OBJ

'Tomorrow they will slaughter you for their compadre's arrival.'

parabin-ta qo-n (for:good-OBJ give-3) 'he congratulated him'

kargu-ta yayku-na-n-paq (office-OBJ enter-sub-3P-PUR) 'in order that he enter that office' cf. *wasi-man yayku-* (house-GOAL enter) 'to enter (into) the house'

kwinta-ta apa-ku- (account-OBJ take-refl) 'figure out/realized'

direechunta qun 'to offer liquor or coca (in certain formal contexts, such as administrative sessions and fiestas); e.g.:

656 *chay awrindi-ta qu-n direechun-ta chay kargu rura-q*
that firewater-OBJ give-3 right-OBJ that office do-sub

runa-kuna...
man-plur

'The men who are entering office offer that firewater...'

657 *direechun-ta qu-n mayurdoomu-kuna huk boteella awrindi-ta...*
right-OBJ give-3 majordomo-plural one bottle firewater-OBJ

'The majordomo offers one bottle of firewater...'

658 *Chay uchku-q-kuna-ta direechun-ta qu-n kuka-ta*
that dig-sub-plur-OBJ right-OBJ give-3 coca-OBJ

awrindi-ta...
firewater-OBJ

'They offer the (grave) diggers coca and firewater.'

10.4. -chaw 'locative'

The locative suffix *-chaw* is pronounced in various ways: [chaw] ~ [cho:] ~ [chu:]. The latter two have variants [cho] and [chu] in word-final position. Throughout this work, the locative is written *-chaw*, as that seems to be the most basic form (the one from which the others are most easily derivable). The following uses of *-chaw* 'LOC' are discussed:

- with physical location (section 10.4.1),
- for involvement in activity/circumstance (section 10.4.2),
- in time expressions (section 10.4.3), and
- in idiomatic usage (section 10.4.4).

10.4.1. -chaw with Physical Location

The most basic and most common use of *-chaw* 'LOC' is to indicate position "in," "on," or "at" some indicated place/space. That which is "in/on/at" that place is either static or, if it is dynamic, the place/space indicated is the sphere of motion. Never is the place/space the *goal* of some motion, this being indicated by *-man*

'GOAL'; see section 10.6.⁹ The place/space indicated may be of various sorts; the following is intended as a non-comprehensive list of the various possibilities:

- a town given by name: *Pillku-chaw* (Pillku-LOC) 'in Pillku'
- by physical/geographical characteristic: *mas altu-chaw* (more high-LOC) 'at higher altitudes', *hanka-chaw* (peaks-LOC) 'on the snow-capped peaks', *hanaq pacha-chaw* (high firmament-LOC) 'in the heavens', *allpa-chaw* (ground-LOC) 'on earth', *punta-chaw* (peak-LOC) 'at the peak/ridge', *yunka-chaw* (jungle-LOC) 'in the jungle', *pampa-chaw* (ground-LOC) 'on the ground'
- a container: *babul-chaw* (trunk-LOC) 'in the trunk', *kostal-chaw* (sack-LOC) 'in the sack', *chaka-q kwartu-chaw* (be:dark-sub room-LOC) 'in a dark room', *machay-chaw* (cave-LOC) 'in the cave', *payla-chaw* (pot-LOC) 'in the pot', *maki-:-chaw* (hand-1P-LOC) 'in my hand(s)', *pacha-nchi-:-chaw* (stomach-12P-LOC) 'in our stomachs'
- a part of a container: *altus-chaw* (upstairs-LOC) 'upstairs', *yoora-chaw* (tree-LOC) 'in a tree'
- a building (which is a sort of container): *wasi-n-chaw* (house-3P-LOC) 'in his house', *eskuyla-chaw* (school-LOC) 'at school', *kabildu-chaw* (chapel-LOC) 'in the chapel', *inlisyá* (church-LOC) 'in the church', *kantiina-kuna-chaw* (store-plur-LOC) 'in the stores', *panaderiya-chaw* (bakery-LOC) 'in a bakery'
- by reference to the owner of a house: *Maqana-kaq-chaw* (Maqana-def-LOC) 'at Maqana's house', *duyñu-:-chaw* (owner-1P-LOC) 'at my owner's house'
- an area (usually of ground) with a special purpose: *pantiyun-chaw* (cemetery-LOC) 'in the cemetery', *eera-chaw* (threshing:floor-LOC) 'on the threshing floor', *kaminu-chaw* (road-LOC) or *naani-chaw* 'in the road', *werta-chaw* (garden-LOC) 'in the garden', *punku-chaw* (door-LOC) 'in the doorway'
- an area by reference to its political/demographic character: *chakra-chaw* (field-LOC) 'in the rural areas', *marka-chaw* (town-LOC) 'in the town', *kapital-chaw* (capital-LOC) 'in the capital', *probinsya-chaw* (province-LOC) 'in the province'

⁹Examples a-c appear to contradict the claim made in the text, since *-chaw* 'LOC' marks what is clearly the goal of some action. However, in each case the locative phrase indicates an area *within which some point is the goal*; e.g., in the first, the sting was not directed at the tiger's entire forehead, but at some point on it:

a. Chawra-qa huk suncha tinri-ta urku-n-chaw ulli-yku-n.
 then-TOP one wasp tiger-OBJ forehead-3P-LOC sting-impact-3
 'Then one of the wasps stings the tiger on the forehead.'

b. ...raqra kantu-n looma-chaw kondor hama-yku-n.
 gorge edge-3P hill-LOC condor sit-impact-3
 '...the condor sat down on a knoll at the edge of the gorge.'

c. Hama-sha-n-kuna-chaw chura-yku-r...
 sit-sub-3P-plur-LOC place-impact-adv
 'Having placed it at the resting place...'

(All three of these cases are from the same speaker.)

- an area relative to a place or thing: *chimpa-chaw* (other:bank-LOC) 'on the opposite bank (from where we are)', *karu-chaw-mi* (far-LOC-DIR) 'far away'
- a piece of furniture: *meesa-chaw* (table-LOC) 'at the table', *kaama-n-chaw* (bed-1P-LOC) 'in his bed'
- a body of water: *lamar-chaw* (ocean-LOC) 'in the ocean', *mayu-chaw* (river-LOC) 'in the river', *gocha-chaw* (lake-LOC) 'in the lake'
- in a fluid: *yaku-chaw* (water-LOC) 'in water'

The place/space may be indicated by a definite pronoun, e.g., *chay-chaw* 'there', *kay-chaw* 'here', *taqay-chaw* 'over there'; by an indefinite/interrogative pronoun, e.g., *may-chaw-taq* 'where?', *may-chaw-pis* 'wherever'; or by a pronoun such as *hina-lla-n-chaw* 'right there'. It may also be indicated by a relative clause; e.g.:

659 *chay warmi-ta ashi-sha-n-kaq-chaw*
that woman-OBJ seek-sub-3P-def-LOC

'at the place where they seek the woman
(i.e., her hand in marriage)'

See also example 148 (p.51) and the examples of section 13.4.2.

The place/space may be indicated by a spatial genitive expression (as discussed in section 12.3.2.3); e.g.:

- chaki-n-chaw* (foot-3P-LOC) 'at the foot of it'
- kabildu chawpi-n-chaw* (church middle-LOC) 'in the middle of the chapel'
- hatun sawan hana-n-chaw* (big gate top-3P-LOC) 'on top of a big gate'
- kaminu kantu-n-chaw* (road edge-3P-LOC) 'at the edge of the road'
- ñawpa-:-chaw* (side-1P-LOC) 'beside me'
- meesa ruri-n-chaw* (table inside-3P-LOC) 'under the table'
- departamentu serka-n-chaw* (department vicinity-3P-LOC) 'near the department capital'
- punku waqta-n-chaw* (door back-3P-LOC) 'behind the door'

10.4.2. -chaw for Involvement in Activity/Circumstance

When *-chaw* 'LOC' follows an infinitive, it refers to being involved in the activity or circumstance indicated by the verb. The following examples bear this out:

- warmi ashi-y-chaw* (woman search-inf-LOC) 'in the engagement procedure'
- usha-paaku-y-chaw* (end-diffuse-inf-LOC) 'in the closing ceremony'
- tapa-y-chaw* (keep:vigil-inf-LOC) 'during the wake'
- mayuraasa chura-ku-y-chaw* (mayoress place-refl-inf-LOC) 'in the installation of the *mayuraasa*'

660 *Yanapa:-naku-shun aru-y-chaw.*
help- recip-12IMP work-inf-LOC

'Let's help each other in (our) work.'

661 *Silleeta muchu-y-chaw ka-nchi.*
chair be:scarce-inf-LOC be-12

'We have a scarcity of chairs.'

662 ...simri kumli-chi-n ima aru-y-chaw-pis.
 always fulfill-caus-3 what work-inf-LOC-indef
 '...they always make him fulfill (his obligations to the
 community) in some sort of work.'

663 ...yapa+y-chaw sumaq rika-na-n-paq.
 again-LOC well see-sub-3P-PUR
 '...so that on another occasion he watches well.'

See also examples 156 (p.52), 162 (p.53), and 1615 (p.378).

-chaw may also be the appropriate case marker when the activities/circumstances are referred to by a lexical substantive (possibly compounded or modified); e.g.:

kafee urya-chaw (coffee cultivation-LOC) 'in coffee cultivation'
kuka koseecha-chaw (coca harvest-LOC) 'in the coca harvest'
karga-chaw (cargo:bearing-LOC) 'in moving cargo'
awkin dansa-chaw (old dance-LOC) 'in the "awkin" dance'
karnabal-caw (Carnival-LOC) 'in Carnival'
fista-chaw (fiesta-LOC) 'in the fiesta'
sabra-chaw (sabra-LOC) 'in the "sabra" (dance)'
disgrasya-chaw 'to be suffering some misfortune'
ima-chaw-pis 'in whatever'; e.g.:

664 ...chay kargu rura-q runa-ta mas ima-chaw-pis
 that cargo do-sub man-OBJ more what-LOC-indef

yanapa:-na-n-paq.
 help-sub-3-PUR

'...in order to help that man who is carrying out the cargo in
 whatever (circumstance).'

alli-chaw 'in good (circumstance/condition)'; see example 467, p.133.

leetu-chaw 'in litigation'; e.g.:

665 ...leetu-chaw ka-shpa-n.
 litigation-LOC be-adv-3P

'...if he is in litigation'

10.4.3. -chaw in Time Expressions

-chaw 'LOC' may occur on a substantive that refers to a period of time to indicate that some event occurred within that time period; e.g.:

chakay-lla-chaw (night-just-LOC) 'just at night'
pullan killa-chaw (half month-LOC) 'mid-month'
marsu killa qalla-yku-q-chaw (March month begin-impact-sub-LOC) 'at the
 beginning of March'
usha-q fibreeru-chaw (finish-sub February-LOC) 'at the end of February'
wata-chaw (year-LOC) 'in (the space of) a year'
semana-chaw (week-LOC) 'in (the space of) a week'

Or -chaw 'LOC' may occur on a substantivized clause to indicate that some event/activity occurred within the time indicated by the substantivized clause. Thus clauses bearing (-yka)-sha-POS-chaw (impfv-sub-POS-LOC) may be inter-

preted as temporal adverbial clauses meaning 'while, during';¹⁰ e.g.:

666 Aywa-yka:-mu-sha:-chaw oqra-shka-:.
go-impfv-afar-sub-1P-LOC lose-perf-1

'I lost it as I was coming.'

667 Chay-ta rura-n kantur kanta-yka-sha-n-chaw.
that-OBJ do-3 cantor sing-impfv-sub-3P-LOC

'They do that while the cantor sings.'

668 Y parla-yka-sha-lla-n-chaw qo+pari-n-shi uysha-n-ta.
and speak-impfv-sub-just-3P-LOC kill-3-IND sheep-3P-OBJ

'And right as they are speaking, he kills one of her sheep.'

10.4.4. -chaw in Idiomatic Usages

The following are various cases in which -chaw 'LOC' seems to be used in a rather idiomatic way:

in the possession of:

669 Llapan qam-chaw keeda-n.
all you-LOC remain-3

'Everything remains in your possession.'

among:

670 Chay minisru-kuna-chaw eskirbaanu...
that minister-plur-LOC scrivener

'Among those ministers, the scrivener...'

"by" a wife/woman

671 Kimsa warmi-n-chaw ka-ra-n pichqa wamra-n.
three wife-3P-LOC be-past-3 five child-3

'By his three wives he had five children.'

in the presence of:

672 Pooku kasara-n awturidaa-kuna-chaw-qa.
little marry-3 authority-plur-LOC-TOP

'Seldom do they get married before the authorities (i.e., they usually opt for a religious rather than a civil ceremony).'

673 Chay awturidaa-chaw kondor kabesilla sapo-ta ni-n...
that authority-LOC condor head frog-OBJ say-3

'In the presence of that authority the condor says to the head of the frogs...'

under the authority of:

674 Pay-pa muna-y-nin-chaw ka-nki-paq.
he-GEN want-inf-3P-LOC be-2-fut

'You will be under his authority.'

¹⁰Weber [45], sec. 5.1.

675 ...pinaku-n ... runa-pa manda-ru-n-chaw ka-na-n-paq.
 upbraid-3 man-GEN order-prtc-3^P-LOC be-sub-3P-PUR
 '...they upbraid/charge her... to be under her
 husband's authority.'

to be the prerogative of:

676 Tari-pti-n mana tari-pti-n-pis pay-pa kwenta-n-chaw
 find-adv-3P not find-adv-3P-indef he-GEN account-3P-LOC
 chay-qa.
 that-TOP
 'Whether he finds them or not is up to him.'

in the name of; see example 1782, p.446.

10.5. -pita 'ABL'

The uses of *-pita* 'ABL' center about the notion of the source/starting point of some path. They are discussed under the following headings:

- initial point of a path through space (section 10.5.1)
- observation (section 10.5.2)
- site of attachment (section 10.5.3)
- material (section 10.5.4)
- source (section 10.5.5)
- according (section 10.5.6)
- time (section 10.5.7)
- contrast and comparison (section 10.5.8)
- reason (section 10.5.9)
- avoidance (section 10.5.10)
- loan translations (section 10.5.11)

10.5.1. Initial Point of a Path Through Space

-pita 'ABL' may mark the substantive phrase that indicates the initial point of some path through space. Unless there are extraordinary circumstances (as in examples 684 and 685 below), the verbs that use *-pita* in this way must be motion verbs.¹¹ Examples follow:

677 ...qeshpi-r aywa-ku-n wasi-n-pita...
 flee-adv go-refl-3 house-3p-ABL
 '...they go fleeing from their house...'
 678 ...llapan kasta-n-kuna-ta pantiyun-pita hawa-man qarqu-n...
 all clan-3P-plur-OBJ cemetery-ABL outside-GOAL expel-3
 '...they drive all of his (the deceased's) relatives out of the
 cemetery...'

¹¹In addition to the verbs in the examples given in the text, the following have been attested in this use: *aywa-* 'go', *apa-* 'take', *ashta-* 'carry', *chaya-* 'arrive', *horqU-* 'remove', *kuti-* 'return', *lloqshi-* 'leave', *pusha-* 'lead', *qarquU-* 'expel', *sha+mu-* 'come'.

679 May-pita-taq chaya-mu-sha?
 where-ABL-?? arrive-afar-3PERF

'Where did he arrive from?'

See also example 580, p.163.

In example 680, the point from which "returning" is initiated is the midpoint of a (projected) trip:

680 ...biyahi-ta aywa-yka-sha-n-pita kuti-kU-mu-sha
 ...trip-OBJ go-impfv-sub-2P-ABL return-refl-afar-3PERF

pullan-pita.
 half-ABL

'...he returned from the trip on which he had gone halfway through.'

In 681, the process of covering the cross with flowers proceeds from the head of the cross to its foot (so that as more flowers are tied onto it, they cover up the stems of the flowers tied on just above):

681 Nirkur hana-n-pita wayta-wan chapa-n ushaqaq.
 then top-3P-ABL flower-COM cover-3 completely

'Then they cover it (the cross) from top to bottom with flowers.'

Since paths begin at the point indicated by an ablative phrase, examples with *qalla-* 'begin' are frequent; see example 425, p.126.

A search conceptually initiates at the point from which one goes to search. The accepted way to search for a wife is to do it from one's home with the help of one's parents:

682 Mas ashi-y-pa ashi-n tayta-n-pita mama-n-pita.
 more search-inf-adv search-3 father-3P-ABL mother-3P-ABL

'Usually they search from their parents (home).'

A substantive with *-pita* 'ABL' may express the point from which one measures some distance; e.g.:

683 Marka-chaw rus-kuna ka-n marka-pita mas karu-chaw.
 town-LOC cross-plur be-3 town-ABL more far-LOC

'There are crosses in town, some distance out of the center of town.'

See also example 825, p.213.

When an animal is tied/tethered, the rope proceeds *from* the point of attachment on the animal *to* the place where it is tied (e.g., a tree); see section 10.6. The act of tying a rope to something is always expressed with *-man*.

Usually the path through space (initiated at the referent of the ablative phrase) is a dynamic one; it may also be a static one. For instance, in example 726 (p.198), *ichi-* 'to stand' is conceptualized as a path initiated at the place where one stands.

Example 684 involves ellipsis; it is understood as a bid to race from the river to the ridge:

684 Apusti-shun mayu-pita punta-yaq.
wager-12 river-ABL ridge-LIM

'Let's bet (to race) from the river to the ridge.'

The ablative phrase of example 685 is not directly related to the main verb (i.e., it does not indicate that the work initiates in Visaq), but rather that the worker commutes from there:

685 Kay-chaw aru-n Visaq-pita.
here-loc work-3 Visaq-ABL

'He works here (commuting) from Visaq.'

10.5.2. Observation

-pita 'ABL' may indicate that the referent of the substantive to which it is attached is the place where something was intentionally¹² observed; e.g.:

686 ...punta-pita watqa-pa-ra-yka-pti-n ... kuchi-ta
peak-ABL spy-ben-stat-impfv-adv-3P pig-OBJ

qapara:-chi-mu-n.
scream-caus-afar-3

'...as they are spying from the ridge, ...the owners make the pig squeal.'

687 Chay-ta-shi buurru wiya-pa-raa-naq wasi waqta-n-pita.
that-OBJ-IND donkey wear-ben-stat-narpst house behind-ABL

'The donkey heard that from behind the house.'

10.5.3. Site of Attachment

-pita 'ABL' may indicate the site or place where something (such as a rope) is attached. (This is generally to a body, usually that of an animal.) Verbs with which *-pita* is used in this way include *amu-* 'clench something in the teeth', *chari-* 'grab', *chuta-* 'pull', *pita-* 'wrap cord about' *raska-* 'scratch, claw'. Examples follow:¹³

688 Huk runa chari-pa:-ma-nchi sumaq chanaq kunka-n-pita...
other man grab-ben=>1-12 very tight neck-3P-ABL

'Another person grabs it for us very tightly by the neck...'

689 Chawra laasu-wan ruri-n-pita chari-rkU-chi-r kacha-n.
then rope-COM underside-3P-ABL grab-up-caus-adv let-3

'Then, holding it up by ropes which run under it, they let it (the coffin) down (into the grave).'

See also *chanka-n-kuna-pita* (foot-3P-plur-ABL) 'by the feet' in example 1674, p.394.

¹²Conceived of as a path, this is the reverse of the path of some stimulus from its source to its perceiver (see section 9.2.2.4). This reversal is, I believe, because the observation is intentional; the perception initiates with the observer and is focused on the object observed.

¹³In example 688, the transition of the main verb (*-manchi*) is 3=>12 because of the subject marking anomaly.

In example 690, it is significant that the verb is *amu-* 'clench something in the teeth'. The objects of other verbs expressing 'bite' take *-ta* 'OBJ', but basic to the meaning of *amu-* is the notion of being attached, albeit in this case for only a moment.¹⁴

- 690 ...allqu-na-shi qonqur chaki-n-pita "haq" ni-r amu-ku-rku-n.
 dog-now-IND knee foot-3P-ABL say-adv bite-refl-asp-3
 '...now the dog, growling bites him just below the knee.'
- 691 ...uma-yki-pita warku-chi-shu-nki.
 head-2P-ABL hang-caus=>2-2
 '...he will have you hung by the neck (lit. 'from your head').'

10.5.4. Material

-pita 'ABL' may indicate that the referent of the substantive so marked is the material out of which something is made; e.g.:

- 692 Punchu-ta rura-na-paq lomismo puchka-nchi millwa-pita.
 poncho-OBJ make-sub-PUR same:way spin-12 wool-ABL
 'To make a poncho, in the same way we spin (out of) wool.'
- 693 Numral-kuna qeru-pita llaqlla-sha.
 lintel-plur wood-ABL shape-prtc
 'The lintels are shaped out of wood.'
 (*llaqlla-* 'to shape wood with an adze')
- 694 ...rura-pa-n llanqi-ta-pis palma-pita pillta-y-pa.
 make-ben-3 sandal-OBJ-also palm:fiber-ABL braid-inf-adv
 '...they braid sandals (in which one is buried) for him out of palm fiber.'

10.5.5. Source

-pita 'ABL' may indicate that the referent of the substantive so marked is the source of something; e.g.:

- 695 ...fiihu parla-n imay hunaq chaski-na-n-paq-pis ...
 firm speak-3 when day receive-sub-3P-PUR-indef
 chay ruka-y-ta rura-yka-q mayurdoomu-pita.
 that trade-inf-OBJ do-impfv-sub majordomo-ABL
 '...they agree firmly as to when he should receive the exchange (of office) from the majordomo who is doing it (i.e., holding that position).'
- 696 ...chakay-lla-man hanaq-pita-shi ni-mu-n "tuni-mu-shaq-chu?"
 night-just-GOAL above-ABL-IND say-afar-3 fall-afar-1FUT-YN?
 '...along in the night from up above there comes a voice saying, "Shall I fall (down on you)?"'

See also examples 860 (p.218) and 1212 (p.298).

¹⁴There is a type of tick called an *amuku*. This is obviously consonant with the meaning described in the text for *amu-*.

10.5.6. According

-pita 'ABL' may indicate that the referent of the substantive to which it is attached is what dictated the course of events. The simplest example of this use is the expression *qam-pita* (you-ABL) 'it's up to you' (i.e., whatever you decide will dictate the course of events). Other examples follow:

697 Llanu ka-y-nin-pita kwista-n.
thick be-inf-3P-ABL cost-3

'It costs according to how thick it is.'

698 ...mas chanin-ta kubra-n quya:-chi-sha-n-pita-na.
more expensive-OBJ charge-3 pass:time-caus-sub-3P-ABL-now

'...he charges more depending on how much time he (the buyer) has made him spend.'

699 Chay-qa tesureeru-pita-na ayka-ta mayuraasa-ta
that-TOP treasurer-ABL-now how:many-OBJ dancer-OBJ

chura-pti-n-pis.
place-adv-3P-indef

'It is up to the treasurer (to decide) how many *mayuraasa*'s he puts in.'

The text following 699 says that 'some put in up to 12, others 7 or 8,' and then continues with example 700:

700 ayka-ta-pis gastu-n aypa:-na-n-paq
how:many-OBJ-indef expenditure-3P extend-sub-3P-PUR

ka-sha-lla-n-pita, paaga-y-ta aypa:-na-lla-n-paq.
be-sub-just-3P-ABL pay-inf-OBJ extend-sub-just-3P-PUR

'(He pays) according to how much he can afford to pay.'
(more literally, 'according to how much expenditure he can make/extend, to be made/extended in paying')

See also example 885 (p.222) and 1209 (p.294).

10.5.7. Time

Either a time word or a substantive clause which refers to some event can indicate a time. When *-pita* 'ABL' is suffixed to such an expression, the event referred to by the main verb is interpreted as happening after that time.

Examples with time words are *kanan-pita* (today-ABL) 'from today on', *laguna-pita* (one o'clock-ABL) 'anytime after one o'clock', *timpu-pita* (time-ABL) 'ahead of time', *taarri-n-pita* (afternoon-3P-ABL) 'late in the afternoon'.

Examples with substantive clauses follow:

701 Chay warmi-ta ashi-sha-n-pita wakin-qa kasara-n achka
that woman-OBJ search-sub-3P-ABL some-TOP marry-3 many

wamra-n-kuna ka-pti-n-raq. Wakin runa-qa ashi-sha-n-pita
child-3P-plur be-adv-3P-yet other man-TOP search-sub-3P-ABL

wata-ta mas minus-ta kasara-n.
year-OBJ more less-OBJ marry-3

'After having searched for that woman (i.e., engagement), some marry only after there are many children. Other men, after searching, marry in less than a year.'

702 Wanu-sha-n-pita pacha asta allpa-man pampa-na-n-yaq...
die-sub-3P-abl continuously until ground-GOAL bury-sub-3P-LIM

'From the time he died, continuously until he is buried...'

See also example 1608, p.377.

With reference to example 703, perhaps it would be better to say that *-pita* 'ABL' indicates a prior *circumstance* rather than a prior *time*:

703 Pero horqo-ri-pti-n kawari-sha wanu-sha-n-pita-na.
but remove-pnct-adv-3P come:to-3PERF die-sub-3P-ABL-now

'But after they pulled him out, he came to from having been unconscious.'

10.5.8. Contrast and Comparison

When one thing/circumstance/event is compared or contrasted with another, *-pita* 'ABL' marks the object to which comparison is made.¹⁵ For instance, in example 704, those who know how to read are set in contrast to those who don't:

704 Chay-chaw-pis huk ka-na-n ligi-y-ta yacha-q
that-LOC-also one be-sub-3 read-inf-OBJ know-sub

wakin kaq-pita-qa.
other def-ABL-TOP

'Among them there should be one who knows how to read--in contrast to the others (who need not know).'

705 Chay-pita kaq-ta-qa llapan-ta manda-n eskirbaanu...
that-ABL def-OBJ-TOP all-OBJ order-3 escribano

'All the others--in contrast to that one (the aforementioned "capilla")--the escribano gives orders to...'

For examples of comparatives, see section 12.9.

10.5.9. Reason

-pita 'ABL' may indicate that the substantive to which it is attached is the reason that something (subsequent) was done; e.g.:

¹⁵The use of the ablative case for this function is very common across the languages of the world.

706 Qam-pita maqa-sha ka-shka-:.
you-ABL hit-prtc be-perf-1

'I have been hit on your account.'
(Note: This does not mean 'I have been hit by you.')

707 Ama mikuy-pita-qa llaki-ku-y-chu.
not food-ABL-TOP be:sad-refl-2IMP-NEG

'Do not be disillusioned because of food (the lack of it)!'

This use of *-pita* 'ABL' occurs with simple substantives or with substantives derived from clauses (formed by *-y* 'inf' by *-sha* 'sub', etc.):¹⁶

708 ...asta-n ... mana sumaq mikuy-pita rika-sha-n-pita...
whip-3 not well food-ABL see-sub-3P-ABL

'...he whips him ...because he did not watch well (to keep the animals) out of the crops...'

709 Qella ka-y-pita osyoosu ka-y-pita chay-lla-ta miku-n.
lazy be-inf-ABL lazy be-inf-ABL that-just-OBJ eat-3

'Because they are lazy, they just eat that.'

710 Riginti ka-sha-:-pita alli bindisyun-ta Yus qo-ma-n.
believer be-sub-1P-ABL good blessing-OBJ God give=>1-3

'Because I am a believer, God gives me good blessings.'

10.5.10. Avoidance

When *-pita* 'ABL' occurs on a clause substantivized by *-na* 'irrealis sub', that substantive indicates an unrealized event/circumstance being avoided (by doing what is described in the main clause); e.g.:

711 ...chari-pa:-ma-nchi ... yawar pillchi-pa:-ma:-na-nchi:-pita.
grab-ben=>1-12 blood splatter-ben=>1-sub-12P-ABL

'...he grabs it for us, ... lest blood splatter on us.'

712 ...uysha-n-kuna-ta atoq miku-na-n-pita kuyra-na-n-paq.
sheep-3P-plur-OBJ fox eat-sub-3P-ABL care-sub-3P-PUR

'...in order that they (dogs) watch lest a fox eat their sheep.'

713 Kargu ka-shpa-n-pis mana rura-n-chu chay wasi-chaw
office be-adv-3P-even not do-3-NEG that house-LOC

qachwa-na-n-pita.
dance-sub-3P-ABL

'Even if he has some office he does not carry it out,
lest they dance in that house.'

714 ...*pishtako pay* ni-ma:-na-n-pita.
slaughterer he say=>1-sub-ABL

'...lest they say of me, *He is a slaughterer.*'

¹⁶In example 708 it is tempting to translate *mikuy-pita rika-* as 'look after the food', but in no other case have I seen *-pita* 'ABL' used this way with *rika-* 'see'.

10.5.11. Loan Translations Using *-pita* 'ABL'

There are a number of cases in which *-pita* 'ABL' seems to be part of a loan translation (*calque*). Examples follow:

715 Allqu y mishi yarqay-pita-na-shi.
 dog and cat hunger-ABL-now-IND
 'The dog and the cat are now hungry.'
 (Sp.: *estar de hambre* 'be of hunger')

716 Yaku-na-y-pita ka-yka-:
 water-des-inf-ABL be-impfv-1
 'I am thirsty.'
 (Sp.: *estar de sed* 'be of thirst')

In example 717, the loan translation would be based on an identification of *-pita* 'ABL' with the Spanish preposition *por* rather than *de*:

717 Cheqlla-n-pita paasa-yka-n raahi-n...
 waist-3P-ABL pass-impfv-3 skirt-3P
 'A skirt passes about her waist...'
 (Sp.: *pasa por la cintura* 'pass by the waist')

10.6. *-man* 'GOAL'

-man 'GOAL' marks the endpoint of some path. This path may be real or metaphorical. A real path may be:

- the motion of an object through space (section 10.6.1)
- a static path through space (section 10.6.2)

A metaphorical path may be:

- the motion to an altered state or event (section 10.6.3)
- the progression of a period of time to some endpoint (section 10.6.4)

Other topics treated in this section are:

- Spanish calques (section 10.6.5)
- a case that defies explanation (section 10.6.6)
- 'to go after' (section 10.6.7)
- the interaction of *-man* with pre-transition suffixes (section 10.6.8)

10.6.1. Motion of an Object Through Space

With intransitive verbs,¹⁷ *-man* 'GOAL' is used to mark the endpoint of some path along which the referent of the subject travels (has traveled, will travel, etc.); e.g.:

¹⁷The following intransitive verbs have been attested with goals: *aywa-* 'go', *bulka-* 'tip over', *chaya-* 'arrive', *hama-ykU-* 'to sit', *heqa-~nye:ga-~yaqa-~yeqa-* 'fall, come from around', *hunta-* 'gather all together', *kama-ka:-* 'to accommodate/arrange at', *kuti-* 'return', *llalli-* 'to race to', *lloqshi-* 'to leave', *lluchka-* 'to slip', *pacha-kU-* 'to take lodging at', *pa:ri-* 'to fly', *pa:sa-* 'to pass by', *pinti-* 'to jump', *puñu-* 'to lie down to sleep at', *raki-ka:-* 'to be divided', *salta-* 'to jump', *sha-mu-* 'to come', *shikwa-* 'to fall', *wicha-* 'to climb', *yaykU-* 'to enter',

718 Pillku-man aywa-shaq.
 Pillku-GOAL go-1FUT

'I will go to Pillku.'

With transitive verbs,¹⁸ *-man* 'GOAL' is used to mark the endpoint of some path along which the referent of the direct object (or some understood object) is caused to travel. (Of course, in the case of verbs like *apa-* 'take' and *pusha-* 'lead' the referent of the subject must also travel toward the endpoint of the path.) For example:

719 Kay-man shunta-mu-y.
 here-GOAL gather-afar-2IMP

'Gather them (to) here.'

Aywa- 'to go' and *chaya-* 'arrive' frequently occur with a name bearing *-man* 'GOAL'. The meaning in this case is 'going to the place where x is' (where x is the person named). In the absence of a clear notion of where that person may be at the moment, it means 'to where x lives, to x's dwelling'. For example, *Hwan-man aywa-n* (John-GOAL go-3) means either 'he goes to where John is' or 'he is going to John's house'.

10.6.2. A Static Path Through Space

In the following, *-man* 'GOAL' marks the endpoint of a static path through space:

chuta 'to stretch'; e.g.:

720 Wash-laa-man kay-laa-man chuta-nchi.
 other-side-GOAL this-side-GOAL stretch-12

'We stretch it from here to there.'

iksi- 'to knot'; e.g.:

721 Chay-ta iksi-nchi chawpi-n shipra-sha-nchi:-man.
 that-OBJ knot-12 middle-3P peel-sub-12P-GOAL

'We knot that in the middle of where we have peeled back (its covering).'

pitu- 'to wrap, to tie up'; e.g.:

722 Wanka-man pitu-y.
 rock-GOAL tie-2IMP

'Tie him up to the rock.'

to:pa- 'to abut, to touch'; e.g.:

¹⁸Such as the following: *apa-* 'take', *ashta-* 'to carry', *chaqchu-* 'to sprinkle', *chura-* 'to place', *hati-* 'to stick into/onto', *hita-* 'to throw', *horqU-* 'to remove', *indriga-* 'to turn over to', *ishpa-* 'to urinate', *kacha-* 'to send', *kwadra-chi-* 'to park (a car)', *laqta-* 'to smear', *mashta-* 'to spread out', *paka-* 'to hide', *pampa-* 'to bury', *pillu-* 'to wind (e.g., string) onto', *pirwa-* 'to store', *puchka-* 'to spin', *pusha-* 'to lead', *qanra-* 'to soil', *qara-* 'to feed', *qarqU-* 'to expel', *qata-* 'to roof', *qaya-mu-* 'to call to come', *saqta-* 'to knock over', *sindi-* 'to light (candles) at', *sipra-* 'to peel', *sipu-* 'to sew into??', *shunta-* 'to gather together', *tikwa-* 'to tip over', *toqa-* 'to spit', *warda-* 'to save', *warkU-* 'to hang up', *waykU-* 'to stoke', *wika-pa-* 'to throw over embankment', *wiña-* 'to pour into'.

723 Toopa-ykU-chi-n chay achikya-ra-yka-q-man.
touch-impact-caus-3 that shine-stat-impfv-sub-GOAL

'He touches it to the place where it glows.'

tukna- 'to lean against'

wata- 'to tether, to tie (at the end of a rope)'; e.g.:

724 Wata-shka-shu-nki noqa-man.
tie-perf=>2-2 I-GOAL

'He tied you to me.'

See also example 418, p.418.

A path extended in space may be denoted by a pair of noun phrases bearing *-man* 'GOAL', referring to the endpoints. For example, in 725, *-man* is used as the transitive verb described above in section 10.6.1:

725 Ishkay estaaga-ta hawi-nchi wak-la:-man kay-la:-man.
two stake-OBJ plant-12 there-side-GOAL this-side-GOAL

'We plant two stakes, one over on that side, one on this side (so as to stretch string between them).'

Example 726 presents a series of animals standing one on top of the other. The donkey is standing on the ground; as suggested in section 10.5.1, the noun phrase with *-pita* 'ABL' (in the first clause) indicates the initial point from which the path defined by *ichi-* 'stand' extends. But in the other cases, the place where the animal is to stand is indicated by a noun phrase with *-man*. Perhaps this is because they involve the exertion of force (a) against something sentient (as opposed to the ground) or (b) in the direction of the focal point of the narrative (the donkey).

726 Ichi-shaq pampa-pita. Hana:-man allqo ichi-nqa.
stand-1FUT ground-ABL on:top-1P-GOAL dog stand-3FUT

Mas hana-n-man mishi. Ultimu-man qallu.
more top-3P-GOAL cat last-GOAL rooster

'I will stand on the ground. The dog will stand on top of me. The cat on top of him. Finally the rooster.'

10.6.3. Motion to an Altered State or Event

In the following there is motion (in a metaphorical sense) to some new state or the initiation of some new event:

allcha-ka:- 'to get well'; e.g.:

727 Allcha-kaa-chi-ra-n ka-sha-n-naw saanu-man.
fix-pass-caus-past-3 be-sub-3P-SIM health-GOAL

'He cured him (so that he became) well like he was.'

kama-ka:- 'to arrange, put one's self to'; e.g.:

728 Kama-ka-sha upu-y-man.
arrange-pass-3PERF drink-inf-GOAL

'He put himself to drinking.'

kumlita-ka:- 'to complete'; e.g.:

- 729 Kumlita-ka-n huk runa enteeru-man.
complete-pass-3 one man complete-GOAL
'He completes himself into a man (out of dissociated body parts).'

ruka-ka:- 'to change (clothing)'; e.g.:

- 730 Huk roopa-lla-man ruka-ka-n.
other clothes-just-GOAL exchange-pass-3
'They change into other clothes.'

tikra- 'to turn into'; e.g.:

- 731 Ishka-n tikra-sha huknaylla-man.
two-3P change-3PERF just:one-GOAL
'The two have turned into one.'

- 732 Allpa-man tikra-nki-paq.
earth-GOAL turn-2FUT-fut
'You will turn into dirt.'

10.6.4. Time Progression to Some Endpoint

There are a number of temporal noun phrases which bear *-man* 'GOAL'. These could be regarded as simply idiomatic expressions. Whether they constitute a dead metaphor or a live one, they are consistent with the use of *-man* 'GOAL' as indicating the endpoint of a path, in this case an advance of time, usually with focus on the immediacy of the endpoint of that time. Examples follow:

*mas chaka-y-lla-man*¹⁹ (more be:dark-inf-just-GOAL) 'when it got dark(er)
o:raman 'at the time'; e.g.:

- 733 Chaya-paaku-n parla-sha-n oora-man.
arrive-plur-3 agree-sub-3P time-GOAL
'They arrive at the time they had agreed upon.'

mas raatumán, raatumán 'a moment later, in a moment'; e.g.:

- 734 Mas raatu-man sha-rI-mu-nki.
more moment-GOAL come-pnct-afar-2
'Come back in a just a minute.'

- 735 Hama-paari-y raatu-man.
sit-moment-2IMP moment-GOAL
'Sit down for a moment (i.e., until a moment's time is up).'

pacha warayman 'along toward morning, near dawn'

10.6.5. Spanish Loan Translations

The following illustrate involving *-man* 'GOAL' with loan translations (*calques*) from Spanish:

¹⁹Or simply *chakayllaman*, without *mas*, or even more simply, *chakayman*, without *-lla*.

736 Waqay-man chura-ka-ra-n.
cry-GOAL place-pass-past-3
'He began to cry.'
(Spanish: *se puso a llorar* 'he put himself to crying')

737 Mayu-man sirkay ka-sha huk kantiina.
river-GOAL close be-3PERF a store
'There was a store close to the river.'
(Spanish: *cerca al río* 'near to the river')

738 autorida:-man dimanda-
authority-GOAL demand
'to denounce before the authority' (tininti, agenti, etc.)
(Spanish: *demandar a la autoridad* 'denounce to the authority')

In example 739, it seems that there is a path extending through space, namely, the line of sight ending at the object seen. Nevertheless, this is probably a Spanish loan translation from *viendo a lo lejos*.

739 Karu-man rika-r mana reqsi-shka-:-chu.
far-GOAL see-adv not recognize-perf-:-NEG
'Seeing it afar off, I did not recognize it.'
(Spanish: *viendo a lo lejos* 'seeing to far')

10.6.6. Residue

In example 740, *inteeru* 'all around'²⁰ bears *-man* 'GOAL' to express 'from all around'. *-pita* 'ABL' would seem far more appropriate, given the meaning; I do not know why *-man* is used rather than *-pita*.

740 ...aypalla-ta wasi-n-chaw chara-n inteeru-man
a:lot-OBJ house-3P-OC have-3 all:over-GOAL
mañaku-na-n-paq.
ask:for-sub-3P-PUR
'...he keeps a lot in his house, because *from* all over
people ask him for it.'

10.6.7. 'To go after'

With *aywa-* 'to go' (and perhaps other verbs as well) a noun phrase may bear *-man* 'GOAL' but the meaning is not 'to go to x' (where x is the place referred to by the noun phrase) but rather 'to go after x, to go to get some of x' (where x is some commodity). For example:

741 Aywa-y asukar-man.
go-2IMP sugar-GOAL
'Go after sugar!' or 'Go and get some sugar!'

742 Pillku-ta aywa-shka-: awrinti-man.
Pillku-DIR go-perf-1 firewater-GOAL
'I went to Pillku to get firewater.'

²⁰The meaning of *entero* in standard Spanish is 'whole'; the gloss cited in the text is what the borrowed form means in Quechua.

There is an interesting contrast between *-man* 'GOAL' and *-koq* (-kU-q) 'to get'. In example 743, it means to go for firewood, in the sense of getting it and bringing it back, whereas in 744 it means to go to cut/work firewood (not necessarily bring it back):

- 743 Aywa-y yanta-man!
go-2IMP firewood-GOAL
'Go after firewood (i.e., to bring it back).'
- 744 Aywa-y yanta-koq.
go-2IMP firewood-to:get
'Go for firewood (i.e., to chop it).'

10.6.8. Interaction with Pre-Transition Suffixes

Some verbal roots (e.g., *puñu-* 'sleep', *hama-* 'sit') are inherently stative, implying no motion and rejecting a noun phrase with *-man* 'GOAL'. But if *-ykU* 'impact' or *-chi* 'cause' is added to the verb, it may imply motion, either of the subject in the case of *-ykU* or of the object in the case of *-chi*. See examples 444-447 (p.129) for examples with *-ykU*; the following illustrates this phenomenon with *-chi* 'cause':

- 745 Chawra puñu-chi-n altus-lla-man-shi.
so sleep-caus-3 second:floor-just-GOAL-IND
'So he allows/makes them sleep upstairs.'

10.7. -yaq and -kama 'limitative'

In HgQ, *-yaq* and *-kama* are synonymous, have the same range of uses, and occur with roughly the same frequency.²¹ *X-yaq* or *X-kama* indicates that X is either the physical limit of some motion (section 10.7.1), or the temporal limit or time period of some event (10.7.2). Whether a limitative substantive should be interpreted as spatial or as temporal depends on the nature of its referent and on the semantics of the verb of which it is an argument.

10.7.1. Spatial Limit

In the following, a substantive with *-yaq* ~ *-kama* 'LIM' is the physical limit of some motion through space:

- 746 Nirkur qepa ataka-n-ta sipra-nchi ula:-kama qaracha-n-ta.
then hind foot-3P-OBJ peel-12 low-LIM skin-3P-OBJ
'Then we peel back the skin of its lower hind legs as far as the lower part.' (ula: is a contraction of *ura la:(do)* 'lower side'.)

See also examples 118 (p.45) and 1538 (p.366).

Example 747 shows two limitative expressions which are appositive, one with *-yaq*, the other with *-kama*:

²¹The Spanish preposition *hasta* 'until, up to' is sometimes used in the formation of limitative expressions; thus: *asta* [X]-*yaq* or *asta* [X]-*kama*.

747 Chay-kuna uchku-n ruri-kama pampa-na-n-paq alli ka-na-n-yaq.
 that-plur dig-3 inside-LIM bury-sub-3P-PUR good be-sub-3P-LIM

'They dig down (into the ground), far enough to bury it.'

Substantives with *-yaq ~ kama* 'LIM' often occur paired with an ablative *-pita*; see example 813, p.212.

10.7.2. Temporal Limit

This discussion first treats temporal limits formed from simple substantives, and then those formed from substantivized clauses.

First, *-yaq ~ -kama* on a substantive which refers to a time or period of time express the temporal limit of the event indicated by the clause which contains that substantive. This could indicate persistence until that time, as in example 748, or until the completion of that period of time, as in example 1655 (p.388):

748 Duran asta mirkulis-kama.
 last-3 until Wednesday-LIM

'It lasts until Wednesday.'

749 Wakin warmi-kuna hapallan quya:-ku-y-ta muna-n
 some women-plur single remain-refl-inf-OBJ want-3

mas unay-yaq.
 more time-LIM

'Some women want to remain single longer.'
 (*unay* 'prior or subsequent time')

750 ...kiida-ku-n duyñu asta imay-yaq-pis.
 remain-refl-3 owner until when-LIM-indef

'...they remained the owners forever.'

The following are temporal uses of *-yaq ~ -kama* following a substantive which seem to be fairly idiomatic and well on their way to being single, frozen expressions:

raatu-man-kama (moment-GOAL-LIM) 'just a second, momentarily'
tempraanu-yaq-lla (early-LIM-just) 'very early'
pacha wara-y-kama (firmament to:dawn-inf-LIM) 'at dawn'

Second, *-yaq ~ -kama* occurs following a substantivized clause. When the substantivizer is *-na*, the meaning is approximately 'until'. When it is *-sha*, the meaning varies between 'while' and 'until'. We will discuss three possibilities with *-sha* and one with *-na*.

When *-yaq ~ -kama* occurs on a clause substantivized by *-sha*, the event expressed by the main clause may be interpreted as persisting until the completion of the event indicated by the substantivized clause. There is no implication about which began first. The event of the main clause may persist beyond the completion of the event of the subordinate clause, although in some cases there is a weak implication that it will not; see example 752.

751 ----->| (--->) time of main clause
 - - - - - >| time of the *-sha*-POS-LIM clause

Examples follow:

752 Kay-chaw ka-sha-yki-yaq sumaq miku-nki.
 here-LOC be-sub-2P-LIM well eat-2FUT

'As long as you are here, you will eat well.' (i.e., 'You will eat well [main clause] until the completion of your being here [subordinate clause], and perhaps you will not eat well thereafter.')

753 Chay-pita wanu-sha-n-yaq wiyaraachi-nchi.
 that-ABL die-sub-3P-LIM wait-12

'After that we wait until it has died.' (i.e., 'We wait [main clause] until the completion of its dying [subordinate clause].')

When *-yaq ~ -kama* occurs on a clause substantivized by *-sha*, the event expressed by the main clause may be understood as being carried out wholly within the time period indicated by the substantivized clause. This is particularly natural when the event of the main clause is viewed as having happened at a single point of time (i.e., perfectively) and the event of the subordinate clause occurs over a time period.

754		x		time of main clause (perfective)
	- - - - -	- - - - -	->	time of the <i>-sha</i> -POS-LIM clause
		----->		time of main clause
	- - - - -	- - - - -	->	time of the <i>-sha</i> -POS-LIM clause

Such substantive clauses are generally best translated into English with 'while'. Examples follow:

755 ...awkis ooso-qa ashi-paku-q aywa-ku-sha-n-kama...
 old bear-TOP search-diff-sub go-refl-sub-3P-LIM

'...while the old bear had gone to scavenge...'
 (the event of the main clause (*they left*) happened within the time that the old bear was off scavenging)

When *-yaq ~ -kama* occurs on a clause substantivized by *-sha*, the event expressed by the main clause may be interpreted as persisting until the initiation of the event indicated by the substantivized clause.

756	----->	(--->)	time of main clause
		- - - ->	time of the <i>-sha</i> -POS-LIM clause

Examples follow:

757 Mana sooda-sha-yki-yaq aru-pti-ki-qa...
 not sweat-sub-2P-LIM work-adv-2P-TOP

'Unless you work until you sweat...' (i.e., 'You work [main clause] until the initiation of your sweating [subordinate clause].')

758 Y koorri-sha mana puyri-sha-n-kama atoq.
 and run-3PERF not be:able-sub-3P-LIM fox

'And the fox ran until he was no longer able (to run).'
 (i.e., 'he ran [main clause] until being further able [subordinate clause].')

-yaq ~ -kama on a clause substantivized by *-na* refers to an event which (from the appropriate temporal perspective) has not yet happened. The event expressed by the main clause is understood as persisting *until* the event expressed by the substantive clause.

759 ----->| (--->) time of main clause
 x time of the *-na*-POS-LIM clause (perfective)

Examples follow:

760 ...arma-n kiki-lla-n arma-ku-y-ta yacha-ku-na-n-yaq.
 bathe-3 self-just-3P bathe-refl-inf-OBJ learn-refl-sub-3P-LIM

'...they bathe them until they learn to bathe themselves.'

761 ...arma-n iti ka-sha-n-pita asta ish kay wata-yoq
 bathe-3 infant be-sub-ABL until two year-have

ka-na-n-yaq.
 be-sub-3P-LIM

'...they bathe them from the time they are infants until they are two years old.'

762 ...asta pantiyun ruri-n kapilla-man chaya-chi-na-n-yaq.
 until cemetery inside-3P chapel-GOAL arrive-caus-sub-3P-LIM

'...until they arrive at the chapel inside the cemetery.'

763 ... kunbira-n yapa-ri-r yapa-ri-r awni-na-n-kama.
 serve-3 add-asp-adv add-asp-adv agree-sub-3P-LIM

'...they serve (drink) again and again until he agrees.'

764 Mas willa-pa:-shun-chu qasa-ka:-na-n-kama.
 more tell-ben-12IMP-NEG calm-pass-sub-3P-LIM

'Let's not spread the news more until the situation calms down.'

See also example 202, p.61.

Comparing the diagram in 756 and 759 and the examples that accompany them, the difference between using *-sha* or *-na* as the substantivizer seems to lie in whether the event referred to by that clause is perfective (viewed as happening at a single time), in which case *-na* is used, or whether it is viewed as persisting over some time, in which case *-sha* is used.

10.8. -paq 'PUR'

-paq 'PUR' has a wide range of uses; at the heart of these seem to be the notions of *purpose* and *benefit/detriment*; this section is organized in terms of the following uses:

- to mean 'for the benefit of' (section 10.8.1)
- to mean 'purpose' or 'reason' (section 10.8.2)
- with purpose complements (section 10.8.3)
- with the concept of 'exchange' (section 10.8.4)
- with compound tenses (section 10.8.5)
- in time expressions (section 10.8.6)
- to mean 'concerning' or 'about' (section 10.8.7)
- to mean 'for x to do' (section 10.8.8)
- to carry out some role/office (section 10.8.9)

10.8.1. *-paq* to Mean 'for the benefit of'

A noun phrase with the case marker *-paq* in a clause may indicate that the event referred to by that clause was carried out for the benefit of or to the detriment of the referent of the noun phrase. For example, in 765, money is contributed for the benefit of the saint:

765 Ni qellay-ta-pis chura-n-chu santu-paq-qa.
nor money-OBJ-even place-3-NEG saint-PUR-TOP

'Nor does he contribute any money for the saint.'

Other examples of this use follow:

766 ...kanta-chi-n finaaru-paq.
sing-caus-3 deceased-PUR

'...they have him (the cantor) sing for the deceased.'

767 ...llapan pobri-paq wakcha-paq yus-ninchi ka-yka-n
all poor-PUR orphan-PUR God-12P be-impfv-3

mana-ku-q-paq-qa arrpinti-ku-q-paq-qa.
ask-refl-sub-PUR-TOP repent-refl-sub-PUR-TOP

'...God helps (lit. 'is for') the poor, the orphans, those who ask, and those who repent.'

10.8.2. *-paq* to Mean 'purpose' or 'reason'

A purpose clause is formed by *-na-POS-paq*, where POS is a possessive suffix.²² It may be used in a variety of ways (as listed in the introduction); the most basic is to express the *reason* or *purpose* for which something was done. For example, in 768, the reason for coming (and hence arriving) to a particular place was to be able to go from there to Pillku:

768 ...chaya-mu-ra-n ... wara-nnin Pillku-ta aywa-na-n-paq.
arrive-afar-past-3 tomorrow-sup pillku-OBJ go-sub-3P-PUR

'...he arrived ... to go to Pillku the following day.'

-paq 'PUR' may also indicate reason or purpose with a simple substantive; e.g., *ima-paq* 'for what reason' in the following example:

769 Taqay awkis buurru-ta ima-paq-na-taq kawa-chi-shun-pis.
that old donkey-OBJ what-PUR-now-?? live-caus-12-even

'Why (for what reason) should we let that old donkey live any longer?'

-paq 'PUR' may be used to indicate that something is good for some purpose; as, e.g., a chair is good for the purpose of resting:

770 Kay-qa utika-r hama-ku-na-:-paq-mi.
this-TOP tire-adv sit-refl-sub-1P-PUR-DIR

'This (is) for me to sit on when I get tired.'

²²Weber [45], sec. 5.4.1.

771 Chay-kuna-ta adibina-na-yki-paq qam mana ka-nki.
that-plur-OBJ divine-sub-2P-PUR you not be-2

'You are not able to divine those things.' (lit. 'You are not for divining/foretelling those things.')

772 Punku-kuna-paq lumismo chura-nchi numral-kuna-ta...
door-plur-PUR same:way place-12 lintel-plur-OBJ...

'In the same way, we place lintels (in the walls which are being constructed) for the doors (i.e., for the purpose of later mounting doors in them).'

A common use for this is in saying what remedy is good for a particular illness; e.g.:

773 Ruymatizmu-paq ahinkus y matiku.
rheumatism-PUR (plant) and (plant)

'(A cure) for rheumatism is *ahinkus* and *matiku*.'

774 Choqa-y-paq tos+conbolsiillu-paq chay-ta-mi upu-nchi
cough-inf-PUR convulsive:cough-PUR that-OBJ-DIR drink-12

chakra-chaw-qa.
rural:areas-LOC-TOP

'We take (drink) that in the urban areas for cough and for convulsive cough.'

10.8.3. -paq with Purpose Complements

The purpose clause structure has become the basis of a type of complement.²³ This differs from the use described in section 10.8.2 in that it does not convey a strong notion of 'purpose'; the purpose structure has simply become the grammatical mechanism for forming the complement. (In most cases, it is fairly transparent that the complement originated from a purpose complement; thus, it is not void of the notion of 'purpose'.) For example, *parla-* 'converse' followed by *-ku* 'reflexive' occurs with a purpose clause to mean 'to agree to x' where x, the purpose clause, expresses what the parties agreed to; e.g.:

775 ... wahu-chi-ma:-na-n-paq parla-ku-sha.
kill-caus=>1-sub-3P-PUR converse-refl-3PERF

'... they agreed to kill me.'

A command may be indirectly quoted as a purpose clause complement to *ni-* 'say'; e.g.:

776 Pi-taq ni-shka-shu-nki aywa-na-yki-paq?
who-?? say-perf=>2-2 go-sub-2P-PUR

'Who told you to go?'

10.8.4. -paq with the Concept of 'exchange'

With the notion of exchanging goods and services, *-paq* 'PUR' may mark the substantive, referring to what was received in return:

²³Weber [45], sec. 4.3.

777 Chawra runa nobillu-n-ta qellay-paq rantiku-yku-r...
so man oxen-3P-OBJ money-PUR sell-impact-adv

'So the man, having sold his team of oxen for money
(i.e., to get money in exchange for the team)....'

778 Chay misa-paq paaga-n kasara-q-kuna.
that mass-PUR pay-3 marry-sub-plur

'The ones who are getting married pay for that mass.'

In examples 779 and 780, the expressions *paaga+paq* 'to do for pay' *ranti+paq* 'to be for sale' are morphologically anomalous in that *-paq* 'PUR' directly follows the verb root (with no substantivizer):

779 Simri chay papil-ta paaga+paq rura-n.
always that paper-OBJ for:pay make-3

'They always write that document in exchange for pay.'

780 Chay murtahi ka-n ranti+paq Pillku-lla-chaw.
that shroud be-3 for:sale pillku-just-LOC

'There are such shrouds for sale only in Pillku (i.e.,
they are not stocked in the village stores).'

10.8.5. *-paq* with Compound Tenses

-paq 'PUR' is used in the formation of (a) the imminent future (section 8.11), and (b) the true future relative clause.²⁴ An example of each follows:

781 Tuni-na-:-paq ka-yka-:.
fall-sub-1P-PUR be-impfv-3

'I am about to fall.'

782 Rika-chi-shayki wara rantiku-na-:-paq ka-yka-q kuchi-ta.
see-caus-1=2>FUT tomorrow sell-sub-1P-PUR be-impfv-sub pig-OBJ

'I will show you the pig that I will sell tomorrow.'

10.8.6. *-paq* in Time Expressions

-paq may be used with a word referring to a time²⁵ to express various temporal concepts such as 'by the time that', 'at the time', 'before a certain amount of time elapsed', etc.²⁶ Examples follow:

²⁴Weber [45], sec. 2.3.2.3.

²⁵E.g., *mallway* 'mid-afternoon', *oora* 'moment', *hunaq* 'day', *diya* 'day', *wata* 'year'.

²⁶These meanings are quite distinct from the meanings with the limitative 'until, while'; e.g.:

a. Wara- <u>paq</u> tomorrow-PUR	} rura-shaq. do-1FUT
b. Wara-kama tomorrow-LIM	

a. 'I will do it by tomorrow.'
b. 'I will do it until tomorrow.'

- 783 Kanan mallway-paq yapyta-ta usha-ri-:.
today mid:afternoon-PUR cultivation-OBJ finish-pnct-1
'I (will) finish my cultivation by the middle of this afternoon
(by the time of the mid afternoon coca break).'
- 784 ...sha-mu-n listun-wan-na parla-sha-n oora-paq-qa ...
come-afar-3 list-3P-COM-now speak-sub-3P time-PUR-TOP
'...they come with their list by the time agreed upon...'
- 785 Chawra-qa kontratu-ta rura-shun pusaq hunaq-paq.
so-TOP contract-OBJ do-12 eight day-PUR
'Let us fulfill the contract eight days hence.'
- 786 ...mana-ku-n tesureeru-kuna ishka y kimsa hunaq-paq
ask-refl-3 treasurer-plur two three day-PUR
santu-ta adurna-chi-na-n-paq
saint-OBJ decorate-caus-sub-3P-PUR
'...the treasurers ask him to have the saint decorated within
two or three days.'
- 787 "Aywa-shun" ni-sha-n diya-paq listu ka-na-n llapan.
go-12FUT say-sub-3P day-PUR ready be-sub-3 all
'Everything should be ready by the day they are going.'
- 788 Palla-rku-r chaki-chi-nchi. Nirkur chura-nchi
pick-asp-adv dry-caus-12 then place-12
watan-nin-paq-na.
next:year-3P-PUR-now
'Having picked them (beans) we dry them. Then we
store them for the following year.'
- 789 Kimsa killa ishka y kimsa fista-paq pishi-yka-pti-n...
three month two month fiesta-PUR lack-impfv-adv-3P
'Two or three months before the fiesta...' (lit. 'lacking
two or three months before the fiesta')

Weber [45], sec. 5.1., mentions temporal expressions using *-na-POS-paq* (-sub-possessive-PUR) in the sense of 'by the time that'.

10.8.7. -paq to Mean 'concerning' or 'about'

-paq 'PUR' may mark a substantive 'about which' or 'concerning which' something is said. Verbs with which *-paq* has this meaning are *ni-* 'say', *parla-* 'converse', *rima-* 'to speak good or bad of', *willa-* 'tell'. Examples follow:

- 790 "...wikapa-riyku-shaq" ni-sha sunsu-paq yapay mayur-nin.
throw:over-sud-1FUT say-3PERF stooge-PUR again older-3P
'Again his older brother said concerning the stooge,
'... I will throw him over (a cliff).''
- 791 ... mana alli-paq-qa parla-pa-n-chu.
not good-PUR-TOP converse-ben-3-NEG
'...they do not speak kindly to them (i.e., not concerning
anything good).'
- 792 Ama pi-ta-pis willa-pa-y-chu noqapaq.
not who-OBJ-even tell-ben-2IMP-NEG me-PUR
'Do not tell anyone about me.'

793 Mana rispita-q ka-q-paq-qa willa-n huti-n-pa
not respect-sub be-sub-PUR-TOP tell-3 name-3P-GEN

"Mana rispita-ma-sha-chu" ni-r.
not respect=>1-3PERF-NEG say-adv

'They tell by name about those who have not been respectful,
saying, "He did not respect me."'

Verbs that express states of mind (e.g., *kushi-* 'be happy,' *llaki-* 'be sad,' *qonqa-* 'forget') often occur with a direct quotation expressing the state of mind. It is not surprising, then, that these verbs may occur with a substantive bearing *-paq*, referring to what was thought; e.g.:

794 Ima-paq-taq llaki-ku-nki?
what-PUR-?? be:sad-refl-2

'Why are you sad?'

795 Ama qonqa-shun-chu ... nuybu bawtisaadu-kuna-paq.
neg forget-12FUT-NEG new baptized:ones-plur-PUR

'Let's not forget about the newly baptized ones.'

796 Y awturidaa rabya-sha-na kondor-paq-qa.
and authority become:angry-3PERF-now condor-PUR-qa

'And the authority became angry with the condor.'

10.8.8. *-paq* to Mean 'for x to do'

In example 797, *-paq* 'PUR' indicates the person to whom a task corresponds:

797 Pay-paq-qa mas huk-naw kustumri-n.
he-PUR-TOP more other-SIM custom-3P

'There is still another custom for him (to do).'

10.8.9. *-paq* to Mean 'to carry out some role/office'

Verbs such as *ya-ykU-* 'enter' and *chura-* 'place' are used with *-man* to indicate the goal of spatial motion; see example 798a. By contrast, *-paq* is used with these verbs to indicate the office that someone enters or into which he is put; see 798b. (Note, that this is not physical entry into an office, but taking on that office as a role or responsibility.)

798 a. Wasi-man chura-sha.
house-GOAL place-3PERF

b. Manda-q-paq chura-sha.
order-sub-PUR place-3PERF

a. 'He put it into the house.'

b. 'He put him in as boss.'

799 ...apa-ku-ra-n ... chunyaq hirka-man warmi-n-paq.
take-refl-past-3 deserted mountain-GOAL wife-3P-PUR

'...he took her ... to a deserted mountain for his wife.'

800 Chay runa-kuna-ta balumintu-paq ruwa-ku-n ...
that man-plur-OBJ liaison:man-PUR beg-refl-3

'They beg various men to be their representative... (to represent a suitor's clan to the family of the prospective bride).'

10.9. -pa 'GEN'

-pa 'GEN' marks a diffuse orientation (in space, in time, etc.) with respect to the referent of the -pa-marked substantive. This manifests itself in various ways:

- 'through/by way of' (section 10.9.1)
- along a course (section 10.9.2)
- in the area of (section 10.9.3)
- a diffuse goal (section 10.9.4)
- admixture (section 10.9.5)
- various senses of 'over' with *hana* (section 10.9.6)

-pa has other uses discussed in various places in this work:

- -pa adverbializer (section 5.6.1.2)
- -naw+pa manner adverbials (section 10.12)
- -pa 'GEN' used in the possessive construction (section 12.3)
- -y(lla)pa adverbializer (section 14.4)

10.9.1. -pa to Mean 'through/by way of'

In the following examples, the referent of the subject of the clause passes through or goes by way of the referent of the -pa-marked substantive:

801 Noqa heqa-mu-shaq huk punta-pa...
I come:over-afar-1FUT a ridge-GEN

'I will come over a ridge (afar off)....'

802 Niykur Llaksa-pa paasa-nchi.
then Llaksa-GEN pass:through-12

'Then we go through Llaksa (on our way to Wahaq).'

See also example 351, p.108. In example 803, the object passes through that referred to by the substantive to which -pa is suffixed:

803 Chay-pita waska-ta ushtu-nchi uchku-sha-nchii-pa.
that-ABL rope-OBJ poke-12 make:hole-sub-12P-GEN

'Then we poke the rope through the hole we made.'

In example 804, the area through which the light passes is not specified as a particular place, but is specified as to its size:

804 Mas hatun-pa achikya:-mu-n.
more large-GEN shine-afar-3

'The light shines through a larger opening (e.g., when the curtains are drawn back).'

10.9.2. -pa to Mean 'along a course'

In the following examples, some course is prescribed along which the subject moves. This motion may be of many types; for instance, in example 805, it is sewing a border onto the edge of a poncho, and in 806 it is attaching ornaments all around the edge of the platform on which a saint is carried in a fiesta:

805 Huk rebeetin-ta awa-nchi punchu-pa kantu-n-pa
one edge:strip-OBJ weave-12 poncho-GEN edge-3P-GEN

hira-na-n-paq.
sew-sub-3-PUR

'We weave a strip to sew around the edge of the poncho.'

806 Chay-man wata-rkU-:ri-r inteeru kantu-n-pa tumari-q
that-GOAL tie-asp-plur-adv all edge-3P-GEN go:about-ADV

adurnu-wan adurna-n.
ornaments-COM decorate-3

'Having tied that to it, they decorate it with ornaments all around its edge.'

Example 807 describes a group of people in a fiesta who form a circle around a tree by holding hands. Then hand in hand they circle around the tree:

807 Kumun yoora-ta saqta-na-n-paq llapan
community tree-OBJ fell-sub-3P-PUR all

chari-nakU-rkU-:ri-r tuma-pa-n inteeru kantu-n-pa.
grab-recip-plur-adv go:about entire border-3P-GEN

'For the community to fell the tree, having all taken hands they go around the entire border of the tree.'

In 808 the course is the two sides of a fox's mouth (to form a hole in the middle so the fox can whistle like a bird):

808 Shimi-ki-ta hira-shun ishka-n-la:-pa.
mouth-2P-OBJ sew-12 two-3P-side-GEN

'We will sew up your mouth along its two sides.'

In example 809, the motion is around the edge of town, along its boundaries:

809 Kampu tuma-n marka-pa kantu-n inteeru linda-n-pa
campo go:about-3 town-GEN edge-3P entire boundary-3P-GEN

pullan chawpi-pita.
half center-ABL

'The *campo* (administrator responsible for crops) goes about the entire boundary of the town's edge, halfway between.'

In example 810, the course is 'about the waist':

810 Nirkur cheqlla-n-pa wata-pa-n kurdun-ta.
then waist-3P-GEN tie-ben-3 cord-OBJ

'Then they tie a cord about his waist (in preparing a body for burial).'

In example 811, two courses are contrasted: *wayra-pa* 'through the air, along the wind' and *allpa-pa* 'along the ground':

811 Qam sha-mu-nki wayra-pa buyla-y-pa y pay sha-mu-n
you come-afar-2 wind-GEN fly-inf-ADV and he come-afar-3

allpa-pa laata-y-lla-pa.
ground-GEN crawl-inf-just-GEN

(Of a condor and a frog who have raced): 'You come flying through the air, and he comes crawling along the ground.'

Similarly, in example 812, *hanaq-pa* means (roughly) 'through the sky':

- 812 Noqa aywa-: hanaq-pa buyla-y-pa...
 I go-1 high-GEN fly-inf-GEN
 'I go flying way up (in the air).'

We now turn to a special case of motion along a course. It is indicated by *-n+pa*, which we assume is some /n/ and *-pa* 'GEN', and indicates motion along some geographical feature such as slope. Examples follow:

- 813 Nirkur mayu-pita punta-yaq-shi chura-naku-yku-n
 then river-ABL peak-LIM-IND place- recip-asp-3

wicha-lla-n+pa.
 climb-just-3P+GEN

'Then from the river to the peak they place themselves
 along the slope.'

- 814 Llakun-pita Wahaq-man aywa-na-n-paq kaminu-pa
 Llacon-ABL Wahaq-GOAL go-sub-3P-PUR road-GEN

lloqshi-nchi wicha-n+pa Llakun-pita.
 leave-12 climb-3P+GEN Llacon-ABL

'To go from Llacón to Wahaq we take the road
 going up from Llacón.'

- 815 Chawra ataq-qa kuchpa-r-shi aywa-ku-n tunan-pa.
 So fox-TOP roll-adv-IND go-refl-3 slope-GEN

'So the fox goes rolling down the slope.'

A "geographical feature," as used above, should be broad enough to include *hiilu* 'string' in example 816; the string is established as an indicator along which the bricks are laid:

- 816 ...hiilu-ta chuta-yku-r. Hillu-lla-n+pa perqa-nchi
 string-OBJ stretch-asp-adv string-just-3P+GEN stack-12

rumi-ta.
 rock-OBJ

'...stretching a line. We stack the rocks right along the line.'

- 817 Yaku-n+pa aywa-sha.
 water-3P+GEN go-3PERF

'He went along the water (i.e., along its surface, as in a boat).'

10.9.3. *-pa* to Mean 'in the area of'

In the following examples, the substantive to which *-pa* is attached refers to an area; *-pa* indicates that the event/state described in the clause took/takes place within this area.²⁷

²⁷The difference between the use of *-pa* 'GEN' and *-chaw* 'LOC' is subtle: with *-pa* the area is less precisely delineated, i.e., more diffuse, than with *-chaw*. For example, in 1719 (p.414), the vicinity of the town is not a precisely defined area. If *-chaw* had been used, it would have indicated motion within a narrower, better defined region (i.e., the town as the concentration of houses about the church and municipality).

818 Mas qechwa-pa llapan runa armaku-n kara semaana
 more valley-GEN all men bathe-3P every week

warmi ollqo-pis.
 women man-also

'Farther down in the valleys all persons bathe each week, women and men alike.'

819 Chay-wan qonqur-ni: chaki-n-pa kuchu-rI-ykU-ma-sha.
 that-COM knee-1P foot-3P-GEN cut-asp-asp=>1-3PERF

'With that he cut me in the area just below my knee.'
 (The expression *qonqurnii chakinpa* 'below my knee' is an instance of a spatial genitive; see section 12.3.2.3.)

820 Washa-kaq punta-qa iskerra-kaq laadu-pa huk punta ka-n,
 other-def peak-TOP left-def side-GEN one peak be-3

Waqra Willka
 (name)

'(With reference to) the peak on the left, on the left side of it there is a peak (named) Waqra Willka.'

821 Achka yaku-yoq ka-ra-n chay raqra+n aywa-q-pa-qa.
 much water-have be-past-3 that valley go-sub-GEN-TOP

'There was lots of water along that valley.'

822 Chari-q-kaq nawpa-n-pa ichi-n.
 grab-sub-def side-3P-GEN stand-3

'The one who grabs it stands alongside it.'

823 Awkin-na-shi ollqo-yka-n ruri-lla-pa-qa.
 old:man-now-IND become:angry-impfv-3 inside-just-GEN-TOP

'The old man is now becoming very angry, but just inside (i.e., he conceals his anger).'

In example 824, *hatun-pa* indicates the area in which the tearing took place--not a particular area, but its size--and in 825, *altu-lla-pa* indicates the area in which the sheep's wool is cut--not a particular place, but a distance relative to the sheep's skin:

824 Chawra mas hatun-pa rachi-sha rika-ku-n.
 so more large-GEN tear-prtc see-refl-3

'So the tear became greater.'
 (lit. 'It was seen to be torn larger.')

825 ...huk deedo altu-lla-pa uysha-pa qara-n-pita
 one finger high-just-GEN sheep-GEN skin-3P-ABL

...pullan deedo altu-pa.
 half finger high-GEN

'...about a finger's (length) above the sheep's skin,
 ...half a finger high'

10.9.4. *-pa* to Mean 'diffuse goal'

To indicate the goal of some motion, if the destination is definite some case marker other than *-pa* is used (e.g., *-man* 'GOAL' or *-ta* 'OBJ'). *-pa* indicates a diffuse goal; it indicates that the destination is to the area of some place, not to a particular place. For instance, in example 826 the destination is anywhere far off, and in example 827 it is some other place:

826 Karu-pa suwa-naku-r aywa-ku-n.
far-GEN steal- recip-adv go-refl-3

(Of a couple eloping): 'Stealing each other to some far place, they go off.'

827 Wakin runa-qa huk-la:-pa qeshpi-pa-yku-n.
other man-TOP one-side-GEN escape-ben-impact-3

'Other men escape to some other place (to the detriment of those who have come to ask for his daughter's hand in marriage).'

In example 828, the musicians travel to many towns (no particular one):

828 Alli tuka-paku-r puri-ku-na-paq fista-n fista-n
good play-diff-adv travel-refl-sub-PUR fiesta-3P fiesta-3P

marka-kuna-pa.
town-plur-GEN

'(It would be) good for us to go about playing from fiesta to fiesta among the towns.'

829 Chay ish kay kaq-qa kara uunu-n-pa mandu-n, ima-man
that two def-TOP each one-3P-GEN subordinate-3P what-GOAL

may-pa-pis muna-sha-n oora kacha-ku-na-n-paq.
where-GEN-even want-sub-3P time send-refl-sub-3P-PUR

'The two of them each has his own subordinate, so that he can send them after whatever and to wherever when he so desires.'

830 Wara apa-nki washa pampa-pa.
tomorrow take-2 over:there plain-GEN

'Tomorrow, take it to that plain over there.'

To say 'to return home', one says *wasi-n-pa kuti-ku-*; this could indicate returning to live in the vicinity of one's parent's house, not right in it. To use *-man* or *-ta* rather than *-pa* would indicate returning right to a particular house.

The expression *kaminu-POS-pa aywa-kU-* 'to go on one's way' is consistent with the *-pa*'s use as indicating a diffuse goal.

In 831, it is sight directed toward a goal (rather than physical motion toward a goal) which is diffuse:

831 Noqa rikcha-ku-yka-: inteeru-pa.
I look-refl-impfv-1 entire-GEN

'I am looking (intently) all about.'

10.9.5. -pa in Reference to Admixtures

-pa 'GEN', in combination with *-wan* 'COM', occurs on a substantive referring to a substance mixed with or employed in combination with some other; see example 1459 (p.351) and 832:

832 Nirkur yaku-n-pa-wan pampa-man mitu-wan taku-chi-sha.
then water-3P-GEN-COM ground-GOAL mud-COM mix-caus-3PERF

'Then he mixed it with mud along with water on the ground.'

10.9.6. -pa with hana ‘above’

-pa ‘GEN’ occurs frequently with *hana*. Various notions are indicated thereby. In example 833, *hana-pa* means (roughly) ‘uphill’:

833 ...*hana-pa* *ura-pa* *aywa-sha-n-chaw*...
 up-GEN down-GEN go-sub-3P-LOC

‘...as one went up the hill and the other went down...’

In example 834, *hana-n-pa* means (roughly) ‘above, over (non-contiguously)’:

834 ...*kurral hana-n-pa* *paasa-qpaq*.
 corral over-3P-GEN pass-result

‘...so that he passed over the corral.’

In examples 835 and 836, *hana-n-pa* means (roughly) ‘on top of (contiguously)’:

835 *Luusa-n hana-n-pa* *hati-ku-sha* *puka llachapa-ta*...
 blouse-3P over-3P-GEN put:on-refl-prtc red clothing-OBJ

‘On top of her blouse she has put on (an item of) red clothing...’

836 *Niykur mantay hana-n-pa* *awa-nchi chaqlla-wan*
 then rafter over-3P-GEN weave-12 sticks-COM

teeha qata-na-n-paq-na.
 tiles roof-sub-3P-PUR-now

‘Then we weave with roofing sticks on top of the rafters,
 so as to roof it with tiles.’

In example 837, *hana-lla-n-pa* means (roughly) ‘on the surface of’:

837 *Rebuka-sha-n hana-n-pa* *pinta-sha yoraq pintaura-wan*.
 plaster-sub-3P over-3P-GEN paint-prtc white paint-COM

‘On top of where it has been plastered, it is painted with
 white paint.’

See also example 251, p.71.

10.10. -wan ‘COM’

-wan ‘COM’ has various uses, among them the following:

- instruments (section 10.10.1)
- co-Participants (section 10.10.2)
- conjunctions (section 10.10.3)
- subjects of causatives (section 10.10.4)
- circumstances (section 10.10.5)
- under the authority of (section 10.10.6)

10.10.1. Instrument

-wan ‘COM’ is used to mark instruments (and is the only case marker that does so). Examples follow:

- 838 Ushachi-sha-n iharu-n-kuna beela-wan achki-pa-n kara
 baptize-sub-3 step:child-3P-plur candle-COM shine-ben-3 each
 kanta-y-lla-n.
 sing-inf-just-3
 'His stepchildren by baptism (to whom he is godfather)
 shine a candle for him every time (the cantor) sings.'
- 839 ...piyun-ta ashi-yku-r arma-chi-n yaku-wan.
 peon-OBJ search-asp-adv bathe-caus-3 water-COM
 '...having searched (successfully) for a peon, they have him
 bathe (the body) with water.'
- 840 Chaki-n-ta taka-yku-sha tabla-wan.
 foot-3P-OBJ strike-asp-sub plank-COM
 'He struck his foot with a plank.' (of a child who was
 picking up a plank and dropped it on his foot)
- 841 Kuura kasara-chi-n misa-wan.
 priest marry-caus-3 mass-COM
 'A priest marries with a mass.'
- 842 ...yaku-ta manka-kuna-wan achka-ta ashta-ku-yku-r
 water-OBJ pot-plur-COM lots-OBJ carry-refl-asp-adv
 arma-ku-n pushillu-wan hana-n-man wina-ku-y-lla-pa.
 bathe-refl-3 cup-COM top-3P-GOAL pour-refl-inf-just-GEN
 '...bringing lots of water with pots, they bathe, pouring it
 over themselves with a cup.'
- 843 ...rutu-y-ta qalla-yku-nchi tihira-wan...
 cut-inf-OBJ begin-asp-12 scissors-COM
 '...we begin to cut it with scissors...'
- 844 ...muula-pa waska-n-wan-shi wata-ku-rku-sha...
 mule-GEN rope-3P-COM-IND tie-refl-asp-3PERF
 '...tying it up with the mule's rope...'
- 845 Chusku-q wintu-n kahun-wan pampa-ku-pti-n. Kahun-niynaq-lla
 four-human carry-3 casket-COM bury-refl-adv-3P box-without-just
 pampa-ku-pti-n ishka-q-lla apa-n kirma-wan.
 bury-refl-adv-3P two-prs-just take stretcher-COM
 'Four persons carry it if they are going to bury him with the
 casket. If they are going to bury him without a casket, just
 two persons take him with a stretcher.'
- 846 Y runa atoq-pa konsehu-n-wan nobillu-n-ta libra-yku-n
 and man fox-GEN counsel-3P-COM oxen-3P-OBJ free-asp-3
 'And the man was able to free his oxen with the fox's counsel.'

See also example 1457, p.350.

-wan 'COM' may mark the material with or from which something is made or done; e.g.:

- 847 ...awa-nchi chaqlla-wan teeha-wan qata-na-paq-na.
 weave-12 roofing:sticks-COM tile-COM roof-sub-PUR-now
 '...we cover (the rafters) with roofing sticks in order to
 roof it with tiles.'

- 848 Noqa pecho:-ta puka-ya:-chi-shka-: uchu-wan.
I breast-1P-OBJ red-bec-caus-perf-1 hot:pepper-COM
(Bird to inquisitive fox): 'I made my breast red with hot pepper.'
- 849 Nuwal-wan tini-rku-r atapa-nchi-raq.
walnut-COM dye-asp-adv form:skein-12-yet
'Having dyed it with walnut (leaves) we then make a skein.'
- 850 ...pinta-sha yoraq pintuura-wan.
paint-3PERF white paint-COM
'...painted with white paint.'

10.10.2. Co-Participant

Some verbs require a conjoined subject, i.e., two (or more) co-participants. For example, when *kasara-* 'to marry' is used to express that a man and a woman marry, then one or the other (depending on perspective) will be marked with *-wan*;²⁸ e.g.:

- 851 Churi-ki-wan kasara-shaq.
son-2P-COM marry-1FUT

'I will marry your son.'

pilya- 'to fight', *parla-* 'to converse', and *tinku-* 'to encounter' are other verbs which take co-participant subjects:

- 852 ...chay-wan pilya-na-n-paq kundinaadu-wan.
that-COM fight-sub-3P-PUR condemned-COM

'...in order to fight the condemned spirit with that.'

- 853 Chay yayku-q-kuna-lla-wan parla-n rimeeru.
that enter-sub-plur-just-COM speak-3 first

'First they speak with those who are entering (office).'

tinku- has two meanings: (a) 'to encounter' and (b) 'to be similar to'. Both take co-participating subjects; e.g., in the sense of 'encounter':

- 854 Atoq-wan-shi wanchaq tinku-ra-n huk hunaq.
fox-COM-IND type:of:bird meet-past-3 one day

'A fox and a bird met one day.'

Likewise, in the sense of 'be equal to', *tinku-* takes co-participating subjects:

- 855 Rura-yka-sha-nchi mana tinku-nqa-paq-chu ka-yka-q-wan.
make-impfv-sub-12 not equal-3FUT-fut-NEG be-impfv-sub-COM

'What we are making will not be the same as the one which is.'

The comitative substantive may co-participate in indicating something that--along with the other participant(s)--is attractive:

- 856 Chuku-wan kama-ra-nki.
hat-COM fit-stat-2

'It looks good with the hat.'
(lit. 'You are fitting with the hat.')

²⁸When *kasara-* 'to marry' is used in the sense of a priest performing the act of marriage, then those married by that act will be the object of that act; *-wan* is not used in this case.

ka- 'to be', *tiya-* 'to reside', and *qoya:-* 'to pass time' may all mean 'to live with (as man and wife)' when used with co-participating subjects; e.g.:

857 Mana huk-wan warmi-: ka-n-man-raq-chu.
not other-COM wife-1P be-3-cond-yet-NEG

'It just could not be that my wife is living with
(having an affair with) another (man).'

858 Chay-naw ni-pti-n hipash warmi mana muna-r-qa *mana-mi
that-SIM say-adv-3P young woman not want-adv-TOP not-DIR

qam-wan tiya-:-man-chu* ni-n.
you-COM live-1-cond-NEG say-3

'When he says that (i.e., proposes marriage), if she does not
want to (marry him), the young woman says, *I would not live
with you.*'

859 ...runa warmi-wan mana alli qoya-pti-n
man woman-COM not good pass:time-adv-3P

pay arrigla-na-n-paq
he fix-sub-3P-PUR

'...for him to reconcile matters if the man and
woman do not live compatibly.'

In examples 860 and 861 there is a co-participant, but of a different kind; the participant marked by *-wan* is taken (in hand) by the principal participant:

860 Eskirbaanu urdin-ta hurqu-n agenti-pita chay urdin-wan
scrivener order-OBJ take:out-3 agent-ABL that order-COM

tuma-na-n-paq.
go:about-sub-3P-PUR

'The scrivener gets an order from the agent in order to go
about with that order.'

861 Chay-pita-qa chay runa-qa sha-mu-n listu-n-wan-na...
that-ABL-TOP that man-TOP come-afar-3 list-3P-COM-now

'After that, that man comes with a list...'

10.10.3. Conjunction

-wan 'COM' is used in the conjunction of substantives; see section 18.1.2. In this use, *-wan* co-occurs with other case markers; e.g., in 1455 (p.350) it co-occurs with *-pa* 'GEN', and in 862 it co-occurs with *-ta* 'OBJ':

862 pushpu-ta ... hara-ta-wan
beans-OBJ corn-OBJ-COM

'beans ... and corn'

In examples 863 and 864, *-wan* marks the conjunction of an object:

863 ...arrus-nin-ta-wan miku-ma:-na-n-paq
rice-3P-OBJ-COM eat=>1-sub-3P-PUR

'...in order to eat me along with rice.'

864 Desayuno-:-ta-qa upu-: pobri-qa kamcha-lla-ta-wan.
breakfast-1P-OBJ-TOP drink-1 poor-TOP corn-just-OBJ-COM

'(Being) poor, we drink our breakfast just with toasted corn.'

See also examples 1455 (p.350) and 1521 (p.364).

The subjects of verbs made reciprocal by the addition of *-nakU* 'recip' sometimes have co-participant subjects conjoined by *-wan* 'COM'; e.g.:

- 865 Hwan-wan Pablu rika-naku-n.
 John-COM Paul see-recip-3
 'John and Paul see each other.'

10.10.4. Subject of Causativized (Transitive) Verb

When an intransitive verb is causativized, its subject becomes the object of the causative. But when a (di)transitive verb is causativized, its subject may be marked with *-wan* 'COM'; this is the case when the subject of the causativized verb is the agent of that verb; e.g.:

- 866 Chawra agenti-na mandun-kuna-wan qaya-chi-mu-n chay
 so agent-now subordinate-plur-COM call-caus-afar-n that
 uyshiiru-pa tayta-n-ta mama-n-ta multa-ta
 shepherd-GEN father-3P-OBJ mother-3P-OBJ fine-OBJ
 paaga-chi-na-n-paq.
 pay-caus-sub-3P-PUR
 'So the agent has his subordinates go off and tell the
 shepherd's parents to come, so as to make them pay a fine.'

Further discussion and examples are in section 9.5.3.1.

10.10.5. Circumstance

When *-wan* 'COM' occurs following an infinitive (formed with *-y* 'INF') or a clause subordinated by *-na* or *-sha*, it may mean 'in the circumstance of' or 'being in the condition or circumstance'; e.g.:

- 867 Rabya-sha ka-y-niki-wan maqa-shka-nki.
 angry-prtc be-inf-2P-COM hit-perf-2
 'Being angry, you hit him.'
- 868 ...tinri looku-ta-y-lla-wan yaqa-ku-sha chay
 tiger crazy-bec-inf-just-COM fall-refl-3PERF that
 laguuna-man.
 lake-GOAL
 '...the tiger, (with the circumstance of) becoming crazy,
 fell down into that lake.'
- 869 Chawra buurru-ta qayku-pa-yka:-sha:-wan
 then donkey-OBJ drive-ben-impfv-sub-1P-COM
 ...yaku apa-ku-n.
 water take-refl-3
 'Then, as we were driving the donkey (into a
 swollen river) ...the water took it.'

In example 870, the clauses with *-wan* 'COM' seem to indicate the manner of dancing, which can be seen as a more specific function than circumstance. This is the only case I have seen in which *-wan* is used on a manner clause.

870 Kanan-qa tuna-shun chanka tuka-y-lla-wan-pis rikra
 now-TOP dance-12 leg play-inf-just-COM-even arm

hichka-y-lla-wan-pis.
 scrape-inf-just-COM-even

(A frog to other frogs): 'Now let us dance, playing
 our legs and scraping our arms.'

Example 871 may be similar in kind to the examples given in this section, or it may be a loan translation, where *kuyraa* 'be careful lest' and *-wan* 'COM' translate Spanish *cuidado con*:

871 Kuyraa kiru-yki-ta paki-na-n-wan.
 be:careful:lest teeth-2P-OBJ break-sub-3P-COM

'Be careful lest it (the very hard bread on which you are
 chewing) break your teeth.'

10.10.6. Under the Authority of

muna-y (want-inf) may express the ideas of authority, power, or responsibility; e.g.:

872 Muna-y-niki-chaw ka-:.
 want-inf-2P-LOC be-1

'I am under your authority.'

In example 873, to express "have authority over x" or "be responsible for x", the substantive phrase denoting x bears *-wan* 'COM':

873 Muna-y-niyoc ka-nqa llapan wamra-:-kuna-wan.
 want-inf-having be-3FUT all child-1P-plur-COM

'He will be responsible for all my children.'

See also example 107, p.42.

10.11. -naw 'similarity'

-naw 'SIM' is used to express similarity, either real or hypothetical. This section includes discussions of the following:

- the order of *-naw* and other post-transition suffixes (section 10.11.1)
- *-naw* indicating simile (section 10.11.2)
- *-naw* to indicate manner (section 10.11.3)
- *chay-naw* and *kay-naw* referring to events (section 10.11.4)
- *chay-naw* and *kay-naw* referring to speech (section 10.11.5)
- *-naw* in 'about to' (section 10.11.6)
- *-naw* to mean 'approximately' (section 10.11.7)
- *huk-naw* 'different(ly)' (section 10.11.8)

Another use of *-naw*, that of *-naw-pa* 'manner', is treated in section 10.12.

10.11.1. -naw's Order with Other Post-Transition Suffixes

-naw 'SIM' may (and frequently does) co-occur with the other case markers; e.g.:

874 *Wanush-ta-naw rika-shka-:.*
 dead-ACC-SIM see-perf-1

'I saw him as one who had died (but he was actually alive)'

The order of *-naw* 'SIM' with the other case markers is not strictly defined; consider, for example, the following in which either order is permissible (with little or no difference in meaning):

875 a. *wawqe-n-naw-kuna-ta* (brother-3P-SIM-plur-OBJ)
 b. *wawqe-n-kuna-ta-naw* (brother-3P-plur-OBJ-SIM)

a,b. 'to those who were like his brothers' or
 'as though to his brothers'

876 *Ishka-n tikra-sha huknaylla-* { a. *-man-naw.*
 two-3P turn-3PERF just:one { b. *-naw-man.*
 c. *-man.*

a,b. 'The two of them have become as though one.'
 c. 'The two of them have (indeed) become one.'

10.11.2. *-naw* Indicating Simile

The primary use of *-naw* in HgQ is to make hypothetical comparisons, i.e., to liken a thing, a manner, an event, etc., to some other.

877 *Haacha-wan-naw mutu-n machiita-wan.*
 axe-COM-SIM chop-3 machete-COM

'He chops with a machete as though it were an axe.'

878 ...*sabra-wan kapitaana rasun+pa rima-naku-q-naw*
 sabra-COM kapitaana really speak- recip-sub-SIM

iwal iwal rima-naku-n.
 together together speak- recip-3

'...the *sabra* and the *kapitaana* (two cargos in a certain fiesta ceremony) argue back and forth as though they were really arguing.'

879 ...*hati-pa-n murtaahi-ta ... pasay+pa uma-pita asta*
 put:on-ben-3 shroud-OBJ completely head-ABL to

chaki punta-yaq kuura-pa llachapa-n-ta-naw.
 foot point-LIM priest-GEN clothes-3P-OBJ-SIM

'...they put a shroud on him, ... which, like a priest's clothes, runs completely from his head to the tips of his feet.'

880 *Parabin ni-n kargu yayku-q runa-pa maki-n-ta hawkalla*
 parabin say-3 cargo enter-sub man-GEN hand-3P-OBJ (greeting)

ni-q-naw chari-pti-n.
 say-sub-SIM grab-adv-3P

'A "parabin" is when they take the hand of the man who is entering the office as though to greet him.'

881 *Hama-ku-q-naw rura-pa:-ma-nki.*
 rest-refl-sub-SIM do-ben=>1-2

'Do it for me as though resting.'
 (i.e., 'Don't work hard at it.')

882 ...ishka-n-pa ka-n baara-n-kuna qaruti-naw.
two-3P-GEN be-3 staff-3P-plur stick-SIM

'...both of them have a *baara*, like a walking stick.'

See also example 1207, p.294.

The following is an instructive example:

883 Puchu-q-kuna-ta shunta-ra-n qanchis kanasta
exceed-sub-plur-OBJ gather-past-3 seven basket

aypa-q-ta(-naw).
suffice-sub-OBJ(-SIM)

'They gathered up what was left over, enough to fill
seven baskets.'

Without *-naw*, 883 means that there were seven baskets present, and the leftovers filled them; but if *-naw* is added, it means that the quantity of the leftovers would have filled seven baskets, and does not imply that the baskets were present.

10.11.3. *-naw* Meaning 'manner'

-naw 'SIM' may be used to mark the substantive (phrase) which indicates the manner in which an action was done; e.g., in example 884, *chay-naw* 'like that' indicates the manner in which a frog walks:

884 Hina noqa puri-: chay-naw. Kustumri-: noqa-pa chay-naw.
like:that I walk-1 that-SIM custom-1P I-GEN that-SIM

'I just walk like that. It is my custom (to walk) that way.'

The more common way to indicate the manner of an action is with *-naw-pa* (-SIM-GEN) (section 10.12). I suspect that in this case *-naw-pa* could have been used instead of *-naw*, with no appreciable difference in meaning.

Example 885 shows a rather different sort of 'manner': the substantive with *-naw* reports the manner of telling, not in the sense of how spoken, but in the sense that the telling responded directly to a series of questions:

885 ...willa-shka-:kuna llapan-ta tapu-ma-sha-n-pita-naw-lla.
tell-perf-11 all-OBJ ask=>1-sub-3P-ABL-SIM-just

'...we told him everything just as he asked us.'

I suspect that in this case *-naw-pa* could not have been used, since it indicates 'manner' in a much narrower sense.

10.11.4. *chay-naw* and *kay-naw* Referring to Events

Events are referred to with *chay-naw* (that-SIM), for a previously mentioned event, and *kay-naw* (this-SIM), for an event to be mentioned.

886 ...fiesta-ta rura-na-n-paq kama+ri-ku-r kay-naw rura-n.
fiesta-OBJ do-sub-3P-PUR prepare-refl-adv this-SIM do-3

'...preparing himself to carry out the fiesta, he does this:
(followed by a description of what he does to prepare).'

887 Yapay wasi-n-man chaya-sha chay-naw-na.
 again house-3P-GOAL arrive-3PERF that-SIM-now
 Again he arrived to his house that way (as he had
 previously done).'

888 *Noqa marka-kuna-chaw rika-sha:-naw yayku-shun-qa...*
 I town-plur-LOC see-sub-1P-SIM enter-12IMP-TOP
 Chawra chay buurru ni-sha-n-naw-shi...
 then that donkey say-sub-3P-SIM-IND
 'Let's enter like I saw in the towns...'
 Then, as the donkey had said,...'

The event referred to may not have been previously mentioned, but must be an actual event happening; e.g.:

889 ...sapo kontesta-n, *Saltando brinkando kay-naw kay-naw.*
 frog answer-3 jumping hopping this-SIM this-SIM
 '...the frog replies, "Jumping, hopping, like this,
 like this" (as he demonstrates by jumping).'

After telling all that is done to prepare a body for burial, one text continues:

890 Chay-naw rura-rkU-:ri-r kahun-man wina-n.
 that-SIM do-impact-plur-adv box-GOAL put:in-3
 'Having done that, they put into the box.'
 891 Taksha-kuna hina chay-naw.
 small-plur like:that that-SIM
 (Of children squabbling): 'Small children are just like that.'

Following a description of some ways to circumvent the traditional customs for marriage (e.g., elopement), the text continues:

892 Pooku chay-naw-qa rura-n.
 little that-SIM-TOP do-3
 'Little do they do that.'

10.11.5. *chay-naw* and *kay-naw* Referring to Speech

With *ni-* 'say', *rima-* 'speak (badly of)', *willa-* 'tell', and *parla-* 'speak' one refers to something previously said with *chay-naw* and to something about to be said with *kay-naw*. This is like referring to events (discussed in section 10.11.4), except that what is referred to in these cases is not the act of speaking, but the speech itself. Examples follow:

893 Atoq ni-n kay-naw, *Ima-taq rura-nki kanan?*"
 fox say-3 this-SIM what-?? do-2 now
 'The fox says (like this), "What are you doing now?"'
 894 "... Wara wanu-chi-shun." Chay-naw ni-sha duyñu-:.
 tomorrow die-caus-12FUT that-SIM say-3PERF owner-1P
 '"... Tomorrow we will kill him." My owners said (like) that.'
 895 Chay-naw willa-yku-pti-n...
 that-SIM tell-impact-adv-3
 'When he told them (like) that,...'

10.11.6. -naw in 'about to'

The combination *-q-naw ka-* (-sub-SIM be-) means 'about to', 'on the verge of', or 'as though to'; e.g.:

896 *Taripa-q-naw ka-pti-n mas-raq-shi koorri-y-ta*
 encounter-sub-SIM be-adv-3P more-yet-IND run-inf-OBJ
qalla-yku-n.
 begin-impact-3

'When he (the fox) was about to catch up to him
 (the frog), he (the frog) began to run faster.'

See also example 1678, p.396.

10.11.7. -naw to Mean 'approximately'

-naw 'SIM' may be used to hedge quantities; e.g.:

897 *Taapa-sha-n tuta almusa-y oora-naw...*
 watch-sub-3P morning eat:breakfast-inf time-SIM

'On the morning after they have watched (at the wake), about
 breakfast time...'

898 *Santu-pa diya-n hunaq-qa chaqcha inti-naw hurqu-n*
 saint-GEN day-3P day-TOF chew:coca sun-SIM remove-3
rusyun-ta.
 procession-OBJ

'On the day of the saint's celebration day, about the time
 of the coca break (approximately 10:30 A.M.) they take out
 the procession.'

See also example 1338, p.327.

10.11.8. huk-naw 'different(ly)'

huk-naw (one/other-SIM) means 'differently, in a different manner'. (This meaning is due to the 'other' sense of *huk*, so *huk-naw* might be glossed 'like another'.) Examples follow:

899 *Chakra runa warmi-ta ashi-n huk-naw.*
 rural man woman-OBJ seek-3 one-SIM

'Rural men seek (to marry) a woman in a different way.'

900 *Tesureeru huk-naw kargu kustumri-ta rura-n. Mayurdoomu*
 treasurer one-SIM cargo custom-OBJ do-3 majordomo
mas huk-naw tesureeru-pita kustumri-ta rura-n.
 more one-SIM treasurer-ABL custom-OBJ do-3

'The treasurer carries out his cargo in one way; the
 majordomo carries his out differently from the treasurer.'

901 *Karnabal-chaw kustumri-n achka kasta huk-naw kara rura-q-pa.*
 carnival-LOC custom-3P many kind one-SIM each do-sub-GEN

'In Carnival, their customs are of many kinds, each one who
 participates having a different custom.'

10.12. *-naw+pa* 'manner/means'

-naw+pa (-SIM-GEN) forms adverbs of "manner" or "means", i.e., the manner in which something was done or the means by which something was achieved. This is very similar to uses of *-naw* 'SIM', but *-naw+pa* refers much more narrowly to the manner in which some action was carried out, whereas *-naw* has many uses that do not refer specifically to the manner of some action. There are cases in which *-naw+pa* is possible but *-naw* is not; e.g.:

- 902 a. *Chay-naw
that-SIM } musya-ra-n.
b. Chay-naw+pa } know-past-3
that-MAN

'In that way he knew.' (i.e., '...he came to know')

Other examples follow:

- 903 Y chay-pita chaya-mu-sha TinguMaria-pita hermaanu.
and that-ABL arrive-afar-3PERF Tingo: Maria-ABL brother
*Kay-naw+pa-mi maña-ku-nchi Dyos-ninchi:-ta. Kay-naw+pa-mi
this-MAN-DIR ask-refl-12 God-12P-OBJ this-MAN-DIR
Dyos-ninchi:-ta qaya-ku-nchi."
God-12P-OBJ call-refl-12

'And after that a brother arrived from Tingo María, (saying)
'This is the way we (should) pray to God. This is the way
we should call to God.''

- 904 "...punu-sha-n-man huk hachaasu qo-yku-shaq.
sleep-sub-3P-GOAL one axe:blow give-impact-1FUT

Y chay-naw+pa-mi taqay sunsu-ta wañu-chi-shaq.
and that-MAN-DIR that stooge-OBJ die-caus-1FUT

Mana-mi ima-naw+pa-pis wañu-chi:-chu" ni-r.
not-DIR what-MAN-indef die-caus-1-NEG say-adv

'...I will give an axe blow to where he is sleeping.
And in that way I will kill that stooge.
I can't kill him no matter how I try.'

An extremely common usage is *ima-naw+pa* 'how, in what way'; e.g.:

- 905 ...ima-naw+pa-taq salba-ku-shaq. Ima-naw+pa-taq
what-MAN-?? save-refl-1FUT what-MAN-??

allí runa ka-shaq?
good man be-1FUT

'...how shall I be saved? How shall I be a good person?'

- 906 ...mana ima-naw+pa waha-ku-y-ta-pis puydi-n-chu.
not what-MAN shield-refl-inf-OBJ-indef be:able-3-NEG

'...he wasn't able to shield himself a bit.'

See also examples 1474 (p.353) and 1572 (p.371).

10.13. *-niraq* 'like'

In HgQ, usually *-niraq* 'like' is a phonological part of the word it follows, the combination bearing only one stress. Sometimes it occurs as a separate word, with stress both on it and on the preceding word. (In many dialects, this is generally the case.)

Like *-naw* and *-naw+pa*, *-niraq* is both case-like and adverbial, and expresses similarity. However, unlike *-naw* 'SIM', *-niraq* is limited to ascribing a characteristic (usually a physical one) to a physical object. The contrast can be seen in 907:

- 907 Pay miku-n kuchi { a. *-niraq*.
 he eat-3 pig { b. *-naw+pa*.
 c. *-naw*.
- 'He eats { a. like a pig (in some physical characteristic).
 b. in the manner of a pig (e.g., sloppily).
 c. like a pig/as though he were a pig.'

With a substantive which indicates some degree on a scale, as, e.g., "old" indicates a degree on the scale of maturity, *-niraq* hedges that degree; i.e., it brings the indicated degree closer toward the midpoint of the scale:

- 908 Hipash-lla warmi ka-sha. Awkin-niraq runa ka-sha.
 young:woman-just wife be-3PERF old-like man be-3PERF
- 'His wife was just a young woman.
 The man was like old (but not all that old).'

Later the man disguises himself as very old, and goes to spy on his wife:

- 909 ...chaya-sha awkin pu:ru chacha-sh-niraq warmi-n-man.
 arrive-3PERF old completely incline-prtc-like wife-3P-GOAL
- '...he arrived to his wife's house as a completely old man, bent over (with age).'

Here *chachash niraq* means 'somewhat inclined'. *chachash niraq* can be said of an elderly person or some thing which has an upward orientation, such as a post.

In example 1582 (p.373), I believe *-niraq* is used to avoid speaking too insultingly of those who don't bathe, hedging *inuutil* 'humble, worthless'.

In some cases, *-niraq* is part of an idiomatic expression (i.e., one whose meaning is no longer a product of the parts from which it is formed); e.g., *tukuy niraq* 'all sorts of' and *hukniraqya*:- '(of someone's countenance) to fall' used as in the following example:

- 910 Chay-naw ni-q-ta wiya-r huk-niraq-ya-kaaku-ra-n.
 that-SIM say-sub-OBJ hear-adv one-like-bec-compl-past-3
- 'When he heard what was said, his countenance fell.'

10.14. *-pura* 'between/among'

-pura 'among' is rapidly disappearing in HgQ; there are now only two, very restricted cases in which it is used. First, it is used in the expression *pullan-pura* 'half and half, in equal parts'; e.g.:

- 911 Rihidor-wan kampu chay-ta gasta-ku-n pullan-pura.
 rigidor-COM campo that-OBJ spend-refl-3 half-among
- 'The *rigidor* and the *campo* pay for that, half and half.'

See also example 188, p.57.

Second, it is used with *kiki* 'self' inflected for person; e.g.:

912 Kiki-n-pura pilya-n
self-3P-among fight-3

'They fight among themselves.'

913 Kiki-nchi:-pura-shi miku-naku-shun-shi.
self-12P-among-IND eat- recip-12FUT-IND

'They say that we are going to eat one another.'
(an expression jokingly used when there is not much food)

10.15. More About Case

In this section various facts about case marking are considered: the co-occurrence of case markers (section 10.15.1), the interaction of case relationships and pre-transition suffixes (section 10.15.2), instances where choice of case marker significantly affects the meaning of a verb (section 10.15.3), and a situation in which the choice of case marker dictates a logical property (section 10.15.4).

10.15.1. Co-Occurrence of Case Markers

Generally, only one case marker occurs per substantive phrase. However there are several cases in which more than one occurs. Both *-pa* and *-wan* frequently co-occur with other case markers. One common case is when *-wan* is used to indicate conjunction, and the substantive phrase already bears a case marker. For example, in 914, *Hwan-ta* is being conjoined with *-wan* 'COM' to *Pablu-ta*, with the result that it bears two case markers:

914 Hwan-ta-wan Pablu-ta rika-shka-:.
John-OBJ-COM Paul-OBJ see-perf-1

'I saw John and Paul.' or 'I saw Paul with John.'

Another common case is when a possessor of a genitive expression, bearing *-pa* 'GEN', is further case-marked to indicate its relationship to the verb. For example, in 915, *Hwan-pa* 'of John' is a possessor; because the possessed part of the genitive construction (e.g., *wasi-n* 'his house') does not occur, multiple case markers result:

915 Hwan-pa-man aywa-yka-:.
John-GEN-GOAL go-impfv-1

'I am going to John's (house).'

Note that the co-occurring case markers function in quite different ways: the function of *-wan* in 914 is to indicate conjunction; the function of *-pa* in 915 is to indicate possession.

A third case involves the markers which are more "adverbial" in function. These co-occur freely with the other case markers; e.g., see *-naw* 'SIM' in 916:

916 a. Kiki-n-pa-ta	}	maqa-sha. hit-3PERF
b. Kiki-n-pa-ta-naw self-3P-GEN-OBJ-SIM		

a. 'He hit his own.'

b. 'He hit it as though it were his own.'

Again, in 916, the co-occurring case markers function in different ways: *-naw* does not indicate the relationship of 'his own' to 'hit'--which is marked by *-ta* 'OBJ'--but indicates that the act of hitting something other than his own was *as though* it were his own.

In Weber [45] (sec. 3.1.3), I dealt with a type of relativization in which the case marker of the embedded co-referent is retained (when the embedded co-referent is deleted) and is "floated" to the end of the relative clause. A similar process is involved in example 917, in which the case marker *-wan* 'COM' follows the purpose clause (which ends with the case marker *-paq* 'PUR') to indicate that "money" bears a role (instrument) with respect to "buy":

917 *Qellay-ta-pis apa-nki mas achka-ta*
 money-OBJ-indef take-2 more much-OBJ

[*yapay ranti-mu-na-yki-paq-wan*].
 again buy-afar-sub-2P-PUR-COM

'Also take much more money with which to again buy.'

The final clause of 917 comes about from 918a by (a) the deletion of *qellay* 'money', (which is highly topical) to yield 918b, and (b) the retention and subsequent "floating" of *-wan* 'COM' (918c):

918 a. [*yapay qellay-wan ranti-mu-na-yki-paq*]
 again money-COM buy-afar-sub-2P-PUR

↓

deletion

b. [*yapay ∅ -wan ranti-mu-na-yki-paq*]

floating of *-wan*

c. [*yapay ∅ ranti-mu-na-yki-paq-wan*]
 again buy-afar-sub-2P-PUR -COM

'...with which to again buy.'

10.15.2. The Effects of Pre-Transition Suffixes

Consider the effect of *-yku* in the following:

- 919 a. *Chay-chaw puñu-yka-n.* (there-LOC sleep-impfv-3)
 b. **Chay-man puñu-yka-n.* (there-GOAL sleep-impfv-3)
 c. **Chay-chaw puñu-yku-n.* (there-LOC sleep-YKU-3)
 d. *Chay-man puñu-yku-n.* (there-GOAL sleep-YKU-3)

a. 'He is sleeping there.'

d. 'He puts (himself) to rest there.'

The effect of *-yku* is to change the meaning (and the aspect) of the verb *puñu-* 'sleep', which of itself is an inherently durative verb.

Another case of pre-transition suffixes influencing case marking involves *-ra*: 'stative/durative'. When this suffix occurs on a verb of "placement,"²⁹ the oblique locative relation is changed from *-man* 'GOAL' to *-chaw* 'LOC'. This is due to a

²⁹These are transitive verbs which entail an object coming to be at some place. They include *chura-* 'place', *wina-* 'pour/dump into', *pampa-* 'bury', *paka-* 'hide', etc.; see examples 976-979 in chapter 11.

change in the meaning from one of 'motion ending at some place' to 'static location at some place'.³⁰ Thus we find the following combinations:

- 920 Chay $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a. } \text{-man} \\ \text{GOAL} \end{array} \right\}$ chura-n.
 there $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{b. } \text{*chaw} \\ \text{LOC} \end{array} \right\}$ place-3
 a. 'He puts it there.'
- 921 Chay $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a. } \text{*man} \\ \text{GOAL} \end{array} \right\}$ chura-ra-n.
 there $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{b. } \text{-chaw} \\ \text{LOC} \end{array} \right\}$ place-stat-3
 b. 'It is placed there.'
- 922 a. Chay-man pampa-y.
 there-GOAL bury-IMP
 b. Chay-chaw pampa-ra-yka-n.
 there-LOC bury-stat-impfv-3
 a. 'Bury him there.'
 b. 'He is buried there.'

This change of role (i.e., the goal becoming a locative when *-ra:* is present) is also possible with intransitive verbs; e.g., compare 923a and b:

- 923 a. Kay-man hama-yku-y.
 here-GOAL sit-dir-IMP
 b. Kay-chaw hama-ra-yka-n.
 here-LOC sit-stat-impfv-3
 a. 'Sit down here.'
 b. 'He is sitting here.'

Note that in examples 921-923 the object also becomes the subject, by the passivization effect of *-ra:*; see section 11.1.2. In 923, this is not the case since there is no object to become the subject.

³⁰The notional object also become the grammatical subject. Perhaps these changes are best captured by lexical redundancy rules like the following:

$$\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{verb-} \\ \text{+transitive} \\ \text{+motion} \\ \text{[_subj:NP}_1 \text{ obj:NP}_2 \text{ goal:NP}_3] \end{array} \right] \iff \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{verb-ra:-} \\ \text{-transitive} \\ \text{-motion} \\ \text{[_subj+NP}_2 \text{ loc:NP}_3] \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{verb-} \\ \text{-transitive} \\ \text{+motion} \\ \text{[_subj:NP}_1 \text{ goal:NP}_2] \end{array} \right] \iff \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{verb-ra:-} \\ \text{-transitive} \\ \text{-motion} \\ \text{[_subj+NP}_1 \text{ loc:NP}_2] \end{array} \right] \end{array}$$

Perhaps this should be collapsed into one rule. The change in the feature $[\pm\text{motion}]$ can be defended by testing the verbs with the cis-/trans-locative suffix *-mu* and with the purpose-motion construction, which requires a motion verb.

10.15.3. Case Markers and Meanings

The meaning of a verb may be significantly altered by the case marker with which it occurs. For example, some verbs which take noun phrases bearing *-man* 'GOAL' have different (but related) meanings when they occur with another case marker. For example, when *chura-* occurs with *-man* it means 'to put at some physical place.' But when it is used with *-paq* 'PUR' it means 'to put into some office/role':³¹

- 924 a. *Wasi-n-man chura-sha.*
house-3P-GOAL place-3PERF
- b. *Manda-q-paq chura-sha.*
order-sub-PUR place-3PERF
- a. 'He placed it into his house.'
b. 'He made him/put him in as boss.'

10.15.4. Referential Versus Non-Referential Readings

In a sentence like *John wants to marry a Swede*, a *Swede* may refer either to a particular person (who happens to be a Swede) or to any member of the class of Swedes. These are sometimes referred to as the "referential" and "opaque" interpretations respectively; they are possible in "opaque" contexts, created by verbs like *want*, *search*, *find*, etc. In HgQ, the choice of case marker on a substantive may dictate whether it is referential or opaque. Consider the difference in 925 between using *-ta* 'OBJ', which has a referential interpretation, and *-paq* 'PUR', which has an opaque interpretation:

- 925 a. *Kawallu-ta ashi-yka-n.*
horse-OBJ seek-impfv-3
- b. *Kawallu-paq ashi-yka-n.*
horse-PUR seek-impfv-3
- 'He is looking for a horse.' { a. a particular one
b. any one

In 926, *chakin* does not refer to the leg which the unfortunate man lost, but to the prosthesis which a friend (the speaker) is seeking for him; *-paq* 'PUR' is used (rather than *-ta* 'OBJ') to give an opaque reading:

- 926 *Tapu-kacha-shka-: ushu runa-pa chaki-n-paq.*
ask-iterative-perf-1 maimed man-GEN leg-3P-PUR
- 'I asked around about the maimed man's leg.'

10.15.5. The Scope of Case Markers

Case markers have the whole substantive phrase to which they are attached within their scope, i.e., semantically and syntactically the case marker applies to the whole phrase. In support of this proposition, two arguments are given:

³¹The same difference is exhibited by *yaykU-* 'enter': with *-man* 'GOAL', it indicates physical entering, whereas with *-paq* 'PUR', it indicates entering a role/office.

First, while the nominal modifiers (adjectives, relative clauses) generally precede their head, they also occur in the opposite order. But note: the case marker stays on the rightmost element. For example, see 927:

927	[Maqa-sha-n runa]- <u>ta</u>	}	rika-:.
	hit-sub-3P man -OBJ		
	[Runa maqa-sha-n]- <u>ta</u>		see-1
	man hit-sub-3P -OBJ		

'I see the man who hit him.'

To describe the change of order of modifier and head: if the scope of the case marker is regarded as including all the substantive phrase, then it is unnecessary to mention the case marker. By contrast, if the case marker is regarded as having only the head in its scope, then the rule must mention how the case marker becomes dissociated from the head and ends up on the modifier. Thus, by simplicity of rule we can reason that the case marker has the whole phrase in its scope.

Second, elements of a single noun phrase may occur discontinuously, but when this is the case, each element bears (a copy of) the case marker of the noun phrase. For example, 927 could also be said as any of the possibilities in 928:

928 a. [Maqa-sha-n]-ta rika runa-ta.
 b. [Runa]-ta rika maqa-sha-n-ta.
 c. [Runa]-ta maqa-sha-n-ta rika.

'I see the man who hit him.'

A simple rule (which will be called "case copy") can handle all these cases: A constituent moved out of the scope of a case marker receives a copy of that marker. Such a simple rule is possible only because the substantive phrase is recognized to be within the scope of the case marker.

The case copy rule can apply more than once. For example, in 929, *hatun* is moved out of the genitive as well as out of the object; in the process it "inherits" first a copy of the genitive marker and then a copy of the object marker:

929 a. [[Hatun wamra]-pa pelota-n]-ta rika-:.
 big boy -GEN ball -3p -OBJ see-1
 b. [[∅ Wamra]-pa pelota-n]-ta rika-: hatun-pa-ta.
 boy -GEN ball -3P -OBJ see-1 big-GEN-OBJ

a,b. 'I see the big boy's ball.'

Compare example 929 with 930, in which *hatun* comes out of the object phrase but not out of the genitive portion of it; in this case, case copy only adds *-ta* 'OBJ' to *hatun* 'big':

930 a. [Wamra-pa [hatun pelota-n]]-ta rika-:.
 big -GEN boy ball -3p -OBJ see-1
 b. [Wamra-pa [∅ pelota-n]]-ta rika-: hatun-ta.
 boy -GEN ball -3P -OBJ see-1 big-OBJ

a,b. 'I see the boy's big ball.'

Chapter 11

PASSIVES

In this work, a passive sentence is one whose grammatical subject is its logical (understood) object. For instance, example 932 is a passive of 931: the logical object of 931 is *wasi* 'house', and in 932 this has become the grammatical object:

931 Hwan wasi-ta rika-n.
John house-OBJ see-3

'John sees the house.'

932 Wasi rika-ka-n.
house see-pass-3

'The house is seen.'

This chapter depends crucially on the properties of subjects outlined in section 10.2; the reader is advised to re-read it before beginning this chapter. The discussion here is divided into two main sections, the first dealing with the two morphological passives, the second dealing with the syntactic passive.

11.1. Morphological Passives

There are two morphological passives in HgQ. The suffixes involved are *-ka:* 'pass' and *-ra:* 'stative/durative'. These pre-transition suffixes are introduced in section 7.1.1. The aspectual use of *-ra:* 'stative/durative' is discussed in section 9.4.2.

Both *-ka:* and *-ra:* foreshorten, and of course both undergo foreshortening; e.g.:¹

933 [yanapakásh] from yanapa: + ka: + -sha
Yanapa-ka-sha.
help-pass-3PERF

'He was helped.'

¹-*sh(a)* '3PERF' and *-ra* 'PAST' are the reflex of proto-Quechua **-shqa* and **-rqa*, respectively. Thus, they too foreshorten.

934 [chararáraŋ] from chara: + ra: + ra + -n
 Chara-ra-ra-n.
 hold-stat-past-3

'It was in its place / It was being held.'

935 [charipara:sháyki] from chari + pa: + ra: + shayki
 Chari-pa-ra:-shayki.
 grab-ben-stat-1=>2FUT

'I will be holding it for you.'

-ka: 'passive' and *-ra:* differ in that *-ka:* is a more general way to form passives, while *-ra:* 'stative/durative' is more restricted, being tied to a particular aspectual meaning (stative/durative). Passives formed with *-ka:* and *-ra:* will be discussed in turn.

11.1.1. *-ka:* 'passive'

11.1.1.1. Subject Properties of *-ka:* Passives

If *-ka:* forms passives, then the apparent subject must indeed demonstrate the subject properties listed in section 10.2. This section is dedicated to showing this.

In example 936 the passive verb agrees with the passive subject (*achki* 'light') rather than the logical subject ('we'):

936 Mas mas aywa-pti-nchi mas hatun-na-shi
 more more go-adv-12P more big-now-IND

rika-ka:-mu-n achki.
 see-pass-afar-3 light

'The farther on we go, the bigger the light is seen.'

Example 936 also shows that the switch reference marking of the adverbial clause is sensitive to the passive subject (*achki* 'light') rather than to the logical subject ('we'). If, instead, switch reference were sensitive to the logical subject, the verb of the adverbial clause would have been subordinated by *-r* 'adv (same subject)', since the subject of the subordinate clause is 'we'.

While example 936 shows that the switch reference marking is sensitive to the passive subject of the *superordinate* verb, 937 shows that switch reference marking is sensitive to the passive subject of a *subordinate* clause in preference to a logical subject. In 937, the passive verb is *maya-ka:*- 'be heard'; its grammatical subject is *duyñu* 'owner' and its logical subject is understood as the animals who put themselves to sleep in the house. The switch reference marking is *-pti* 'adv (different subject)', reflecting the difference between the subject of the main clause and the grammatical subject rather than the co-reference with the logical subject:

937 Mana duynnu maya-ka-pti-n punu-kU-ykU-:ri-n-shi
 not owner hear-pass-adv-3P sleep-ref-dir-plur-3-IND

chay wasi-chaw.
 that house-LOC

'Not hearing the owners, they went to sleep in that house.'

Example 938 is similar, except that in this case passivization brings about a sub-

ject (not represented by an overt substantive) that is co-referential to the subject of the superordinate clause (the monster);² thus it is subordinated by *-r* 'adv (same subject)' rather than *-pti* 'adv (different subject)':

938 Ushaqpaq kumlita-ka-rku-r maqa-y-ta-na-shi
completely complete-pass-imm-adv hit-inf-OBJ-now-IND

qalla-yku-n Hwan del oosu-ta.
begin-dir-3 John of bear-OBJ

'Upon being completely completed, he began to hit John
the Bear.'

Thus, whether passivization occurs in the subordinate or in the superordinate clause, switch reference marking is always with respect to the passive (grammatical) subjects and not with respect to the logical subjects.

Examples 939 and 940 show that relativization with *-q* 'sub' is possible with a passivized verb. Relativization with *-q* is limited to relativizations *into the subject*³ (see section 13.1.3). Thus, it is natural to ask whether relativization with *-q* is into the logical subject or into the passive subject (logical object). Examples 939 and 940 show that the latter is the case; i.e., it is into the grammatical subject. This confirms that the passive subject is indeed the grammatical subject.

939 ...y chay shunta-ka-q yaku-ta "lamar" ni-ra-n.
and that gather-pass-sub water-OBJ "sea" say-past-3

'...and he called that gathered-together water "sea".'

940 ...iskirbi-sh ... allcha-ka-q-paq.
...write-3PERF ... fix-pass-sub-PUR

'...he wrote ...concerning (for) the healed one.'

Examples 941 and 942 show that a passive subject becomes the object of a causativized verb just like a "regular" subject:⁴

941 Allcha-ka:-chi-ma-ra-n.
fix-pass-caus=>1-past-3

'He/It healed me. He/It caused me to get well.'

942 shunta-ka:-chi-mu-na-n-paq
gather-pass-caus-afar-sub-3P-PUR

'in order to cause them to congregate (here)'

Again, this adds support for the claim that passive subjects are indeed the grammatical subject of their clause.

²The logical object of the complement is a monster who drops from the ceiling in pieces which finally attach themselves to each other, thereby completing the monster. It is this monster who begins to hit John-the-Bear.

³Relativization *into the subject* means that the embedded co-referent of the modifying sentence/clause is its subject.

⁴In the examples given, the passive suffix may now be co-lexicalized with the root; see section 11.1.1.3.

Finally, passive subjects--like "regular" subjects--require infinitivalization when the subject of a complement is co-referential with the subject of (an appropriate) superordinate verb; e.g.:

943 Maqa-ka-y-ta muna-n.
hit-pass-inf-OBJ want-3ps

'He wants to be hit.'

944 Maqa-ka:-na-n-ta muna-n.
hit-pass-sub-3P-OBJ want-3

'He wants him to be hit.'

In conclusion, it has been shown that the subjects of passives formed with *-ka:* are indeed grammatical subjects.

11.1.1.2. Limitations on Objects Made into Subjects by *-ka:*

What sorts of objects can be passivized by *-ka:*? Four cases will be discussed, with only tentative conclusions about each case. First, can an indirect object be passivized? Example 945 suggests that they cannot; it is ungrammatical for the meaning 'I will be given (it)' although it is grammatical for the idiomatic meaning given:

945 *Qo-ka:-shaq.
give-pass-1FUT

*'I will be given (it).'

'I will be transferred (from one job to another).'

Thus, we tentatively conclude that indirect objects cannot be passivized.

Second, can objects which result from the causativization of intransitive verbs be passivized? Yes, they can, as shown by example 946, in which the subject of *wañu-* 'die' becomes the object of *wañu-chi-* 'kill' and then, by passivization, becomes the subject of *wañu-chi-ka:-* 'be killed':⁵

946 mana wañu-chi-ka:-na-n-paq
not die-caus-pass-sub-3P-PUR

'in order that he not be killed'

Third, can complement objects (substantivized clauses) be passivized? Yes, they can; e.g.:

947 [alli-man tikra-sha-yki] musya-ka:-na-n-paq
good-GOAL turn-sub-2P know-pass-sub-3P-PUR

'in order that it be known that you have turned to (doing) good'

Example 947 corresponds to 948, in which the complement is a direct object:

948 [Alliman tikra-sha-yki]-ta musya-:.
good-GOAL turn-sub-3P -OBJ know-1

'I know that you have turned to be good.'

Further examples:

⁵A further example: *rika-chi-ka-ra-n* (see-caus-pass-past-3) 'it was shown.' It might be argued that such cases involve lexicalization of the causativized verb.

949 Wasi-chaw ka-sha-n maya-ka-ra-n.
house-LOC be-sub-3P perceive-pass-past-3

'It was known that he was at his house.'

950 Wiya-ka:-mu-ra-n kay-naw ni-mu-sha-n "shamuy".
hear-pass-afar-past-3 this-SIM say-afar-sub-3P "come!"

'It was heard that he said this from afar: "Come!"'

Example 950 is the passive of a sentence like 951:

951 "Shamuy" ni-mu-sha-n-ta wiya-ra-:.
"Come!" say-afar-sub-3P-OBJ hear-past-1

'I heard him say (from afar) "Come!"'

Some subject complements which are subordinate to a passive verb have no corresponding active. For example, the subject of example 952 is the substantivized clause *dembaldilla arooshimaanayki*:

952 Dembaldilla aru-:shi-ma:-na-yki mana-mi kama-ka-n-chu...
without:pay work-accom=>1-sub-2P not-DIR arrange-pass-3-NEG

'It is not just/fitting that you help me work without being paid...'

Example 953 is the active sentence corresponding to 952; the substantivized clause is an object. It is not grammatical.

953 *[Dembaldilla aru-:shi-ma-na-yki]-ta mana-mi kama-n-chu.
without:pay work-accom=>1-sub-2P-OBJ not-DIR arrange-3-NEG

We can account for this by saying that the grammaticality of 952 is due to the co-lexicalization of *kama-* and *-ka:* into the verb *kama+ka:-* 'to be just/fitting' and that it is not really a case of passivization.

Fourth, there is a morphological object-to-object "raising" process which occurs with infinitives.⁶ For example, 954a and b are synonymous; in 954b, *-ma:* '=>1' occurs in the superordinate verb (and may or may not occur in the infinitive):

954 a. Maqa-ma-y-ta muna-n.
hit=>1-inf-OBJ want-3

b. Maqa-(ma)-y-ta muna-ma-n.
hit-(=>1)-inf-OBJ want=>1-3

a,b. 'He wants to hit me.'

Can such a raised object be passivized? Example 955 shows that it cannot:

955 *Maqa-(ma)-y-ta muna-ka-:.
hit-(=>1)-inf-OBJ want-pass-1

'I am wanted to be hit (by him).'

I believe that *muna-* 'want' and *puydi-* 'be able' are the only verbs which allow morphological object raising, and neither allows passivization. Thus, this could be simply stipulated as a lexical property of those verbs.

However, one could seek an explanation based on the claim that, despite the copying of the object marker into the superordinate verb, there is really no raising of

⁶Weber [45], sec. 4.2.2.

the object, that if an overt object is present the object remains in the infinitive clause. Thus, the structure would be as in example 956:⁷

956 [noqa-ta maqa-ma-y]-ta muna-ma-n
me-obj hit-(=>1)-inf-OBJ want=>1-3

The failure of 956 to undergo passivization of the first person object is simply because it is not an object of the verb being passivized (*muna*).

In conclusion, various types of direct object may become subject by *ka*-passivization, including object complements and the subject-become-object of causativized intransitive verbs. Tentatively, indirect objects may not be *-ka*-passivized. The restriction against passivization with morphologically raised object markers is due either to the verbs or the structure to which passivization is applied.

11.1.1.3. *-ka*: Co-Lexicalized with Verb Roots

-ka: 'pass' has become co-lexicalized with many verb roots.⁸ Example follow:

allcha+ka:- 'to get well/over' is derived from *allcha*- 'to fix'.⁹

957 Rabya-sha-yki-pita allcha+ka-y.
enrage-sub-2P-ABL recover-2IMP

'Get over your anger.' (lit. 'Be fixed from your having become angry.')

kama+ka:- 'to be fitting/just, to set to (doing), to be accommodated' from *kama*- 'to arrange/prepare'; e.g.:

958 Y chawras kama+ka-sha upu-y-man atoq.
and then to:set:to-3PERF drink-inf-GOAL fox

'And then the fox set to drinking (it).'

⁷If the structure were

noqa-ta [maqa-ma-y-ta muna]-ma-n
me-obj hit-(=>1)-inf-OBJ want=>1-3

one would expect passivization to result in a grammatical sentence, like 955, but with an overt subject *noqa* 'I'. But since this is not structurally correct, such a passive is not possible.

⁸That is, the verb root and the suffix have become (or are becoming) a single, fused unit. In some of the examples which follow, *-ka*: occurs on an intransitive verb, and could therefore not be used passively.

⁹Evidence that *allcha+ka*:- is frozen is that it can occur in the frame []-*chi-naku*- ([]-caus-recip-) 'to do [] to each other' where a verb+passive combination cannot. Thus a. is acceptable but b. is not:

a. Allcha+ka:-*chi-naku*-n.
heal-caus-recip-3

'They heal each other.'

b. *Maqa-ka:-*chi-naku*-n.
hit-pass-caus-recip-3

'They cause each other to be hit.'

959 Chaka-rku-pti-n hatun qeru chaki-lla-n-man-shi kama+ka-n.
be:dark-asp-adv-3 big tree foot-just-3P-GOAL-IND be:set-3

'When it got dark, they accommodated themselves at the foot of a big tree.'

See also example 952.

laqa+ka:- 'to cohere' from *laqa*- 'to stick to'

lluchka+ka:- 'to slip' from *lluchka*- 'to stomp mud (as in preparing mortar)';
e.g., *lluchka+ka-yka*:- (slip-impfv-1) 'I am slipping!'

mancha+ka:- 'to be frightened' from *mancha*- 'to fear/bother'; e.g.:

960 Ama *mancha+ka-y-chu* wardiya-ta.
not be:afraid-inf-NEG policeman-ACC

'Don't be afraid of the policeman.'

musya+ka:- 'to determine' from *musya*- 'to know'. With a first person plural inclusive subject, this verb means roughly 'we'll resolve the issue', as in the following:

961 Kanan *musya+ka-nchil* qam o noqa ishkan kabesilla...
now be:known-12 you or I two leaders

'Now we will resolve the issue (of who is the greater), you or I, both of us chiefs...'

See also example 1659, p.388.

penqa+ka:- (of a piercing light): 'to irritate or cause pain to the eyes, from *penqa*- 'to be ashamed'; e.g.:

962 Mancha-chi-ma-n. nawi--ta *penqa+ka:-chi-n*.
fear-caus=>1-3 eye-1P-OBJ ??-caus-3

'It bothers me. It shines in my eyes' (said of the glare of a light shining on the page of a book).'

puñu+ka:- 'to doze (off)/to fall asleep' from *puñu*- 'to sleep'; e.g.:

963 Rikcha-yka-y illaqpita chaya-mu-r *puñu+ka-sha-ta*
look-impf-2IMP suddenly arrive-far-adv doze:off-prtc-OBJ

tari-shu-na-yki-ta.
find=>2-sub-OBJ

'Be vigilant lest arriving all of a sudden he find you having dozed off.'

qasa+ka:- (of an angry person or troubled situation) 'to cool off' from *qasa*:- 'to be cold to'; e.g.:

964 Mas rura-shun-chu *qasa+ka:-na-n-kama*.
more do-12IMP-NEG cool:off-sub-3P-LIM

'Let's not do more until they have cooled off.'

raki+ka:- 'to separate' from *raki*- 'to choose, divide, set apart'; e.g.:

965 Ollqo runa warmi-n-pita *raki+ka:-na-n* konbeenin-chu?
male man woman-3P-ABL separate-sub-3P be:just-3-YN?

'Is it right that a man separate from his wife?'

966 Mehur qam-wan noqa *raki+ka:-shun* shuyini-kama
better you-COM I separate-12IMP apart-LIM

tiya-ku-na-paq.
live-ref-sub-PUR

'Better that you and I separate in order to live apart.'

rura+ka:- 'to happen' from *rura*- 'to do, to make'; e.g.:

967 *Imay-taq chay rura+ka:-nqa?*
when-?? that happen-3FUT

'When will that happen?'

ruraka:- is used somewhat idiomatically with expressions about health:

968 *Mas piyur ruraka-yka-ra-n.*
more worse become-impfv-past-3

'He was becoming worse (i.e., sicker).'

shunta+ka:- 'to congregate' from *shunta*- 'to gather'; e.g.:

969 *Aypalla runa-kuna chay wasi-pa punku-n-man shunta+ka-ra-n.*
many man-plur that house-GEN door-3P-GOAL gather-past-3

'Many people congregated at the door of that house.'

tinku+ka:- 'encounter, happen to meet' from *tinku*- 'to encounter'; e.g.:¹⁰

970 *Tinku+ka-ra-n sooru-wan kondor-shi...*
meet-past-3 fox-COM condor-IND

'(The) condor and (the) fox met...'

uti+ka:- 'to be tired' from **uti*-;¹¹ e.g., *utika:-chi-ma-n*
(be:tired-caus=>1-3) 'it makes me tired':

971 *Hama-ra-y-ta uti+ka-shka:-na.*
sit-stat-inf-OBJ be:tired-perf-1-now

'I have tired of sitting.'

usha+ka:- 'to end, to run out/be used up, to be destroyed' from *usha*- 'to finish'; e.g.:

972 *Tapay-chaw usha+ka:-na-n-paq ranti-n awrindi-ta...*
wake-LOC use:up-sub-3P-PUR buy-3 firewater-OBJ

'They buy firewater ... to use up in the wake.'

973 *Llapan usha+ka-ra-n haamay-yoq kaq-kuna-qa shenqa-y+pa.*
all be:ended-past-3 breath-have def-plur-TOP drown-adv

'all those with breath (i.e., who breathed) were destroyed by drowning.'

See also example 1651, p.387.

¹⁰Example 970 begins a text. Another text begins with the following, in which the verb is simply *tinku*- rather than *tinku+ka*-:

Atoq-wan-shi wanchaq tinku-ra-n huk hunaq.
fox-COM-IND (bird) meet-past-3 one day

'The *wanchaq* and the fox met one day.'

¹¹This root is used in dialects other than HgQ to mean 'to be tired, to give out.'

yama+ka:- 'to be fed up with' from *yama*- 'to tire of';¹² e.g.:

974 Hwan-pita pasaypa yama+ka-sha-na ka-yka-:.
 John-ABL really fed:up-prtc-now be-impfv-1
 'I am really fed up with/on account of John.'

yacha+ka:- 'to acclimate' from *yacha*-;¹³ e.g.:

975 Kay-chaw yacha+ka:-shka-:-na.
 here-LOC acclimate-perf-1-now
 'I have acclimated/adjusted to this place.'

11.1.1.4. *-ka*: Fused with Other Suffixes

In the just-cited examples, *-ka*: has become co-lexicalized with different roots. Such co-lexicalization is not necessarily limited to roots: *-ka*: may also have become fused with other suffixes to yield new suffixes. I suggest that co-lexicalization has occurred in the following cases: *-kacha*:- from *-ka*:-*cha*: (-pass-iter); see section 9.4.4; and *-ka:kU* from *-ka*:-*kU* (-pass-refl) means roughly 'completely'; see section 9.4.5.

11.1.1.5. Conclusions on *-ka*: Passives

To summarize this section on *-ka*: passives, we have seen that:

1. The object of a verb becomes the subject when *-ka*: is suffixed.
2. Such subjects are the grammatical subjects of their clauses.
3. *-ka*: is lexicalized with many roots (some of which are intransitive).

11.1.2. *-ra*: 'stative'

Aspectual uses of *-ra*: are discussed in section 9.4.2. The use of *-ra*: to mean 'exhibit (some property)' is discussed in section 3.2.6. This section deals with uses of *-ra*: 'stative' to form passives.

11.1.2.1. Subject Properties with *-ra*: Passives

We will now demonstrate that the passive subjects (logical objects) of clauses passivized with *-ra*: 'stative/durative' are indeed subjects.

¹²Two examples of the verb *yama*- 'to tire of' follow:

- a. Puklla-y-ta yama-n-chu.
 play-inf-OBJ tire:of-3-NEG
 'He doesn't get tired of playing.'
- b. yama-q (tire-sub) 'a person who is gravely ill'

¹³This verb has a wide range of meanings, with various suffixes: *yacha*- 'to know how to', *yacha-kU*- 'to learn', *yacha-chi*- 'to teach' *yacha-pa*:- 'to imitate'.

First, the passive subject has no case marker and controls the verbal agreement of the verb; e.g.:

976 Chay sunsitu wina-ra-yka-sha kostal-chaw.
that stooge dump:in-stat-impfv-3PERF sack-LOC

'That stooge remained dumped in that sack.'

977 runa-kuna pampa-ra-sha-n kaq-lla-pa
man-plur bury-stat-sub-3P det-just-GEN

'around (where) people were buried'

Second, the switch reference marking of adverbial clauses is sensitive to the passive subject (logical object) brought about by passivization with *-ra*:. For example, in 978 the subordinator is *-r* 'adv (same subject)' because of the co-reference of the passive subject of *puñu-ra*:- 'be hidden' and the subject of the main clause:

978 Paka-ra-r puñu-ra-:.
hide-stat-adv sleep-past-1

'Hidden, I slept.'

Third, the passive subject (logical object) may trigger infinitivalization; e.g., in 979, the passive subject of *pampa-ra*:- 'to be buried' (i.e., the logical object of *pampa*- 'to bury') is co-referential to the subject of *muna*- 'to want', and thus the complement must be subordinated with *-y* 'inf' (rather than with *-na* 'sub', which would be used if the subjects of the complement and main clauses were not co-referential):

979 Kay-chaw pampa-ra-y-ta muna-:.
here-LOC bury-stat-IMP- ACC want-1

'I want to be buried here.'

Fourth, the passive subject may be relativized with *-q* 'agentive':

980 Chapa-ra-yka-q kicha-ka-nqa.
cover-stat-impfv-sub open-pass-3FUT

'That which is covered up will be opened.'

Examples 976-979, and perhaps 980, have verbs which entail that the object comes to be at some place or in some position.¹⁴ *-ra*:-passives are not restricted to such verbs, as examples 981 and 982 show:¹⁵

981 Chay pururuku-n ruri-n-chaw laqa-ra-n.
that cartilage-3P inside-3P-LOC stick-stat-3

'That is attached (is stuck to) the inside of the pururuku.'

¹⁴When *-ra*:'stative' occurs with these, the logical object becomes the grammatical subject and the oblique locative relation is changed from *-man* 'GOAL' to *-chaw* 'LOC'; see section 10.15.2.

¹⁵In example 981, 'that' refers to the esophagus and *pururuku* is the harder, outer part of the throat. This example is taken from a description of how to butcher a sheep.

982 Chaki-n-chaw wata-ra-q-ta-pis aqolla-q.
 foot-3P-LOC tie-stat-sub-OBJ-even crush-NRP

'He crushed even the (irons) which were tied on his leg(s).'

11.1.2.2. The Plural Form of *-ra*:

To *-ra*: 'stative' there corresponds a plural form of that suffix *-rpa*; e.g., compare example 983, which has a singular subject, with 984, in which it is plural:

983 Punku wichqa-ra-yka-n.
 door close-stat-impfv-3

'The door is closed.'

984 Punku-kuna wichqa-rpa-yka-n.
 door-plural close-plstat-impfv-3

'The doors are closed.'

This pluralization--like all plural marking in the verb--is optional; e.g., see example 977, which has a plural subject but no pluralizer in the verb. Another example of *-rpa* 'plstat' follows:¹⁶

985 a. Rima- }
 b. Pilya- } -yka-q-ta gasa-rpa-chi-n.
 c. *Aru- }

a. argue- }
 b. fight- } -impfv-sub-OBJ be:cold-plstat-caus-3
 c. work- }

'He caused those who were { a. arguing
 b. fighting } to be calmed down.'
 c. *working }

11.1.2.3. *-ra*: Co-Lexicalized with Verb Roots

Section 11.1.1.3 gave examples of *kama*- 'to arrange, prepare' co-lexicalized with *-ka*: 'pass'. These should be compared with examples 986 and 987 in which *-ra*: 'stative/durative' has co-lexicalized with *kama* to mean 'to be comely/attractive/fitting/prepared':

986 \bar{N} awi-n mana kama+ra:-chi-ra-n-chu Marucha-ta.
 eye-3P not be:comely-caus-past-3-NEG Mary-OBJ

'Mary's eyes were not befitting to her (i.e., she was not good-looking on account of her eyes).'

987 Chay-pita uchu-ta-shi ashi-mu-n atoq-pa peeche-n-man
 that-ABL pepper-OBJ-IND search-afar-3 fox-GEN breast-3P-GOAL

laqta-na-n-paq puka peeche kama+ra:-na-n-paq.
 smear-sub-3P-PUR red breast be:comely-sub-3P-PUR

'Then they look for hot pepper to smear on the fox's breast to arrange that he have a red breast.'

See also example 856, p.217.

¹⁶This example should be compared with the lexicalized verb *gasa-ka*:-; see section 11.1.1.3, example 964.

11.1.2.4. Conclusions on *-ra:* Passives

To summarize these comments on the *-ra:* passive, *-ra:* may be used to form passives, though it has other uses as well. The subjects of *-ra:*-passives are indeed subjects, and undergo the processes typical of subjects. There is a plural suffix, *-rpa*, which corresponds to *-ra:* 'stative/durative'. Also, *-ra:* may co-lexicalize with some verb roots (e.g., *kama-* 'arrange') to form fused lexical items.

11.2. Syntactic Passive

In addition to passives formed with the suffixes *-ka:* 'pass' and *-ra:* 'stative/durative', HgQ has a passive formed by syntactic means. This passive is widely applicable, but limited semantically in that it brings along the notion 'anterior'.¹⁷

The syntactic passive is structurally a participle+auxiliary construction.¹⁸ It is formed from an active by:

- suppressing the logical subject (except as mentioned below)
- making the logical object the new subject
- substituting *-sha* 'participle' for any tense and person marking (subject as well as object) of the verb
- adding the auxiliary verb *ka-* 'be' which--being syntactically the main verb of that clause--bears the tense/subordinator and subject agreement suffixes (of that clause)

(In the examples in this section, the participle and auxiliary will be underlined to help the reader identify them.) For example, 988b and 989b are the syntactic passives which correspond to 988a and 989a respectively:

- 988 a. Pay chay runa-ta salba-ra-n.
he that man-OBJ save-past-3
- b. Chay runa salba-sha ka-ra-n.
that man save-prtc be-past-3
- a. 'He saved that man.'
b. 'That man was saved.'
- 989 a. chay runa-ta salba-na-n-paq
that man-OBJ save-sub-3P-PUR
- b. chay runa salba-sha ka-na-n-paq
that man save-prtc be-sub-3P-PUR
- a. 'in order that he save that man.'
b. 'in order that that man be saved.'

Various observations about the syntactic passive will now be made.

¹⁷That is, it implies that the event indicated in the verb occurred prior to the time from which it is viewed.

¹⁸The participle+auxiliary construction is also used to form the past perfect (past anterior); see section 8.8. What the past perfect and syntactic passive share semantically is 'resultant state'; this could be said to be the meaning of the participle+auxiliary construction.

First, it is possible to elicit examples like 990, which suggests that the logical subject of a passivized verb may be indicated in an oblique substantive phrase (in this case, ablative):¹⁹

990 Yanapa-sha ka-nqa chay runa gam-pita.
 help-prtc be-3FUT that man you-ABL

'That man will be helped by you.'

However, I have never seen a spontaneous instance of this. And when asked, different speakers use different case markers. (I have heard *-pita* 'ABL', *-pa* 'GEN' and *-wan* 'COM'.) I therefore doubt that HgQ allows the logical object of a passivized verb to be indicated with an oblique substantive.

In rare cases, the logical subject may survive as a sort of compound with the verb. The subject must immediately precede the verb and bears no suffix; e.g.: For example:

991 ... [uywa miku]-sha ka-yka-sha-n-ta-pis
 ... domestic:animal eat-prtc be-impfv-sub-3P-OBJ-indef

rika-na-n-paq.
 see-sub-3P-PUR

'in order to see if they have been animal-eaten'

Second, the verb-turned-participle need not directly precede the auxiliary *ka-*, but may be separated by some other constituent:

992 Botella-n ka-ra-n rumi-pita rura-sha.
 bottle-3P be-past-3 stone-ABL make-prtc

'Its bottle (i.e., the perfume's) was made from stone.'

Third, the participialized verb may be followed by other suffixes; e.g.:

993 Llapan wasi-kuna saqta-sha-mi ka-nqa.
 all house-plur knock:down-prtc-DIR be-3FUT

'All the houses will be knocked down.'

994 Llapan-pis chay-naw kuchu-sha-lla-na ka-ra-n.
 all-indef that-SIM cut-prtc-just-now be-past-3

'All of them were cut like that--right then and there.'

Fourth, an object which comes about by causativization may subsequently be passivized. In example 995, *llapan runa-kuna-pis* 'all men' is the logical subject of *ñaka-* 'suffer' and becomes the object of *ñaka-chi-* 'cause to suffer'; then, by passivization, it becomes the subject of *ñaka-chi-sha ka-* 'be caused to suffer':

995 Llapan runa-kuna-pis naka-chi-sha ka-nqa.
 all man-plural-indef suffer-caus-prtc be-3FUT

'All men will be made to suffer.'

¹⁹The following shows that the ablative phrase is not necessarily understood as a passive agent:

Qam-pita maqa-sha ka-shka-:.
 you-ABL hit-prtc be-perf-1

'I have been hit on your account/*by you.'

Fifth, with some Spanish loans, the participle may be formed, not by *-sha* 'prtc', but as in Spanish. For example, the participle of HgQ *rispita-* 'to respect' (from Spanish *respetar*) is *rispitaaru*, where in Spanish it is *respetado*. In 996 this participle forms the basis of a passive:²⁰

996 Kay hunaq rispita-;ru ka-nqa.
this day respect-prtc be-3FUT

'This day will be respected/observed(?).'

Sixth, it is possible to have passivization apply to the same argument twice, provided a process like causativization intervenes.²¹ In example 997, by passivization, the object of *allcha:-* 'to heal' becomes the subject of *allcha-ka:-* 'be healed'; then by causativization, it becomes the object of *allcha-ka:-chi-* 'cause to be healed'. Then by passivization with *-sha ka-*, it again becomes the subject:

997 Allcha-ka:-chi-sha ka-shka-:.
fix-pass-caus-prtc be-perf-1

'I have been healed.' (lit. 'I was caused to be fixed.')

It seems that the second passivization must be syntactic passivization; cf. 998:

998 *Allcha-ka:-chi-ka-shka-:.
fix-pass-caus-pass-perfect-1

'I have been healed.'

A factor which facilitates multiple passivizations is the degree to which the first passivization is lexicalized. For example, in 997, where the *-ka:* 'passive' is co-lexicalized with the verb, the second passivization is easier than in 999, where *-ka:* is not:

999 *Wata-ka:-chi-sha ka-yka-:.
tie-pass-caus-prtc be-impfv-1

'I am being caused to be tied.'

We now discuss a few of the subject properties of syntactic passives. We have seen above (examples 988-990 and 992-994) we have seen that these subjects bear no case marking suffixes and that they trigger the appropriate person-agreement suffix on the verb *ka-*. A further example is the following, in which the passive subject (logical object) *noqa* 'I' bears no case marker and the person marker on the verb (*-shaq*) is first person (merged with 'future'):

1000 Noqa runa-kuna-pa muna-y-nin-man indriga-sha ka-shaq.
I man-plur-GEN want-inf-3P-GOAL hand:to-prtc be-1FUT

'I will be handed over to/into the power/authority of men.'

The switch reference marking of adverbial clauses is sensitive to the subjects created by the syntactic passive. For instance, in example 1001 the logical subject of the adverbial clause is the owner, but the grammatical subject after passiviza-

²⁰Alternatively, it could be argued that 996 is a predicate substantive construction, i.e., that the substantive (*rispitaaru*) is predicated of *kay hunaq*.

²¹Example 351 shows that the participle+auxiliary construction may directly follow a morphological passive, but when it does, it must be interpreted as a compound tense rather than as a passive.

tion is the speaker, who is also the subject of the main clause. Thus the adverbial clause is subordinated with *-r* 'adv (same subject)':

1001 Duyñu:-chaw miku-shka-: taarri tuta mana
owner-1P-LOC eat-perf-1 afternoon morning not

alli rima-sha ka-r-pis.
good speak-prtc be-adv-indef

'At our owner's (house) we ate morning and afternoon,
in spite of our being spoken to badly.'

Further examples follow. Example 1002 shows a different subject adverbial clause with passivization in the subordinate clause; example 1003 shows a different subject adverbial clause with passivization in the main clause; and example 1004 shows a same subject adverbial clause with passivization in the main clause:

1002 a. Maqa-shu-sha ka-pti-ki willa-ma-y.
hit=>2-prtc be-adv-2P inform=>1-IMP

b. Maqa-sha ka-shu-pti-ki willa-ma-y.
hit-prtc be=>2-adv-2P inform=>1-IMP

a,b. 'If you are hit, inform me (of that).'

1003 Muna-pti-yki arma-sha ka-shaq.
want-adv-2P bathe-prtc be-1FUT

'If you want, I will be bathed (by someone else).'

1004 Mana muna-r-pis arma-sha ka-nki-paq.
not want-adv-even bathe-prtc be-2FUT-future

'Even though you do not (so) desire, you will be
bathed (by another).'

The passive subjects of the syntactic passive may be relativized with *-q* 'sub'; e.g., the relative clause (with no following head) in 1005 is into the logical object of *rusfika-* 'crucify', which has become the grammatical subject of *rusfika-sha ka-* 'be crucified':

1005 Pay-wan rusfika-sha ka-yka-q-pis insulta-ra-n.
he-CON crucify-prtc be-impfv-sub-even insult-past-3

'Even those who were being crucified with him insulted him.'

A sensory verb complement may be a passive, as in example 1006, where the verb is passivized with *-sha ka-* and the logical object (*qaqa* 'boulder') is the grammatical subject:

1006 Rika-ra-n [qaqa witi-chi-sha ka-yka-q]-ta.
see-past-3 boulder move-caus-prtc be-impfv-sub-OBJ

'He saw that the boulder was moved/was being moved.'

The subjects of sensory verb complements may be raised (indeed, are preferably raised) to become the objects of verbs of perception.²² A more natural way to express 1006 is 1007, in which the passive subject of the complement has been raised to become the object of the verb of perception:

²²Weber [45], sec. 4.2.5.2.

1007 Qaqa-ta rika-ra-n [witi-chi-sha ka-yka-q]-ta.
 boulder-OBJ be-past-3 move-caus-prtc be-impfv-sub-OBJ

'He saw that the boulder was moved/was being moved.'

This is evidence that the passive subject of the complement is indeed its grammatical subject.

Subjects created by the syntactic passive may trigger infinitivalization; e.g.:

1008 Yanapa-sha ka-y-ta muna-:.
 help-prtc be-inf-OBJ want-1

'I want to be helped.'

Since infinitivalization is limited to cases where the subjects of the subordinate and superordinate clauses are co-referential, this is evidence that the passive subject of the subordinate clause is indeed its grammatical subject.

11.3. Summary

There are two sorts of passive in HgQ: *morphological* passives are formed by suffixing either *-ka*: 'passive' or *-ra*: 'stative/durative', and *syntactic* passives are formed by making the main verb into a participle (with the suffix *-sha*) and making this participle the complement of the auxiliary verb *ka*- 'be'. It has thus been shown here that the passive subjects are indeed the grammatical subjects of their clauses.

Chapter 12

SUBSTANTIVE PHRASES

Substantive phrases are formed by some substantive head (which might be a simple noun-adjective, a nominalized verb, another substantive phrase, etc.) and zero or more modifiers. Modifiers may be of many kinds: a simple noun-adjective, a quantifier, a numeral, an indefinite-interrogative phrase, another substantive phrase, etc. Rarely, a modifier will be followed by a case marker, as, e.g., in *rumi-pita wasi* (stone-ABL house) 'a house made of stone'.

Modifiers often occur without their understood head;¹ e.g., to say 'I see the big cow', example 1009b is just as good as 1009a, provided the speaker assumes the hearer knows he is speaking about cows:

- 1009 a. Hatun waaka-ta rika-:.
big cow-OBJ see-1
b. Hatun-ta rika-:.
big-OBJ see-1
a. 'I see the big cow.'
b. 'I see the big one.'

12.1. Modifiers and Heads: Order and Constituency

Substantival modifiers (adjectives, relative clauses) generally precede their head. However, they may also follow them. Example 1010 illustrates this for a simple substantive, and 1011 for a relative clause:²

¹Weber [45], sec. 3.1.4.

²I have been unable to find any systematic difference in meaning depending on whether the substantive with more "referential force" precedes or follows one that tends to be a modifier. Further, the order illustrated in the b. sentences below, in which the modifier follows the head, are by no means rare in texts.

- 1010 a. [Hatun runa]-ta
[big man]-OBJ } rika-:.
see-1
b. [Runa hatun]-ta
[man big]-OBJ }
- 'I see the big man.'
- 1011 a. [Maqa-sha-n runa]-ta
[hit-sub-3P man]-OBJ } rika-:.
see-1
b. [Runa maqa-sha-n]-ta
[man hit-sub-3P]-OBJ }
- 'I see the man whom he hit.'

The bracketing in these examples is intended to indicate that the case marker applies to the entire phrase, and not simply to the final substantive. As discussed in section 10.15.5, the simplest formulation of a change in the order of modifier and head is possible only on that assumption.

Elements of a single noun phrase may occur discontinuously, but when this is the case each element bears (a copy of) the case marker of the noun phrase. This is illustrated for example 1010 in 1012, and for 1011 in 1013; \emptyset is added to indicate the place where the element occurs in the non-discontinuous version.³

- 1012 a. [Hatun runa]-ta rikaa.
b. [Hatun \emptyset]-ta rikaa runa-ta.
c. [\emptyset Runa]-ta rikaa hatun-ta.
d. [\emptyset Runa]-ta hatun-ta rikaa.
a-d. 'I see the big man.'
- 1013 a. [Maqa-sha-n runa]-ta rikaa.
b. [Maqa-sha-n \emptyset]-ta rikaa runa-ta.
c. [\emptyset Runa]-ta rikaa maqa-sha-n-ta.
d. [\emptyset Runa]-ta maqa-sha-n-ta rikaa.
a-d. 'I see the man who hit him.'

The following generalization can handle all these cases: A constituent moved out of the scope of a case marker receives a copy of that marker. This rule is simple, precisely because it assumes the scope of a case marker to include the entire substantive phrase to which that case marker is attached; see section 10.15.5 for more details.

12.2. Compound Substantives

There are various ways to combine substantives (both phrases and words) into another substantive:

- substantive-GEN substantive-POS (genitive construction)
substantive substantive-POS (genitive construction without *-pa*)
substantive substantive (compound substantive)

This section focuses on the last category. These generally follow a [modifier head]

³The examples presented in this summary are obviously "made-up" ones; Weber [45], sec. 3.1.5 gives many found in texts.

pattern, i.e., (a) the first substantive is understood as a modifier of the second, and (b) the referential properties of the second substantive are dominant, i.e., the compound generally refers to a thing or things of the sort referred to by the second substantive. This is illustrated below.

I have attempted a rough taxonomy of compounds based on the relationship of the two substantives. This taxonomy should be taken as a guide to some of the types that exist, and not as a definitive list.

12.2.1. Localizer-Area

In the following examples, the second of the compounded substantives refers to some area; the first "localizes," i.e., spatially locates, some part of this area:

1014 hawa punku pampa-man)
outside door ground-GOAL)
'to the ground just outside the door'

1015 [raqra kantu-n] looma
canyon edge-3P hill
'the hill at the edge of the canyon'

(The brackets in example 1015 indicate that *raqra* and *kantu-n* are joined (in a spatial genitive) before this is compounded with *looma*.)

In examples 1016 and 1017, the modified substantive does not, strictly speaking, refer to an area, but to an object:

1016 nawpa-: kullu
beside-1P stump)
'the stump which is beside me'

1017 [[[chay machay]-pa ruri-n] uchku]-man
that cave-GEN inside-3P hole -GOAL
'into the interior of that cave'

In example 1018, the order is inverted:

1018 pampa inlisyá punku-n
ground church door-3P
'the ground at the foot of the church door'

12.2.2. Source-Object

In the following, the first substantive characterizes the source of the second:

haka aycha (guinea:pig flesh) 'guinea pig meat'
wallpa aycha (chicken flesh) 'chicken meat'

In the following very similar cases, the first substantive gives the material from which a thing of the sort referred to by the second substantive is made:

hacha kaldu (wild:plant soup) 'a soup made of the leaves of certain (uncultivated) plants'

ichu wasi (type:of:grass house) 'house roofed with *ichu*'

tapya wasi (rammed:earth house) 'house made of rammed earth'

And in the following, the first lists the principle ingredient of the second, which names some action directed against that ingredient to yield the object referred to by the whole:

yaku timpu (water boil) 'a thin broth'

papa yanu-y (potato cook-inf) 'potato soup'

papa kuwa-y (potato bake-inf) 'baked potato'

hara llushti (corn peel) 'peeled corn (each kernel peeled)'

12.2.3. Gender Classifier

The first substantive may characterize the sex of the entity referred to by the compound:

warmi dansa (woman dancer) 'woman dancer'

12.2.4. Occupation-Actor

The first substantive may characterize the profession of the entity referred to by the compound:

hariiru runa (one:who:drives:pack:animals man) 'a man who by profession is a traveling salesman'

12.2.5. Part-Part

The first substantive may refer to a body part to uniquely characterize some organ/part (e.g., a joint) named by the second:

kunka moqo (neck joint) 'neck joint'

pacha millwa (stomach wool) 'the wool on the stomach'

12.2.6. Substance-Container

The first substantive may characterize a container used for the referent of the second:

yaku puyñu (water jug) 'water jug'

12.2.7. Quantifier-Substance

A quantifier expression may be used to characterize the amount of the second:

[[huk tinaaha] waraapu] (one basin cane:beer) 'a basin of cane beer'

[[huk boteella] awrindi] (one bottle firewater) 'a bottle of firewater'

The substantives compounded may be complex:

1019 [huk arroba] [lasa-q hirru qaruti]
one aroba be:heavy-sub iron bar

'an aroba of heavy iron bars'

12.2.8. Quantifier-Measure

When the second substantive is an expression of extent/measure, such as *altu* 'high', the first may quantify it:

- [[*huk deedu*] *altu*] (one finger height) 'one finger high'
 [[*pullan deedu*] *altu*] (half finger height) 'half a finger high'
 [[*huk runa ichi-y*] *altu*] (one man stand-inf height) 'one man high (the height of one man)'

12.2.9. Time-Object

The first substantive may characterize the time of the second:

- chaka-y qasa-y* (be:dark-inf be:cold-inf) 'the night cold'

Time expressions may be formed by the reduplication of a temporal word followed by *-n* (see 15.2.2); e.g.:

- wata-n wata-n* (year-3 year-3) 'year after year'
wara-n wara-n (tomorrow-3 tomorrow-3) 'day after day'

12.2.10. Parallel Numerically Quantified Substantive Phrases

"Indefinite" numbers (see section 12.5.2) exhibit the following patterns:

- a. [[number number] head]-CASE
- b. number-CASE number-CASE
- c. [[number head] [number head]]-CASE
- d. [number head]-CASE [number head]-CASE

An example of type a:

- 1020 ... [[*ishkay kimsa*] *hunaq*]-*paq* *santu-ta* *adurna-chi-na-n-paq*
 two three day -PUR saint-OBJ adorn-caus-sub-3P-PUR
 '...to adorn the saint within two or three days.'

An example of type b:

- 1021 ...*balumintu-paq* *ruwa-ku-n* *ishkay-ta* *kimsa-ta*...
 ...liaison-PUR beg-refl two-OBJ three-OBJ
 '...they ask two or three (men) to be liaison...'

An example of type c:

- 1022 ...*arma-n* [[*chusku hunaq*] [*pichqa hunaq*]]-*ta*.
 bathe-3 four day five day -OBJ
 '...they bathe every four or five days.'

Examples of type d:

- 1023 [*ishkay hunaq*]-*yaq* [*kimsa hunaq*]-*yaq*
 two day -LIM three day -LIM
 'three or four days'

The following examples would not occur with an overt case marker because they are functionally time adverbs; nonetheless, they are instances of parallel, numerically quantified, compounded substantive phrases:

1024 ...hama-n [huk wata] [ishkay wata]...
rest-3 one year two year

'...they rest one or two years...'

1025 ...awi-ku-n semaana-chaw [ishkay kuti] [kimsa kuti]...
rinse-refl-3 week-LOC two time three time

'...they rinse themselves two or three times a week...'

In the following example the numbers are--quite strangely--not consecutive:

1026 Chusku-ta soqta-ta runa-kuna-ta wañu-chi-sha chay-chaw.
four-OBJ six-OBJ men-plur-OBJ die-caus-3PERF there-LOC

'They killed approximately four to six men there.'

In example 1302 (section 15.2.3), the same number is repeated.

12.3. Genitive Construction

The genitive construction is one of the most frequent (and useful) constructions. Weber [44]) is a complete discussion and includes many examples; this section is a brief summary of the major facts.

12.3.1. Form and Structure

The structure of the genitive construction is basically

1027 [possessor-pa possessed-POS_x]

where the possessive suffix indicates the person of the possessor (x); e.g.:

1028 Hwan-pa wasi-n
John-GEN house-3P

'John's house'

The possessor is optional; e.g., if the speaker assumes the hearer knows he is referring to John, he can simply use *wasi-n* (house-3P) to refer to John's house.

The possessed substantive is also optional; e.g., if the speaker assumes that the hearer knows he is talking about houses, he could refer to John's house simply with *Hwan-pa* 'John's' (followed, of course, by the appropriate case marker):

1029 Hwan-pa-ta rika-:.
John-GEN-OBJ see-1

'I see John's (house).'

When a case marker follows a genitive construction, it applies to the whole substantive so formed:

1030 [Hwan-pa uma-n]-ta rika-:.
John-GEN head-3P-OBJ see-1

'I see John's head.'

As discussed in 13.1.5 for substantive phrases in general, the parts may occur discontinuously. As an instance of this, the possessor of a genitive construction may occur separated from the possessed; e.g., see *Hwanpata* in the following:

1031 Hipash-nin-ta kuya-: Hwan-pa-ta.
 daughter-3P-OBJ love-1 John-GEN-OBJ
 'I love John's daughter.'

12.3.2. Uses of the Genitive Construction

Five categories of use will be discussed in this section:

- General: part-whole, ownership, social-kinship, etc. (section 12.3.2.1)
- Components of a whole (section 12.3.2.2)
- Spatial (section 12.3.2.3)
- Temporal (section 12.3.2.4)
- With quantifiers (section 12.3.2.5)

12.3.2.1. General

The following reflect different semantic relationships between the possessor and possessed, but there are no morpho-syntactic phenomena which justify treating them as different categories of use:

part-whole; e.g., *qam-pa uma-yki* (you-GEN head-2P) 'your head'

ownership; e.g., *suwa-pa wasi-n* (thief-GEN house-3P) 'the thief's house'

social-kinship; e.g.:

pay-pa wamra-n / mama-n / kumpaarrri-n / aruqmasi-n
 he-GEN child-3P mother-3P compadre-3P fellow:worker-3P

'his child / mother / co-parent / fellow:townsman'

origin; e.g., *qam-pa bus-niki* (you-GEN voice-2P) 'your voice'

abstract nouns; e.g.,

qam-pa surti-ki / munay-niki / suyñu-yki
 you-GEN fate-2P authority-2P dream-2P

'your fate / authority / dream'

12.3.2.2. Components of a Whole

When something is conceived of as having components, the whole may be spoken of as possessing one of the components. For instance, in example 1032, coffee and cookies are conceived of as a whole, with cookies as one component:

1032 *Kafee-ta upu-shun galliitas-nin-ta-wan.*
 coffee-OBJ drink-12IMP cookie-3P-OBJ-COM

'Let's drink coffee along with "its" cookies.'

Example 1033 speaks of harvested wheat, composed of chaff and stalk:

1033 *Nirkur wayra-wan apa-chi-nchi paaha-n-ta.*
 then wind-COM take-caus-12 straw-3P-OBJ

Y shunta-nchi *graanu-lla-n-ta-na.*
 and gather-12 grain-just-3P-OBJ-now

'Then we make the wind take its straw.
 And we gather up its grains.'

12.3.2.3. Spatial Relationships

In this use of the genitive construction, the "possessed" is always a spatial expression. These are principally formed from *hana* 'up, above, top', *washa* 'at the same level', or *ura* 'down, below'; e.g.:

1034 *Hwan-pa hana-n-chaw ka-yka-n.*
John-GEN top-3P-LOC be-impfv-3

'It is on top of John.'

1035 *Tuni-mu-sha noqa-pa hana-:-man.*
fall-afar-3PERF I-GEN top-1P-GOAL

'It fell on top of me.'

The possessor in 1034, *Hwan*, and that in 1035, *noqa*, are both followed by *-pa* 'GEN'. Compare these with 1036, in which the possessor does not bear *-pa*:

1036 *Hama-ra-yka-n huk qaga hana-n-chaw.*
sit-stat-impfv-3 one rock top-3P-LOC

'He is sitting on top of a rock.'

The rule controlling the occurrence of *-pa* 'GEN' is this: *-pa* 'GEN' is obligatorily present if the possessor is a person, and otherwise it must be absent.⁴

The "up," "same level," and "down" defined by *hana*, *washa* (same level), and *ura* are oriented with respect to gravity. But these words contract with /qa/⁵ to form spatial expressions oriented to slope, i.e., the side of the hill.⁶

han'qa-POS_x 'above x on the hillside'

ur'qa-POS_x 'at the same level as x on the hillside'

wash'qa-POS_x 'below x on the hillside'

These follow the same generalization concerning the occurrence of *-pa* 'GEN'. Examples follow:

1037 *inlisyá han'qa-n-chaw*
church above-3P-LOC

'above the church'

1038 *noqa-pa wash'qa-:-chaw o tiya-sha-: wash'qa-n-chaw*
I-GEN level-1P-LOC or live-sub-1P level-3P-LOC

'on beyond me (at the same level), or on beyond where I live'

The following is a list (certainly not complete) of the substantives which head a spatial genitive:

chaki-POS_x 'at the foot of x'; e.g., *punta chaki-n-chaw* (peak foot-3P-LOC)
'at the foot of the peak'

⁴It is no accident that *-pa* 'GEN' may not be absent when the possessor is highly animate. Comrie [11], page 38 discusses essentially the same phenomenon for the Yidiny language of Australia.

⁵This /qa/ probably derived from an old substantive (probably a spatial pronoun). It no longer occurs freely. Evidence for this /qa/ is given in my 1985 paper.

⁶See section 23.8.6.2 regarding the pronunciation of these; [han^eqa-] < hana+qa, [ur^eqa-] < ura+qa, and [wash^eqa-] < washa+qa.

ñawpa-POS_x 'beside/in front of x'; e.g., *tullpa ñawpa-n-chaw* (hearth side-3P-LOC) 'beside the hearth'

qepa-POS_x 'behind x'; e.g.:

1039 ... *mama-n-pa qepa-n-ta aywa-ku-sha.*
 mother-3P-GEN behind-3P-OBJ go-refl-3PERF

'...he went along behind his mother.'

ruri-POS_x 'inside x'; e.g., *meesa ruri-n-chaw* (table inside-3P-LOC) 'underneath the table', *punsha ruri-n-kuna-ta* (debris inside-3P-plur-OBJ) 'in amongst the debris'

chawpi-POS_x 'in the middle of x'; e.g., *ishka-n chanka-n chawpi-n-pita* (two-3P thigh-3P middle-3P-ABL) 'from between its two thighs'

siki-POS_x 'at the base/foot of x'; e.g., *kawitu siki-lla-n-man* (bed base-just-3P-GOAL) 'to the foot of the bed'

serka-POS_x 'in the vicinity of x'; e.g.:

1040 ... *noqa-pa serka-lla-:-chaw tiya-na-yki-paq*
 I-GEN vicinity-just-1P-LOC live-sub-2P-PUR

'...in order that you live close to me.'

waqta-POS_x 'behind x'; e.g.:

1041 *Punta wash+waqta-n-pa ura-y+pa ura-anchi.*
 ridge far:back:side-3P-GEN go:down-adv go:down-12

'We descend by way of the the back side of the ridge.'

kantu-POS_x 'at the edge of x'; e.g.:

1042 *Munti kantu-n-man chaya-r...*
 forest edge-3P-GOAL arrive-adv

'Arriving at the edge of the forest...'

I believe that spatial relationships form an important part of the Quechua world view.⁷ Support for this claim is that the spatial orientation in terms of slope is always defined for the Quechua person: even in a city which is for all intents and purposes flat "downhill" is toward the river, "uphill" is toward the closest ridge, and "at the same level" is perpendicular to these (or parallel to the flow of the nearest river); from a boat in the middle of a lake, "uphill" is toward the inlet, "downhill" is toward the outlet, and "at the same level" is toward the banks (except those that are near the inlet or outlet).

12.3.2.4. Temporal Relationships

In the temporal use of the genitive expression, the "possessed" substantive is a

⁷Related to this, I suggest that the fear of falling is a major preoccupation: the motif of falling (usually after having thrown off balanced, or stepped on the edge of one's support) is a recurring motif in Quechua folk tales. While suicide (usually by ingesting poison) is not uncommon, I have never heard of suicide by throwing oneself over a precipice.

(relational) temporal expression such as those listed below:⁸

- wara(nnin)* 'the next day'
qanyan(nin) 'the previous day'
tuta(nnin) 'the next morning'
wata(nnin) 'the next year'

If present, the "possessor" must be another expression referring to time, and the expression is interpreted relative to that time. Used without a following possessive suffix, the expression is interpreted relative to the time of speaking. Examples follow:

1043 *Miku-sha-n waran-nin wañu-sha.*
 eat-sub-3P morrow-3P die-3PERF

'He died the day after he ate them.'

1044 *Nirkur chura-nchi watan-nin muru-na-paq-na.*
 then store-12 next:year plant-sub-PUR-now

'Then we store them (seed potatoes) to be planted the following year.'

Days of the week may "possess" other days; so, for example, one can refer to Tuesday as "Monday's next day":

1045 *lunis-pa waran-nin*
 Monday-GEN morrow-3P

'the next day with respect to Monday--i.e., Tuesday'

Combined with *-ntin* (see section 4.2.1.13), *wara+* and *qanya+* form expressions for referring to two days subsequent/previous:

- warantin* 'two days hence (with respect to)'
qanyantin 'two days prior to (with respect to)'

Without a possessive suffix, these mean (respectively) 'day after tomorrow' and 'day before yesterday'; e.g.:

1046 *Warrantin aywa-ku-shaq.*
 day:after:tomorrow go-refl-1FUT

'I will leave the day after tomorrow.'

They may be the possessors or the possessed of a temporal expression, so expressions like the following are possible:

- wara-ntin-pa waran-nin* (tomorrow-tog-GEN tomorrow-3P) 'two days after tomorrow'
wara-pa wara-ntin-nin (tomorrow-tog tomorrow-tog-3P) 'the day after two days after today'
(lunis-pa) wara-ntin-nin (Monday-GEN tomorrow-tog-3P) 'two days after Monday--i.e., Wednesday'

⁸Some of these end in /n/ in this unpossessed form; e.g., *qanyan* 'yesterday'. I have listed them with parentheses around the possessive suffix, with what I regard as the basic form preceding; thus both /n/'s following *wara* 'tomorrow' are part of the possessive, while in *qanyan* 'yesterday' only one of those /n/'s is part of it.

12.3.2.5. Quantifiers

Quantifiers such as *huk* 'one', *achka* 'many', *walka* 'few', etc. may have a possessive suffix to indicate the person of the set being quantified; e.g.:

huk-niki (one-2P) 'one of you'
llapa-niki ~ *llapa-yki* (all-2P) 'all of you'
mayqa-niki (which-2P) 'which of you'

These never have a substantive phrase as possessor. Section 12.4.1 describes their use.

12.4. Pronominal Reference

This section deals with some topics pertaining to pronominal reference. By no means is it intended as complete. The pronominal elements are introduced in section 4.1.

12.4.1. Possessed Quantifier/Referential Words

The following words take possessive suffixes to indicate the person of the object(s) to which the expression so formed makes reference.⁹

<i>huk</i> ~ <i>hukni-</i>	'one/other'	<i>waki-</i> ~ <i>wakin</i>	'others'
<i>ishka-</i> ~ <i>ishkani-</i>	'two'	<i>ka:ra-u:nu-</i>	'each'
<i>kimsa</i>	'three'	<i>kiki</i>	'self (emphatic)'
<i>llapa-</i> ~ <i>llapani-</i>	'all'	<i>hapalla-</i>	'alone/only'

If a possessive suffix is added to a word which ends in a consonant, the meaningless suffix *-ni* intervenes between that final consonant and the suffix. We will now consider these words one by one, exemplifying their use in referential expressions.

12.4.1.1. *huk* 'one/other'

Huk 'one/article' may be used as an article:

1047 *Huk* *saapo ka-yka-sha mayu-chaw.*
 a frog be-impfv-3PERF river-loc

(To begin a text): 'There was a frog in the river.'

It may be used as a quantifying adjective:

1048 ...*huk* *deeru altu-lla-pa uysha-pa qara-n-pita...*
 ...one finger high-just-GEN sheep-GEN skin-3P-ABL

'...just one finger high from the sheep's skin, ...'

huk may be used to refer, or to contrast one person or thing with another; e.g.:

1049 *Huk runa chari-pa:-ma-nchi...*
 other man grab-ben=>1-12

'Someone else (lit. other man) holds it for us...'

In this use, *huk* may take a possessive suffix to indicate the person of the set with

⁹The hyphen indicates that the word cannot occur unless followed either by a possessive suffix or by *-q* 'human'. *ishka-* is also followed by *-y*, but this is not a productive suffix.

respect to which "one/other" is defined;¹⁰ e.g., in *huk-ninchi* (one-12P) the set with respect to which "one/other" is defined is comprised of the speaker and the hearer. The person or thing referred to by *huk-POS* may or may not be a member of the set whose person is indicated by the possessive suffix. Thus, *huk-ninchi* could mean 'one of us(incl)' or 'one other than us(incl)'. This is further illustrated in the examples below.

For example, if John, Tom, and Paul are somehow closely associated (e.g., they share a room), then John could say as in example 1050 to Tom and thereby be blaming Paul.

1050 Noqanchi mana rura-shka-nchi:-chu. Huk-ninchi rura-sha.
we(incl) not do-perf-12-NEG other-12P do-3PERF

'We(incl) didn't do it. The other (with respect to us) did it.'

Or if someone else accuses John and Tom of something, then they could reply as in example 1051:

1051 Mana rura-shka:-chu noqa-kuna-qa. Huk(-ni:) rura-sha.
not do-perf-1-NEG I-plur-TOP other-1P do-3PERF

'We(excl) didn't do it. Someone else (with respect to us) did it.'

Or John or Tom might reply as in example 1052 and thereby blame Paul:

1052 Noqa-kuna mana suwa-pa-shka:-chu. Mas huk-ni:-kaq
I-plur not steal-ben-perf-1-NEG more other-1P-def

suwa-pa-shka-shu-nki.
steal-ben-perf=>2-2

'We(excl) didn't steal it on you. The other of us(excl) stole it on you.'

Further, if two persons are sent to do some task, and then the boss checks up on them, one might say as in 1053:

1053

{	ishka:-qa	}	rura-shka:-chu.	<u>Huk-ni-lla-:</u>	rura-shka-:
	two-1P-TOP				
Mana					
not					
{	ishkani:-qa	}			
	two-1P-TOP				

'The two of us(excl) didn't do it. Just I (the one of me) did it.'

Although *huk* may have a possessive suffix it never occurs with an overt genitive phrase; one cannot say **Hwan-pa huk(-ni-n)* 'one other than John'.

12.4.1.2. Other Numerals

The numbers *ishka(ni)-POS*, *kimsa-POS*, *chusku-POS* may be used as *huk* was used in the previous example, to mean 'the two of x', 'the three of x', 'the four of x' respectively, where x is of the person indicated by the possessive suffix; see table 4-1. Examples are 1053 and the following:

¹⁰In the third person, *huk* is used rather than *huknin*. Whenever a possessive suffix follows, since *huk* ends in a consonant, the *-ni* intervenes between the final consonant and the possessive suffix.

1054 ...allı ka-yka-nki chusku-nchi musikeeru puri-na-paq...
good be-impfv-2 four-12P musician travel-sub-PUR

'...you are good for the four of us to travel around as musicians.'

12.4.1.3. *wakin* 'others'

waki- ~ *wakin* is the plural counterpart of *huk*, and often interchangeable with *huk...kuna* (one...plural). Examples follow:

1055 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{wakin-niki-qa?} \\ \text{others-2P-TOP} \\ \text{May-chaw-taq} \\ \text{where-loc-?} \\ \text{huk-niki-kuna-qa?} \\ \text{other-2P-plur-TOP} \end{array} \right.$

'Where are the others (with respect to you)?'

1056 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kastiga-shaq.} \\ \text{punish-1=>3FUT} \\ \text{Wakinni-ki-ta} \\ \text{others-2P-OBJ} \\ \text{kastiga-shayki.} \\ \text{punish-1=>2FUT} \end{array} \right.$

'I will punish the others (with respect to you).'

Example 1056 would be used if the hearer is a member of some group (in the speech context) and the speaker intends to punish the others in the group exclusive of the hearer.

Usually *wakin* is used as the third person form rather than *wakinnin*. Example 1057 shows that the reference of *wakin* is with respect to a third person (i.e., it means 'the others with respect to him'):

1057 Chawra buurru ni-n-shi, "Watqa-rku-shaq-chu?" Wakin-kuna-qa
then donkey say-3-IND spy-up-1FUT-YN? other-plur-TOP

chawra ni-n-shi, "Maa watqa-rku-y" ...nirkur
then say-3-IND let's:see spy-up-2IMP then

rika-sha-n-ta-shi willa-pa-n wakin-kaq kumpani:ru-n-ta.
see-sub-3P-OBJ-IND tell-ben-3 other-def companion-3P-OBJ

'Then the donkey says, "Shall I spy a little?" The others
then say, "Let's see, spy a little." ...Thereupon he tells
the others of his companions what he saw.'

12.4.1.4. *mayqan* 'which'

Followed by the appropriate possessive suffix, *mayqa(ni)-* is used in various ways:

in questions; e.g.:

1058 Mayqa-nchi:-taq hucha-yoq ka-nchi?
which-12P-? guilt-having be-12

'Which of us(incl) is guilty?'

in indefinite pronouns; e.g., *mayqa(ni)-yki-pis* (which-2P-indef) 'whichever of you'; or suppose that in jointly doing something (e.g., passing a bowl of soup), something gets knocked over (e.g., a glass of milk) and we don't know exactly which of us did it; then one of us could say:

1059 Mayqa-nchi:-pis noqanchi rura-shka-nchi.
which-12P-indef we(incl) do-perf-12

'One or the other of us(incl) did it.'
(lit. 'Whichever of us did it.')

in negative pronouns; e.g., *mana mayqa(ni)-yki-pis* (not which-2P-indef)
'none of you'

12.4.1.5. kiki 'self'

The emphatic pronoun *kiki* is virtually always followed by a possessive suffix.¹¹
Examples follow:

1060 Chawra *Llulla-ku-nki-chari. Kiki-:-raq-mi
then lie-refl-2-surely self-1P-yet-DIR

warmi-:-ta watqa-yku-shaq.* ni-n-shi.
wife-1P-OBJ spy-impact-1FUT say-3-IND

'Then "You must be lying. Yet I will spy on my wife," he said.'

1061 Llulla-pa:-ma-pti-ki kiki-ki-ta wanu-chi-shayki.
lie-ben=>1-adv-2P self-2P-OBJ die-cause-1=>2FUT

'If you are lying to me, I will kill you (yourself).'

12.4.1.6. llapan 'all'

Examples of *llapa(ni)-* follow:

1062 Y llapani-: soqta ka-:, kimsa ollqo y kimsa warmi.
and all-1 six be-1 three male and three female

'And we all(excl) are six, three boys and three girls.'

1063 Llapa-yki qam-kuna fiyu ka-nki.
all-2P you-plur bad be-2

'All of you(plural) are bad.'

1064 Llapa(ni)-nchi aywa-shun.
all-12P go-12IMP

'All of us(incl) will go. / Let's all of us go!'

12.4.1.7. hapallan 'alone'

hapa+lla- means roughly 'by oneself';¹² e.g.:

1065 Noqa hapa+lla-: mana aywa-:-chu.
I alone-1P not go-1-neg

'I am not going by myself.'

¹¹By elicitation I have gotten assent to examples where *kiki* is not followed by a possessive suffix, but I have never seen such a case in a text or heard one in a conversation.

¹²*hapa+lla-* is certainly historically two morphemes: *hapa-lla-*.

1066 Hapa+lla-n aywa-sha.
 alone-3P go-3PERF
 'He went alone.'

12.4.1.8. kara-u:nu 'each one'

The Spanish expression *cada uno* has been borrowed into Huallaga Quechua as one word, a word that belongs to the class of words under discussion. Thus, *kara-u.nu-n* 'each one of them', *kara-u.nu-yki* 'each one of you', etc.

12.4.1.9. Unmotivated -ni Alternation

The following words, which must be followed by a possessive suffix as just discussed, generally are free variants.

1067 ishka-POS_x ~ ishkani-POS_x 'two of x'
mayqa-POS_x ~ mayqani-POS_x 'which of x'
llapa-POS_x ~ llapani-POS_x 'all of x'

Note that the phonological motivation for the presence of *-ni* (discussed in 23.8.12) is absent in these cases.

Generally, *-ni* is a meaningless suffix. Example 1068 shows the only type of case where there is a clear contrast between a form with *-ni* and one without:

1068

Maria muna-n Hwan	{	a. <u>llapa-n-ta</u>	}	muchana-n-ta.
Mary want-3 John		b. <u>llapani-n-ta</u>		kiss-sub-3P-OBJ
		all-3P-OBJ		

'Mary wants John to kiss { a. all of them (with or without Mary).
 b. all of them (including Mary).'

12.4.2. Reference and Object Complements

Consider example 1069, which contains a factive (object) complements (see section 13.3.2.3), and example 1070, which contains a *-na* object complement (see section 13.3.2.1). In both, a substantive in the complement (be it a pronoun or a name) must be interpreted as disjoint with (i.e., not co-referential to) the subject of the superordinate clause. By contrast, the absence of a substantive at these positions allows an interpretation in which this position (subject or object) of the complement is understood as co-referential to the subject of the superordinate clause:

1069

Pay musya-n	{	a. ∅	}	qeshya-yka-sha-n-ta.
he know-3		b. pay		be:sick-impfv-sub-3P-OBJ
		he		

'He₁ knows that { a. he_{i/j}
 b. he_j *i } is sick.'

1070	Maria muna-n Mary want-3	{	a. \emptyset b. Maria-ta Mary-CBJ c. pay-ta her-OBJ	}	mucha-na-:-ta. kiss-sub-1P-OBJ
	'Mary ₁ wants me to kiss	{	a. her _{1/j} . b. Mary _j *1. c. her _j *1.	}	

One would hope that the class of environments in which a substantive must have disjoint reference could be characterized in terms of morpho-syntactic structures, but this is beyond the scope of the present work.¹³

We will briefly explore co-reference in sentences having a sensory verb complement (see section 13.3.2.4). Quechua speakers were presented with various possible ways to say 'John saw Tom hitting his son', these differing in word order and whether 'Tom' or 'his son' was a constituent of the main clause. Judgments were sought as to whether *wamra-n* (son-3P) 'his son' referred to John's son or to Tom's son.¹⁴

In examples 1071-1073, *Tumas* 'Tom' is the subject of the complement clause, and *wamra-n* (child-3P) 'his child' is its object. In each of these cases, the *-n* '3P' of *wamran* 'his child' refers to *Tumas*; thus *wamran* refers to Tom's son.

- 1071 Hwan [Tumas wamra-n-ta maqa-yka-q-ta] rika-ra-n.
 John Tom son-3P-OBJ hit-impfv-sub-OBJ see-past-3
 'John saw Tom hitting his child.'
- 1072 Hwan rika-ra-n [Tumas wamra-n-ta maqa-yka-q-ta].
 John see-past-3 Tom son-3P-OBJ hit-impfv-sub-OBJ
- 1073 [Tumas wamra-n-ta maqa-yka-q-ta] rika-ra-n Hwan.
 Tom son-3P-OBJ hit-impfv-sub-OBJ see-past-3 John

¹³A theory such as Government-Binding may predict 1069b and 1070c by the principle that "a pronominal must be free in its governing category," provided that the governing category of *pay* in these cases is the superordinate clause. However, this type of answer may not suffice for HgQ, since a co-referential interpretation is possible for *pay* in 1070c if *-pis* 'also' is added, as in the following:

Maria muna-n pay-ta-pis mucha-na-:-ta.
 Mary want-3 her-OBJ-also kiss-sub-1P-OBJ

'Mary₁ wants me to kiss her_{1/j} too.'

Likewise, 1070b might be explained by the principle that "an R-expression must be free."

¹⁴This methodology is somewhat suspect, in that the sentences were presented with no context. A sufficiently rich context could probably reverse any of the judgments. And in a context in which some other person had a son, but neither John nor Tom did, any one of the sentences might refer to that person's son and not to 'John's son' or 'Tom's son'. Another aspect which makes this data somewhat suspect is that there was considerable variation among the eight speakers whose judgments I sought. The judgments given in the text represent the consensus. A larger sample with greater contextual control would inspire more confidence. Despite the limitations of the method and data used here, I suspect that subsequent study would yield very similar results, further confirming what this study suggests: namely, that there are strictly sentence-internal constraints on co-reference.

The generalization is that the possessor of the object takes its reference from the subject of its clause.

In example 1074, *wamra-n* is the object of the main clause rather than of the complement. (The gap in the complement indicated by "_" must be interpreted as co-referential with *wamran*.) In this case, the *-n* '3P' of *wamran* 'his child' refers to *Hwan*; thus, *wamran* refers to John's son.

1074 Hwan *wamra-n-ta* *rika-ra-n* [Tumas _ *maqa-yka-q-ta*].
John child-3P-OBJ see-past-3 Tom hit-impfv-sub-OBJ

This is consistent with the generalization that the possessor takes its reference from the subject of the clause in which it occurs.

Examples 1075-1077 are structurally ambiguous: *wamranta* may be analyzed as either a constituent of the complement clause or of the main clause.¹⁵ For these examples, speaker's judgements were very mixed, indicating that the *-n* '3P' of *wamran* may refer either to Tom or to John.

1075 Hwan *rika-ra-n* *wamra-n-ta* [Tumas _ *maqa-yka-q-ta*].
Hwan *rika-ra-n* [*wamra-n-ta* Tumas _ *maqa-yka-q-ta*].
John see-past-3 child-3P-OBJ Tom hit-impfv-sub-OBJ

1076 Hwan *wamra-n-ta* [Tumas _ *maqa-yka-q-ta*] *rika-ra-n*.
Hwan [*wamra-n-ta* Tumas _ *maqa-yka-q-ta*] *rika-ra-n*.
John child-3P-OBJ Tom hit-impfv-sub-OBJ see-past-3

1077 Hwan *rika-ra-n* *wamra-n-ta* [Tumas _ *maqa-yka-q-ta*].
Hwan *rika-ra-n*, [*wamra-n-ta* Tumas _ *maqa-yka-q-ta*].
John see-past-3 child-3P-OBJ Tom hit-impfv-sub-OBJ

Thus, these examples are consistent with the generalization that the possessor takes its reference from the subject of the clause in which it occurs: the cases in which *wamran* refers to Tom's child correspond to the structures in which *wamran* is a member of the complement clause, and those in which *wamran* refers to John's son correspond to the structures in which it is a member of the main clause.

The understood subject of a sensory verb complement may be the object of the main verb. Such is the case in examples 1078-1082. In these, the *-n* '3P' of *wamran* 'his child' refers to Tom in preference to John.

1078 Hwan Tumas-ta [_ *wamra-n-ta* *maqa-yka-q-ta*] *rika-ra-n*.
John Tom-OBJ child-3P-OBJ hit-impfv-sub-OBJ see-past-3

1079 Hwan *rika-ra-n* Tumas-ta [_ *wamra-n-ta* *maqa-yka-q-ta*].
John see-past-3 Tom-OBJ child-3P-OBJ hit-impfv-sub-OBJ

1080 Hwan Tumas-ta *rika-ra-n* [_ *wamra-n-ta* *maqa-yka-q-ta*].
John Tom-OBJ see-past-3 child-3P-OBJ hit-impfv-sub-OBJ

1081 Tumas-ta *rika-ra-n* [_ *wamra-n-ta* *maqa-yka-q-ta*] Hwan.
Tom-OBJ see-past-3 child-3P-OBJ hit-impfv-sub-OBJ John

1082 Tumas-ta *rika-ra-n* Hwan, [_ *wamra-n-ta* *maqa-yka-q-ta*].
Tom-OBJ see-past-3 John child-3P-OBJ hit-impfv-sub-OBJ

One account for why the possessor of the object of the complement refers to Tom in these cases might run along the following lines. First, it would be argued that

¹⁵Evidence for this type of ambiguity is seen in example 1178, p.290. Alternate bracketings are given in the examples here corresponding to the structural alternatives.

the gap in the complement is co-indexed with *Tumas* in the main clause. Then, on the assumption that this index is available to the *-n* '3P' of *wamran* 'his child', the assignment of reference simply follows the generalization developed above, namely, that a possessor of the object takes its reference from the subject of the clause in which it occurs. An alternative account might be based on the assumption that *Tumasta* is a member of the verb phrase that also contains *wamranta maqaykaqta*, i.e., that the structure underlying examples 1078-1082 is roughly as follows:

Hwan_{[VP} Tumasta rikaran [wamranta maqaykaqta]]_{VP}.

It could then be argued that the *-n* of *wamran* 'his child' seeks the structurally nearest referring expression, and thus finds *Tumas* within the verb phrase rather than reaching beyond the verb phrase to find the subject of the main clause.

Example 1083 runs counter to examples 1078-1082: while both interpretations are possible, more speakers indicated that *wamran* referred to John's son than to Tom's son.¹⁶

1083 Hwan [— wamra-n-ta maqa-yka-q-ta] rika-ra-n Tumas-ta.
John child-3P-OBJ hit-impfv-sub-OBJ see-past-3 Tom-OBJ

It seems that the proximity of *Hwan* in the immediately preceding context, and the distance of *Tumas*, has outweighed any structural consideration along the lines sketched above.

Consider the effect of adding *pay-pa* (he-GEN) 'of him' to *wamra-n* in sentences like those just discussed. Limiting discussion to just cases like 1071-1073, speaker judgements indicated that *paypa wamran* strongly favored reference to John's rather than Tom's son; as, e.g., in example 1084 (which corresponds to 1073):

1084 [Tumas pay-pa wamra-n-ta maqa-yka-q-ta] rika-ra-n Hwan.
Tom he-GEN son-3P-OBJ hit-impfv-sub-OBJ see-past-3 John

This is consistent with the behavior of *pay* in example 1070 above, to force reference to something other than the subject of the clause in which *pay* occurs.

The characterization of the contexts in which co-reference is or is not possible is an important topic. The brief study represented in this section is intended as merely exploratory and suggestive. I hope that future studies will deepen our understanding of this aspect of Quechua grammar.

¹⁶Example 1083 was deemed marginally acceptable by one speaker. I suspect that this is because of its "garden path" nature: until a hearer encounters--at the very end of the sentence--the *-ta* 'OBJ' following *Tumas*, it is perfectly natural to interpret *Hwan* as the subject of the complement, as in the following:

*[Hwan wamra-n-ta maqa-yka-q-ta] rika-ra-n Tumas-ta.
John child-3P-OBJ hit-impfv-sub-OBJ see-past-3 Tom-OBJ

As bracketed, this is ill-formed because *Tumasta* has to be interpretable as either the subject or the object of the complement (or perhaps as appositive with the object of the complement). But it can be neither, since these are already established by *Hwan* and *wamran* (respectively).

12.5. Number Formation

In this section, we discuss the formation of numbers, first treating the basic number system, then describing indefinite number expressions, and finally, mentioning an issue about number roots.

12.5.1. Basic Numbers

The Quechua number system is quite well preserved in HgQ. (In areas to the west and south, it has largely been replaced by Spanish numbers.) For example, the following are possible numbers in HgQ:

1085	11	-- chunka huk
	13	-- chunka kimsa
	20	-- ish kay chunka
	90	-- isqon chunka
	500	-- pichqa pachak
	3000	-- kimsa waranqa
	20,000	-- ish kay chunka waranqa
	900,000	-- isqon pachak waranqa

A number is either a digit (the numbers from one to nine) or a number expression. The words for the digits are as follows:

1086	1	-- huk
	2	-- ish kay
	3	-- kimsa
	4	-- chusku
	5	-- pichqa
	6	-- soqta
	7	-- qanchis
	8	-- pusaq
	9	-- isqon

A number expression has three parts:

(MULTIPLIER) NUCLEUS (ADDER)

The nucleus is a power of ten; the possible nuclei are:

1087	10	-- chunka
	100	-- pachak
	1000	-- waranqa

The multiplier and adder are numbers, and (as indicated by the parentheses) are optional. The value of a number expression may be calculated by multiplying its multiplier by the nucleus and then adding the adder.

To illustrate where the multiplier and adder are digits, in *chunka pichqa* (ten five) 'fifteen', *chunka* 'ten' is the nucleus and *pichqa* 'five' is the adder. In *kimsa pachak* (three hundred) 'three hundred', *kimsa* 'three' is the multiplier and *pachak* 'hundred' is the nucleus. In *pusaq chunka ish kay* (eight ten two) 'eighty two', *pusaq* is the multiplier, *chunka* 'ten' is the nucleus, and *ish kay* 'two' is the multiplier.

When the multiplier or adder is a number expression, its nucleus must be smaller than the nucleus of the number expression of which it is a part; so, e.g., if the nucleus is *pachak* 'hundred', then the nuclei of a multiplier or adder could only be

chunka 'ten'. See examples 1088 and 1089 and the corresponding analysis into multiplier, nucleus, and adder:

1088 12,345

chunka	ishkay	waranqa	kimsa	pachak	chusku	chunka	pichqa
10	2	1000	3	100	4	10	5
multiplier:	nucleus: 10 chunka						

	adder: 2 ishkay						

nucleus: 1000 waranqa							

adder:	multiplier:	3 kimsa					

		nucleus: 100 pachak					

	adder:	multiplier:	4 chusku				

			nucleus: 10 chunka				

			adder: 5 pichqa				

1089 987,001

isqon	pachak	pusaq	chunka	qanchis	waranqa	huk
9	100	8	10	7	1000	1
multiplier:	multiplier: 9 isqon					

	nucleus: 100 pachak					

	adder:	multiplier:	8 pusaq			

			nucleus: 10 chunka			

			adder: 7 qanchis			

nucleus: 1000 waranqa						

adder: 1 huk						

When a number is used as a pre-nominal modifier, and when it has an adder whose nucleus is *chunka* '10', then *-n* may be added either after the entire adder (see examples 1090a and 1091a) or after *chunka* (see examples 1090b and 1091b). This *-n* (as with *-n* '3P') is *-nin* following consonants.¹⁷

1090 a. pachak pusaq chunka pichqa-n wata
 b. pachak pusaq chunka-n pichqa wata
 100 8 10 5 year
 '185 years'

1091 a. kimsa pachak chusku chunka qanchis-nin wata
 b. kimsa pachak chusku chunka-n qanchis wata
 3 100 4 10 7 year
 '347 years'

Of course, when no adder follows *chunka* then *-n* directly follows; e.g., in *pachak*

¹⁷I do not identify this *-n* with, e.g., the third person suffix, nor do I give it a gloss. I regard it as simply a marker within the system of forming numbers; whether it is related to some other suffix (either synchronically or diachronically) is a very moot point.

chunka (hundred ten) '110' the adder is *chunka*, so *pachak chunka-n wata* '110 years'; similarly, *pachak pichqa chunka-n wata* (hundred five ten-N year) '150 years', *isqon pachak kimsa chunka-n wata-yoq* (nine hundred three ten-N) '930 years old'.

12.5.2. Indefinite Numbers

Two consecutive digit numbers indicate a rough idea of number;¹⁸ e.g., *ishkay kimsa* (two three) means roughly two or three (not necessarily exactly two or three); *pichqa soqta* (five six) 'five or six'. Other examples follow:

1092 Chay-pita ashi-pa-sha kimsa chusku awkis muula-kuna-ta-shi.
that-ABL seek-ben-3PERF three four old mule-plur-OBJ-IND

'After that, he looked for three or four old mules.'

12.5.3. Number Roots/Stem

In the preceding sections, *ishkay* has been treated as a single morpheme. Actually it is formed from the root *ishka+* 'two', which combines with three suffixes:

1093 $ishka+ \begin{cases} -y & \text{'two'} & \text{(the quantity)} \\ -n & \text{'the two of them'} & \text{(a pronoun, see sect 12.4.1.2)} \\ -q & \text{'two persons'} & \text{(see 4.2.1.10)} \end{cases}$

If *-lla* 'just' occurs with *ishka+n*, it precedes the *-n*: *ishka+lla+n* 'just the two of them'. As with some other quantifying roots (e.g., *llapa+* 'all', *mayqa+* 'which'), *ishka+* 'two' may be followed by *-ni*¹⁹ and a possessive suffix to refer to various sets of two (see sections 12.4.1.1 and 12.4.1.2). (The forms preceded by question marks are acceptable, but much less preferred to the corresponding form.)

1094 ?ishka-: ishka+ni-: 'the two of us (excl)'
?ishka-yki ishka+ni-ki 'the two of you'
ishka-n ?ishka+ni-n 'the two of them'
ishka-nchi: ?ishka+ni-nchi: 'the two of us (incl)'

12.6. *-kama* 'respectively'

(#)*kama* 'respectively' is a postposition which may (or may not) be cliticized to the preceding word.

kama 'resp' is used in contexts where a set of elements is involved, to indicate that whatever predication is being made applies to each member of that set. For example, in 1095a, the effect of *kama* is to indicate that for each member of some presupposed set there corresponds one element:

¹⁸This applies only when there are fewer than nine. This is not used in, e.g., *qanchis chunka pusaq chunka* (seven ten eight ten) 'seventy or eighty'.

¹⁹This *-ni* is not motivated (as in most cases) by a need to avoid a cluster of three consonants between the preceding stem and the following suffix.

1095 a. *kara-uunu-n-pa huk-kama*
 each-one-3P-GEN one-resp

b. *kara-uunu-n-pa ish kay-kama*
 each-one-3P-GEN two-resp

a. 'one for each' (e.g., if someone were passing out hats, and there was one hat for each person)

b. 'two for each' (e.g., if someone were passing out shoes, and there were two shoes for each person)

Following a possessive suffix, *kama* may make explicit that the possessive suffix refers to each member of some set, where the set must be available in the context of the possessive suffix and it must have multiple members. Thus, *kama* 'resp' restricts the reference of that preceding possessive suffix. What the possessive suffix refers to is probably not definable in terms of syntactic structure; it is probably determined inferentially in terms of the semantics of *kama*. Two examples will be discussed.

Consider 1096:

1096 Hwan *raki-ra-n wamra-n-kuna-ta*
 John separate-past-3 child-3P-plur-OBJ

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| { | a. <i>wamra-n-kuna-ta-wan.</i>
child-3P-plur-OBJ-COM |
| | b. <i>willka-n-kuna-ta-wan.</i>
grandchild-3P-plur-OBJ-COM |
| | c. <i>wamra-n-kuna-ta-wan kama.</i>
child-3P-plur-OBJ-COM resp |
| | d. <i>willka-n-kuna-ta-wan kama.</i>
grandchild-3P-plur-OBJ-COM resp |

'John separated his children and { a. their children.'
 b. his grandchildren.'
 c. their children.'
 d. their grandchildren.'

Example 1096a means 'John separated his children and *their* children', and would be used if John had separated his children, together with his children's children into one group out of some larger group. Example 1096b means 'John separated his children and his grandchildren' and would be used if John separated his children and *his* grandchildren into one group out of some larger group. Thus, examples 1096a and 1096b show that the third person possessive suffix *-n* in the last word can be co-referential to either the subject of the sentence or to the immediately preceding noun phrase (as in 1096b).

Example 1096c means 'John separated his children and their respective children', and would be used if John had separated his children and their offspring into various groups such that each group consisted of one (and only one) of his children together with that person's own children. Example 1096d means 'John separated his children and their respective grandchildren'; it could not be used if only three generations are involved (that of John, that of his children, and that of his grandchildren). But example 1096d may be used if four generations are involved, i.e., if John's children have grandchildren; 1096d indicates that John separated his

children and their grandchildren into groups such that each group consisted of one (and only one) of John's children together with that person's grandchildren. Thus, examples 1096c and 1096d show that *kama* restricts the reference of the third person possessive suffix *-n* preceding *kama* to the members of the set defined by *wamrankunata* 'his children (OBJ)' immediately following the verb. Whereas in examples 1096a and b. the possessive suffix could be co-referential with either the subject (*Hwan*) or object noun phrase (*wamrankunata*), in 1096c and d it can only be co-referential with the object noun phrase.

Example 1097 further documents the effect of *kama* to restrict reference:

1097
 Kimsa warmi-n-chaw ka-ra-n pichqa wamra-n-kuna
 three wife-3P-loc be-past-3 five child-3P-plur { a. \emptyset
 b. kama
 respective
 'By his three wives (literally "in" his three wives) there were his five children.'

When *kama* is absent (as in 1097a) it means "he" had five children in all; but when *kama* is present (as in 1097b), it means he had five children by each wife, for a total of fifteen! *Kama* restricts the reference of the preceding third person possessive suffix (the one that is underlined) to the set of wives, where in the absence of *kama* it most naturally refers to the subject (i.e., the husband).

12.7. *-kaq* 'definite'

(-)*kaq* is historically the verb *ka-* 'to be' followed by the substantivizer *-q*; it has become a marker of (approximately) "definiteness." It is sometimes a suffix; e.g.:

1098 Hatun-kaq-ta qo-ma-y.
 big-def-OBJ give=>1-2IMP
 'Give me the big one.'

Sometimes it is a separate word; e.g.:

1099 Chay-chaw ka-q-ta qo-yku-y.
 there-LOC be-sub-OBJ give-impact-2IMP
 'Give it to those who are there.'

1100 ...hama-rpa-yka-n llapan chay-chaw ka-q runa-kuna-qa.
 sit-plur-impfv-3 all that-LOC be-sub man-plur-TOP
 '...all the men that are there are sitting.'

In example 1098, *-kaq* is glossed 'def' for 'definite'; in examples 1099 and 1100 it is the root *ka-* 'be' followed by the substantivizer *-q*. Examples 1101 and 1102 could be interpreted as having either the suffix *kaq* 'def' or the verb *ka-* 'be' followed by *-q* 'sub':

1101 Qeru-pita-kaq-ta rupa-chi-shun.
 wood-ABL-def-ACC burn-caus-12IMP
 'Let's burn those which are (made) of wood.'

Note that examples 1098 and 1101 show that *-kaq* (as a suffix) may follow as well as precede a case marker. Of course, the case of the whole noun phrase will always be determined by the case marker (or, in the case of the nominative, the absence of a case marker) following *-kaq*.

1102 ollqu-pa kasta-n kaq-kuna-qa
 male-GEN clan-3P def-plur-TOP

'the man's relatives'

When native speakers of HgQ write their language, they are often uncertain whether *ka+q* should be written as part of the word it follows or as a separate word.

In some cases *ka+q* is clearly a suffix (phonologically), and in other cases it is a separate word. It is a suffix when:

- it shifts stress; [magamáshaŋ] 'which hit me' becomes [magamasháŋkaɣ] 'the one which hit me' rather than [magamáshaŋ káɣ]
- it is phonologically contracted with the preceding morpheme; e.g., /*(y)ki-kaq*/ (2P-def) may become [(y)kʲaɣ] (with varying degrees of palatalization of the [k]); in these cases *kaq* should be considered a suffix. An instance: /*aywa-sha-yki-kaq-man*/ [aywashaykʲáɣmaŋ] 'to the place where you are going'

The following are rough guidelines for when *-kaq* should be considered a suffix and when a separate word:

1. When *kaq* directly precedes *kaq*, the first is considered a separate word *ka-q*; the second is considered a suffix; e.g.:

1103 Chay-chaw ka-q-kaq-qa wara-ra-n punta-lla-chaw.
 there-LOC be-sub-def-TOP dawn-past-3 ridge-just-LOC

'Those who were there came into the new day right there on the ridge.'

2. Except in the case of *ka-q-kaq*, whenever *kaq* follows /q/ 'sub' it is a separate word; e.g.:

1104 Chawra chay saqta-q kaq...
 then that topple-sub def

'Then the one who toppled it...'

In many cases, the issue of whether *kaq* is a suffix or a separate (phonological) word is complicated by a secondary stress occurring on a preceding syllable when *kaq* has following suffixes. In general, the more suffixes *kaq* bears, the more likely it is a separate word from the word it follows.

Perhaps the issue must be settled on other than phonological grounds. A reasonable distinction would be this: when *ka+q* follows X, if X would not have a referent without *kaq* then it should be considered a separate word *ka-q* 'be-sub'; whereas if it would have the same referent without *kaq*, then it should be considered as a suffix *-kaq* 'def'.

In the examples below, *kaq* is treated as *-kaq* 'def' or as *ka-q* 'be-sub', with little importance attached to whether it is cliticized to the preceding word.

12.7.1. *ka+q* Marks Definite Reference

-kaq makes the substantive it follows definite, corresponding roughly to a definite article; e.g.:

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| 1105 a. Hatun-ta | } | muna-:.
want-1 |
| b. Hatun-kaq-ta
big-def-OBJ | | |
| a. 'I want a/the big one.' | | |
| b. 'I want <i>the</i> big one.' | | |

It has been claimed that "definite" implies a claim of existence and a claim of uniqueness. However, I will assume that a claim of existence is sufficient justification for calling a marker "definite."²⁰ *ka-q* 'be-sub' means (very literally) 'which is'; that is, it makes a claim of existence. Thus, it is a natural source for a marker of existence, *-kaq* 'definite'.²¹

If *-kaq* is a marker of definiteness, then it is natural that it co-occur more freely with noun phrases that are otherwise definite than with those that are indefinite. Example 1106 suggests that *kaq* is more appropriate when the referent of the substantive that *kaq* follows is definite:

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| 1106 a. ?Kawallu-kaq-ta
horse-def-OBJ | } | ashi-yka-n.
search-impfv-3 |
| b. Kawallu- <u>n</u> -kaq-ta
horse-3P-def-OBJ | | |
| 'He is looking for | { | a. the horse.' |
| | | b. his horse.' |

Example 1106a sounds strange, something like "He is looking for the thing which is a horse." But 1106b is quite natural, something like "He is looking for the horse which is his."

kaq is often used in cases where two or more referents have been introduced together, and then a particular one is singled out by reference to some distinguishing property. For example, in describing a picture of a man and woman, the text runs as follows:

²⁰English "the" ordinarily makes both claims, but in *The man who beats his wife probably doesn't love her*, "the" implies neither.

²¹Cerrón has repeatedly made the claim, most recently in Cerrón Palomino [6] (p. 140), that "Huanca Quechua is the only variety of Quechua which, by natural evolution, has developed a new category: the article. This morpheme, the basic form of which is *-kaq*, derives historically from the verb *ka-y* 'to be', nominalized by the agentive *-q*." (translation mine--DJW) I would dispute two claims made here: First, I see no justification for the claim that *kaq* should be considered a new "category"; it certainly does not constitute a new part of speech! Second, every variety of Quechua in central Perú seems to have undergone this innovation. I have seen *-kaq* used as a definite marker in Quechua texts from virtually every corner of the Quechua B area.

1107 'Those two are a man and a woman. The woman (*warmi-kaq* woman-def) is holding the man's (*ollqo-kaq-pa* male-def-GEN) left arm. Both have put on new clothes... The man (*ollqo-kaq* male-def) has put on blue pants... The woman (*warmi-kaq* woman-def)...

A text on butchering runs as follows:

1108 'Another person (*huk runa* one man) holds it very tightly by the neck... The one who cuts it with the knife (*kuchillu-wan kuchu-q-kaq* knife-COM cut-sub-def) grasps the sheep's jawbone. The one who holds it (*chari-q-kaq* grab-sub-def) stands by its side...

Example 1109 (from section 12.9, example 1135) considers alternatives for referring to one particular pencil out of a set of four pencils of varying sizes; *-pita ...kaq* makes the definite reference based on size relative to the largest (or smallest):

1109 a. *Hatun-pita mas taksha+rpu+q kaq-ta qo-ma-y.*
big-ABL more smaller def-OBJ give=>1-2IMP

b. *Taksha-pita mas hatu+lla+n kaq-ta qo-ma-y.*
small-ABL more bigger def-OBJ give=>1-2IMP

a. 'Give me the one which is a little smaller than the biggest.'

b. 'Give me the one which is a little bigger than the smallest.'

Examples 1110, 1111, and 1248 further illustrate the use of *-kaq* to indicate a particular referent (perhaps a collection) where there are various alternatives:

1110 ...*sirbin llapan-ta warmi-pa kasta-n kaq-kuna-ta-qa usha+qpaq.*
serve all-OBJ woman-GEN clan-3P def-plur-OBJ-TOP completely

'...they serve all of the woman's relatives (who are there).'

In example 1111, it seems contradictory to have both *-kaq* 'def' and *-pis* 'indef' associated with the same noun phrase. This is due to the label used for *-pis*; in this case it would be better glossed as 'non-specific' (see section 19.2). The *-kaq* on *mayqa* signals that they agree upon a definite person to become majordomo; the *-pis* at the end of the noun phrase signals that the speaker does not know who the referent is (since the text describes a hypothetical instance of the procedure for establishing the administration of the next fiesta).

1111 *Chawra-qa parla-n chay awni-q runa-wan mayqa-n-kaq*
then-TOP speak-3 that agree-sub man-COM which-3P-def

mayordoomu-ta yayku-na-n-paq-pis.
majordomo-OBJ enter-sub-3-PUR-indef

'Then they speak with that man who has agreed about which one of them should enter as the majordomo.'

12.7.2. *-kaq* to Refer to Place

Substantives followed by *kaq* often refer to a place where the referent of that substantive is located; e.g.:

1112 *tullpa ka-q-chaw*
hearth be-sub-LOC

'in the place where the stove is/was'

1113 ...*chay warmi-ta ashi-sha-n kaq-chaw-qa...*
that woman-OBJ seek-sub-3P def-LOC-TOP

'...at the place where they are seeking that woman'
(i.e., seeking her hand in marriage for another)

- 1114 ...*apa-sha tinri-ta siwraa-man paarrinu-n kuura kaq-man*
 take-3PERF tiger-OBJ city-GOAL godfather-3P priest def-GOAL
 '...he took the tigers to the city, to where his godfather the priest lived.'

12.7.3. -*pita kaq* 'those except'

The sequence *X-pita kaq* may mean 'those except the members of X';²² e.g.:

- 1115 *Chay-pita kaq-ta-qa llapa-n-ta manada-n eskirbaanu*
 that-ABL def-OBJ-TOP all-3P-OBJ order-3 scrivener
rigidur-ta kampu-ta sakristan-ta fiskal-ta.
 rigidur-OBJ kampu-OBJ sacristan-OBJ fiskal-OBJ
 'Except for him (the aforementioned *kapiilla*), the scrivener is over ('orders') all of them, the *rigidur*, the *kampu*, the *sakristan*, and the *fiskal*.'

12.7.4. *huk-kaq* 'the other'

The combination of *huk* 'one/other' and *kaq* 'def' is now largely frozen as simply *hukaq* 'the other one'; e.g.:

- 1116 ...*kargu-ta hukaq-ta ruka-na-n-paq.*
 cargo-OBJ the:other-OBJ exchange-sub-3P-PUR
 '...in order to exchange the office with the other one.'
 1117 *Hukaq-man taku-chi-shaq.*
 the:other-GOAL mix-caus-1FUT
 'I will mix it into the other.'

In some cases, *hukaq* means 'a particular one' of various possible referents; e.g.:

- 1118 *Chay-pita huk mayur suwa ni-n hukaq suwa-ta...*
 that-ABL one superior thief say-3 one thief-OBJ
 'After that one of the boss thieves says to (a particular) one of the other thieves...'
 1119 *Hukaq nobillu-yki-ta qo-ma-y miku-na-:-paq.*
 one oxen-2P-OBJ give=>1-2IMP eat-sub-1P-PUR
 'Give me one (a particular one) of your oxen so I can eat it.'

After introducing a group of referents, if the first reference to one member of that group is made with *huk-kaq*, then this creates the expectation that one or more other members will be similarly singled out for discussion. For example, if one says 'There were two boys', and continues with *hukkaqpa hutin Pablo* 'the name of one of them was Paul', it creates the expectation that subsequently the name of the other boy will be given. But continuing with *hukpa hutin Pablo* 'the name of one of them was Paul' creates no such expectation.

²²Other meanings are possible; e.g., 'the one descended from X'.

12.7.5. wakin-kaq 'the others'

Corresponding to *huk-kaq* 'the other' is the plural form *wakin-kaq* 'the others'. This is frequent in a text such as "The Four Musicians", in which there are multiple, interacting participants, often with one participant interacting with the other three:

1120 Then the others (*wakin-kaq* other-def) say... Then he tells the others, his companions (*wakin-kaq kumpaniiru-n-ta* other-def companion-3P-OBJ) what he saw... Then the others (*wakin-kaq-qa* other-def-TOP) say...

Similarly, an explanation of how fiestas are administered speaks of the group of ministers, often contrasting one with the others; e.g.:²³

1121 Chay minisru-kuna-chaw eskirbaanu manda-n waki-n-kaq
that minister-plur-LOC scrivener order-3 other-3P-def

minisru-kuna-ta.
minister-plur-OBJ

'Among those ministers, the scrivener is over ("orders") the other ministers.'

1122 They look for five men, all of whom know how to dance... ...there should be one who knows how to dance better than the others (*wakin-kaq-pita-qa* (other-def-ABL-TOP)).

12.7.6. chay-kaq 'the other'

At best, the combination of *chay* 'that' and *kaq* 'def' in *chay-kaq* seems redundant, since *chay* is a definite pronoun and *kaq* is a marker of definiteness. *Chay-kaq* means roughly 'that one (in contrast to the aforementioned one)' (where, in English, 'that' would bear heavy stress); e.g., *chay-kaq* in the following bit of text refers to the second-mentioned servant and not the first-mentioned:²⁴

1123 There is one servant at the table. There is another servant to feed those that are seated on the ground. That servant (*chay-kaq sirbinti* that-def servant) serves them, starting at one edge until he finishes.

The text preceding example 1124 describes various ways some fathers react negatively to a delegation coming to ask for their daughter's hand in marriage; 1124 describes a positive reaction:

1124 Wakin runa-kuna-qa alli. Chay-kaq-qa hama-chi-n...
other man-plur-TOP good that-def-TOP sit-caus-3

'Other men are good. Those (in contrast to the aforementioned) seat them...'

A further example follows, illustrating *chaykaq* to mean 'that (aforementioned) one' is the following:

²³Compare example 1121 to 1115, above.

²⁴Following this, the text then describes how the first-mentioned servant serves: to the scrivener first, who passes the dish on according to rank.

1125 ...eskirbaanu ashi-n-na alkaldeesa-ta rihidoora-ta
 scrivener seek-3P-now mayoress-OBJ rigidora-OBJ

ruka-na-n-paq watan chay-kaq-na rura-na-n-paq.
 exchange-sub-3P-PUR next:year that-def-now do-sub-3P-PUR

'...the scrivener seeks women to become mayoress and *rihidoora*, so that the following year they (the new women found, not the aforementioned women who are presently carrying out the roles) do it.'

12.7.7. *mana-kaq* 'insignificant'

The combination of *mana* 'no, not' and *kaq* 'def' means 'insignificant, worthless'. This idiomatic expression undoubtedly has its origin in *mana ka-q* 'which is not'; e.g.:

1126 Mana+kaq papel-lla-n-wan-mi gaana-ma-sha...
 insignificant paper-just-3P-COM-DIR beat=>1-3PERF

'He beat me just with his worthless paper...'

Example 1127 is how the tiger insults the wasp:

1127 Ima-taq qam ka-ra-yki ichiknaylla mana+kaq?
 what-?? you be-past-2P tiny insignificant

'What have you been, tiny and insignificant?'

12.8. *-pacha* 'continuous'

Another post-position that applies to substantive phrases is (#)*pacha* 'continuous'.²⁵ It cliticizes to some degree or another to the preceding word (with some variation from speaker to speaker). *Pacha* must co-occur with the case markers *-pita* 'ABL' or *-man* 'GOAL', which, as seen in chapter 10, may indicate a path (in space or time). The effect of *pacha* is to indicate that the event referred to by that clause happened *continuously* along this path. An example follows:

1128 Wanu-sha-n-pita pacha waqa-sha.
 die-sub-3P-ABL cont cry-3PERF

'She has cried ever since he died.'

12.9. Contrast, Co-Variation, and Comparison

This section comments on contrast, co-variation, and comparison. First, regarding contrast, the use of *-qa* 'TOP' to express this notion is discussed in considerable detail in section 20.2.3.2. When two referents are contrasted, the one which is the basis of contrast may be marked with *-pita* 'ABL', as in 1129:

1129 Chay-naw ka-rka-yka-sha-n-pita wakin runa-qa mana ashi-n-chu..
 that-SIM be-plur-impfv-sub-3P-ABL other man-TOP not seek-3-NEG

'By contrast to those who are like that, other people do not seek...'

See also example 1115, p.275.

²⁵The notation (#) is intended to mean that *pacha* may cliticize to the preceding word or it may be independent, as explained in the text.

Second, co-variation expresses a variation of some object/event as a function of some other variation. Example 486 (p.138) illustrates this; the size of the light is said to vary with the progress of the participants toward it.

Third, comparatives are formed with *mas* 'more' before the phrase expressing the quality or ground of comparison (e.g., size, color, speed, manner, etc.), and the standard of comparison (i.e., the object to which compared) as an ablative (substantive) phrase; e.g.:

1130 Noqa mas hatun ka-yka-: pay-pita.
 I more big be-impfv-1 he-ABL
 GROUND STANDARD

'I am bigger than he.'

1131 Koorri-y-ta yacha-n mas wakin-kuna-pita.
 run-INF-OBJ know-3 more other-plur-ABL

'He knows how to run better than the others.'

1132 Huk-pis ka-na-n mas dansa-y-ta yacha-q wakin kaq-pita-qa.
 one-indef be-sub-3 more dance-INF-OBJ know-sub other def-ABL-TOP

'There should be one who knows how to dance better than the rest of them (i.e., with respect to the others)'

1133 Mayurdoomu mas huk-naw tesureeru-pita kustumri-ta rura-n.
 majordomo more other-SIM treasurer-ABL custom-OBJ do-3

'The majordomo does a custom different than the treasurer (does).'

See also example 1701, p.407.

The expression *taksharpuq* means 'slightly smaller':²⁶

1134 Chay puchu noqa-pa puchu:-pita mas taksha-rpu-q.
 that poncho me-GEN poncho-1P-ABL more small-up-sub

'That poncho is somewhat smaller than mine.'

Suppose that there are four pencils of different sizes. To refer to one by its size relative to the others one would say (from the largest to the smallest):

1135 a. hatun kaq
 b. hatun-pita mas taksha-rpu-q kaq
 c. taksha-pita mas hatu-lla-n kaq
 d. taksha kaq

a. 'the big one'

b. 'the one which is a little smaller than the big one'

c. 'the one which is a little bigger than the small one'

d. 'the small one'

²⁶Perhaps this is really *taksha-rpu-q* (be:small-up-sub), where *taksha* is a verb 'be small'; if so, it is the only instance I know of where *taksha* is used this way.

Chapter 13

SUBSTANTIVIZED CLAUSES

This chapter includes sections on relative clauses (section 13.1), participles (section 13.2), complementation (section 13.3), and adverbial uses of substantivized clauses (section 13.4).¹

13.1. Relative Clauses

This section covers:

- basic concepts and definitions (section 13.1.1)
- basic relativization in Quechua (section 13.1.2)
- choice of substantivizer (section 13.1.3)
- relative juxtaposition (section 13.1.4)
- discontinuous modifiers (section 13.1.5)

Much more is said about HgQ relative clauses in Weber [45], chap. 3.

13.1.1. Basic Concepts and Definitions

A relative clause is a modifier of a substantive derived from a clause (or sentence). For example, consider two sentences: *The man is coming* and *He hit you*. Suppose you want to specify which man is coming by reference to the event of his hitting you. In English we could say *The man [who hit you] is coming*. The sentence *He hit you* has been made a modifier of *man*. *He*, the co-referring expression in the modifying sentence, has been replaced with the relative pronoun *who*. The relative clause so formed is placed after the substantive it modifies.

In this example, *he* is the subject of *He hit you*, so we can say we have relativized on the subject. If *he* were the object, as in *You hit him*, we could relativize on the object; the result would be *The man [who(m) you hit] is coming*.

¹These topics are treated in greater detail in Weber [45].

13.1.2. Basic Relativization in Quechua

The simplest sort of Quechua relative clause is formed by the following steps:

1. Use the appropriate substantival form of the transition.
2. Delete the co-referring expression in the modifying sentence (along with any suffixes it might have).
3. Place the clause so formed before the substantive it is to modify.

For example, suppose we wish to modify *runa* in 1136 with 1137 (where it is assumed that *pay* 'he' refers to the man):

1136 *Runa sha-yka:-mu-n.*
man come-impfv-afar-3

'A/The man is coming.'

1137 *Pay qam-ta maqa-shka-shu-nki.*
he you-OBJ hit-perf=>2-2

'He hit you.'

Substituting the appropriate (substantivizing) transition and deleting the co-referring expression, the modifying sentence becomes *qam-ta maqa-shu-q* (you-OBJ hit=>2-sub). Placing this before the substantive to be modified results in 1138:

1138 [*Qam-ta maqa-shu-q*] *runa sha-yka:-mu-n.*
you-OBJ hit=>2-sub man come-impfv-afar-3

'The man who hit you is coming.'

Qamta is optional (the idea of a second person object being adequately indicated by the object marker) and would ordinarily not occur, so more naturally one would say as in 1139:

1139 *Maqa-shu-q runa sha-yka:-mu-n.*
hit=>2-sub man come-impfv-afar-3

'The man who hit you is coming.'

Suppose the modifying sentence is 1140, in which the co-referring expression is an object:

1140 *Qam pay-ta maqa-shka-nki.*
you he-OBJ hit-perf-2

'You hit him.'

The modifying sentence becomes *Qam maqa-sha-yki* (you hit-sub-2P), so the complete sentence is 1141:

1141 [*Qam maqa-sha-yki*] *runa sha-yka:-mu-n.*
you hit-sub-2P man come-impfv-afar-3

'The man whom you hit is coming.'

(Again, one would ordinarily omit *qam* 'you'.)

13.1.3. Choice of Substantivizer

How does one determine which is the appropriate substantivizer? There are two considerations:

1. The grammatical role of the co-referring expression in the modifying sentence. The principle constraint is this: *-q* can only be used when the co-referring expression is the subject of the modifying sentence.
2. The time of the event referred to by the modifying sentence relative to the time of speaking (or the time of the superordinate verb).

The following diagram summarizes the main facts:

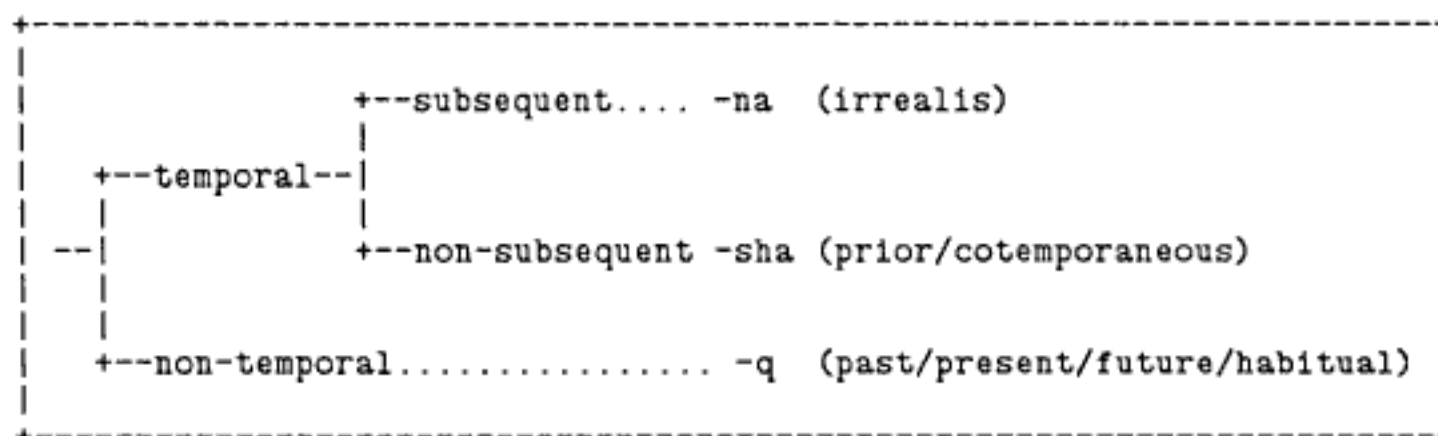


Table 13-1: The Choice of Substantivizer.

Examples follow:

1142 Aywa-ku-na-: hunaq chaya-mu-nqa.
go-ref-sub-1P day arrive-afar-3FUT

'The day that I am to leave, he will arrive.'

1143 Aywa-ku-sha-: hunaq chaya-mu-sha.
go-ref-sub-1P day arrive-afar-3PERF

'The day that I left, they arrived.'

1144 miku-g runa
eat-sub man

'the man who eats [ate/will eat/habitually eats]'

13.1.4. Relative Juxtaposition

Relative juxtaposition is simply placing the modifying clause after the head (i.e., the substantive modified) rather than before it. For example, 1145 and 1146 correspond to 1139 and 1141, respectively:

1145 Runa maqa-shu-q sha-yka:-mu-n.
man hit=>2-sub come-impfv-afar-3

'The man who hit you is coming.'

1146 Runa maqa-sha-yki sha-yka:-mu-n.
man hit-sub-2P come-impfv-afar-3

'The man whom you hit is coming.'

Since case markers in Quechua are attached to a whole substantival phrase, when a modified substantive and the modifying sentence are transposed, the case marker does not move with the head. For example, application of relative juxtaposition to 1147a yields 1147b rather than 1147c:

1147 a. [Maqashoq runa]-ta rikaa.

b. [Runa maqashoq]-ta rikaa.

c. *Runa-ta maqashoq rikaa.

Application to 1148a yields 1148b:

- 1148 a. [Maqashayki runa]-ta rikaa.
 b. [Runa maqashayki]-ta rikaa.

13.1.5. Discontinuous Modifiers

As discussed in section 12.1, the elements of a single noun phrase may occur discontinuously.² When this is the case, each element bears (a copy of) the case marker of the noun phrase. An example involving a relative clause is 1013, p.250.

A few speculative remarks follow regarding the utility of discontinuous modifiers in HgQ. They seem to provide a way to organize a sentence so that it is easier to process. Since HgQ generally observes SOV word order, the verb is often late (i.e., far to the right) in the sentence. Until a hearer/reader identifies the main verb of a sentence or clause, he is unable to integrate its parts. So if adverbs, adverbial clauses, modifiers, complements, etc., always occurred pre-verbally, then the hearer/reader would often face an excessive number of words before finding the main verb. This is seen quite clearly in the reading of newly literate persons: given a long sentence with the verb far toward the end, they are not able to read through the sentence to the main verb.³ So, HgQ affords (among others) the mechanism described above for deferring some of the complexity, so that it follows the verb. For example, compare example 1149, the basic order, with 1150, in which constituents have been moved. I believe that 1150, with the verb (*munan*) as the third word, is substantially easier to process than 1149, with the main verb as the sixth word:

1149 Maria kañi-ma-sha-n allqu-ta qara-y-ta qalla+ri-na-:-ta
 Mary bit=>1-sub-3P dog-OBJ feed-inf-OBJ begin-sub-1P-OBJ
muna-n.
 want-3

'Mary wants me to begin to feed the dog that bit me.'

1150 Maria qalla+ri-na-:-ta muna-n allqu-ta qara-y-ta
 Mary begin-sub-1P-OBJ want-3 dog-OBJ feed-inf-OBJ
 kañi-ma-sha-n-ta.
 bit=>1-sub-3P-OBJ

'Mary wants me to begin to feed the dog that bit me.'

See also examples 1179 and 1180, p.290.

13.2. Participles

Participles are de-verbal substantives that characterize some referent as persisting in some state; in HgQ, three suffixes can be considered to form participles:

²The parts must not interrupt other constituents, but beyond this there seems to be little constraint on where the parts may occur in a sentence.

³They experience what in computational terms is called "stack overflow"; i.e., they cannot keep the various parts active until they are to process them.

1. *-sha* 'prtc' forms past participles: the referent characterized by the participle persists in a state brought about by a prior event/action (as indicated by the verb to which *-sha* is suffixed); see section 13.2.2.
2. *-ni* 'without' forms negative participles: the event/action indicated by the verb to which *-ni* is suffixed is indicated as not having happened, and consequently not having changed the state of the referent characterized by the participle; see section 13.2.3.
3. *-q* 'subordinator' forms active participles (among other ways that *-q* 'sub' is used); the referent characterized by the participle is in the state indicated by the verb from which the participle is formed (sometimes because it is an intrinsic characteristic of that object to be in that state); e.g.:

1151 Tari-n waṅu-yka-g-ta.
find-3 die-impfv-sub-OBJ

'He finds it dying.'

Such cases are not discussed further here; they can be analyzed as either sensory verb complements (section 13.3.2.4) or as relative clauses (section 13.1).

Participles are like relative clauses in that both are substantives, and both may modify other substantives, but they contrast with relative clauses both structurally and semantically. For example, structurally, the participle in example 1152a differs from the relative clause in 1152b by not being followed by a possessive suffix; that these differ semantically can be seen by comparing the glosses:

1152

Uysha-ta tari-shka-:	{	a. waṅu- <u>sha</u> -ta.
sheep-OBJ find-perf-1		die-prtc-OBJ
		b. waṅu- <u>sha-n</u> -ta.
		die-sub-3P-OBJ

a. 'I found the sheep dead.'

b. 'I found the sheep which had died.'

13.2.1. The Syntax of Participles

The facts mentioned in this section apply to all participles, although the examples are all formed with *-sha* 'prtc'.

It is tempting to say that participles may be derived by *-sha* or *-ni* only from verbs that imply some change of state. However, perhaps any verb may imply a change of state; I would not have said that *tiya-* 'live, reside at' could involve a change of state, but it can: a house can (or can not) be in the state of having been lived in (see example 1165).

The referent characterized by a participle need not be the subject or object of the verb from which the participle is formed; in example 1165, the "house" being characterized is the *location* of the event indicated by the verb (*tiya-* 'to live'), from which the participle is formed. I doubt that there are absolute constraints on the roles that the referent characterized may play with respect to the verb from

which the participle is formed.⁴ Nonetheless, there are some strong tendencies. Participles formed by *-sha* show an ergative pattern: if the verb is intransitive, the characterization is with respect to the subject; e.g., *wañu-sha runa* (die-prtc man) 'the man who died'. If the verb is transitive, the characterization is with respect to the object; e.g., *maqa-sha runa* (hit-prtc man) 'the hit man'. Participles formed by *-q* characterize with respect to the subject of the participle.

While participles (like all de-verbal substantives) are formed by the addition of a suffix to a verb, they may be formed from verb phrases; e.g., in 1153 the phrase *qerupita llaqla-* 'hew from wood' is made a participle:⁵

1153 [Qeru-pita llaqla]-sha ka-n numral.
 wood-ABL hew-prtc be-3 lintel
 'It has a lintel hewn from wood.'

When an object forms part of a participle, it may lose its object marker;⁶ e.g., *uchu aqa-sha-wan* (pepper grind-prtc-COM) 'with the ground pepper' rather than **uchu-ta aqa-sha-wan* (pepper-OBJ grind-prtc-COM).

When a participle modifies a substantive, it may precede it, follow it, or occur discontinuously from it; e.g.:

1154 a. *wañu-sha runa-ta*
 die-prtc man-OBJ
 b. *runa wañu-sha-ta*
 man die-prtc-OBJ
 c. *runa-ta ... wañu-sha-ta*
 man-OBJ die-prtc-OBJ
 a,b,c. 'dead man (object)'

However, there seems to be a strong preference for not placing the participle directly before the head.

A participle may be pluralized and may be followed by a case marker; e.g., by *-kuna* 'plur' and *-ta* 'OBJ' in example 1155, and by *-niraq* 'SIM' in example 909 (p.226):

⁴Perhaps the relationship is constrained only by the imagination of the speaker or hearer. (I made this claim Weber [45].) An English example much to the point is a *wind-blown single*; the relationship between *single* and *the wind blew (the ball)* involves considerable interpretation, guided by a knowledge of baseball (that a single is achieved by running to first base after striking the ball and before the other team gets the ball to first base, that one is more likely to achieve this by moving the ball far, etc.), and knowledge of the world (that wind can help move a ball, etc.).

⁵An example from the Quechua of southern Dos de Mayo:
 [Tsay [[atoq miku-sh(qa)] kwerpu-n]]-ta rika-r-shi...
 that fox eat-prtc body-3P-OBJ see-adv-IND
 'Upon seeing those, their fox-eaten bodies...'

⁶This is the only step toward object incorporation taken in these cases; the object and the verb are clearly maintained as distinct words.

1155 ...muna-: chay-naw llaki-sh-kuna-ta allí-ta willa-pa:-na:-paq.
 want-1 that-SIM sad-prtc-plur-OBJ good-OBJ tell-ben-sub-1P-PUR

'...I want (to know) so that I can tell good news to those who are sad like that.'

A participle may be a complement to *ka-* 'be'; e.g.:

1156 Pero ishka-n-pis ka-yka-n mushoq llachapa-n hati-sha
 but two-3P-indef be-impfv-3 new clothes-3P put:on-prtc

ruka-sha.
 change-prtc

'But both of them have put on new clothes, changed into them.'
 (lit. '...are having put on...')

13.2.2. Participles with *-sha* 'prtc'

A participle formed with *-sha* characterizes its referent as being in a state brought about by a prior event/action, that event/action being indicated by the verb from which the participle is formed.

13.2.2.1. Forms of the Participializer *-sha*

-sha 'prtc' is derived from proto-Quechua */-shqa/. Despite the loss of the /q/ in HgQ, this morpheme continues to foreshorten; e.g., *wara:-* 'dawn' followed by *-sha* 'prtc' becomes *warasha* '(having) dawned'.

The /a/ of *-sha* 'prtc' may drop. If the preceding syllable would have been the penultimate (before dropping /a/), then stress is maintained on it; e.g., *kushi-sha* (become:happy-prtc) 'happily' may be pronounced [kushísha] or [kushísh]. If *-sha* 'prtc' would have borne the stress, when /a/ is dropped, the stress shifts to the preceding syllable; e.g., *wañu-sha-ta* (die-prtc-OBJ) 'dead' may be pronounced [wañusháta] or [wañúshta]. The dropping of /a/ will not impede the "pulling" of stress by another morpheme; e.g., *wara-sha-raq* 'dawn-prtc-yet' may be pronounced [warashárax], [waráshrax] (with /a/ dropped and stress shifted to the preceding syllable), or [warashrá:] (with stress pulled by *-raq*). Of course, in cases like *wañu-sha-kuna-ta* (die-prtc-plur-OBJ) 'dead ones', the dropping of /a/ will not affect stress: [wañushakunáta] or [wañushkunáta].

When followed directly by *ka-* 'be', the /a/ of *-sha* 'prtc' is virtually always dropped; e.g., *aywa-sha ka-ra-n* (go-prtc be-past-3) 'he had gone' is pronounced [aywásh káran]. [aywásha káran] is possible but uncommon.

13.2.2.2. Uses of Participles Formed with *-sha*

A common use of participles formed with *-sha* is to express states of mind brought about by some change; e.g., *kushisha* 'happy' from *kushi-* 'become happy' (see example 213, p.64), *llakisha* 'sad' from *llaki-* 'become sad', *haqasha* 'sad, resentful' from *haqa-* 'be sad' (see below), *manchasha* 'frightened, afraid' from *mancha-* 'be

afraid', *machasha* 'drunk, intoxicated' from *macha*:- 'to become intoxicated', *upyasha* 'drunk, intoxicated' from *upya*- 'to drink (something intoxicating)', etc.

1157 ...tari-n ...huk awkis allqu-ta haga-sh-ta.
find-3 one old dog-OBJ turn:sad-prtc-OB

'...they found ... an old dog, very sad.'

Other examples of *-sha*-participles follow:

kacha-ka-sha (release-pass-prtc) 'to have come untied'

kawru-sha 'to be cold to the bone'; e.g.:

1158 Chawra ushma-sha aywa-shka:-kuna kawru-sha-na tanya-wan.
so soak-prtc go-perf-1-plur be:cold-prtc-now rain-COM

'So we went on sopping wet and cold to the bone with the rain.'

qaqa-sha 'united, standing together' (from *qaqa*- 'to be side-by-side'); e.g.:

1159 Miku-n warmi-wan-qa, ishka-n, qaqa-sha.
eat-3 woman-COM-TOP two-3P put:parallel-prtc

'He and the woman eat, the two of them, together (side by side, as one).'

taku-sha or *tallu-sha* 'mixed together' from *taku*- or *tallu*- 'mix'

-sha 'participle' has a special use to indicate that an article of clothing is put on. If the substantive ends in a consonant (e.g., *pantalun* 'pants'), then *-ya*: 'become' precedes *-sha*;⁷ otherwise *-sha* directly follows the substantive; e.g.:

1160 Ollqo-kaq ka-yka-n asul pantalun-ya-sha, yana sapatu-sha
male-def be-impfv-3 blue pants-bec-prtc black shoe-prtc

yana saaku-sh yoraq kamisa-sha yana korbati-sha.
black coat-prtc white shirt-prtc black tie-prtc

'The man had on blue pants, black shoes, black coat, white shirt, and black tie.'

In addition to the ways illustrated above, *-sha* participles are used in certain syntactic constructions. They are used in the formation of the perfect tenses; see section 8.8. For example:⁸

1161 Kanan-qa leetu-ta gaana-shqa-na-mi ka-nchi.
now-TOP suit-OB win-prtc-now-DIR be-12

'Now we have won the suit.'

And they are used in the formation of the "syntactic" passive; see section 11.2. For example:

1162 Rika-sha ka-ra-:.
see-prtc be-past-1

'I was seen.'

⁷Since *-sha* 'prtc' derives from */shqa/, the intervening of *-ya*: would have been necessary to avoid the cluster of three consonants that would have resulted if *-shqa* directly followed a substantive ending in a consonant.

⁸This is one of the rare cases in my corpus where the /q/ of *-shqa* is retained. The text from which it comes was written by an older man.

13.2.3. Negative Participles with *-ni*

Negative participles are formed with *-ni* 'without having'; the event/action indicated by the verb to which *-ni* is suffixed is indicated as not having happened, and consequently not having changed the state of the object characterized by the participle.⁹ For example, in 1163, the speaker persisted in the state of not having eaten (the action of eating not having taken place) when he came:

1163 Miku-ni-lla sha-mu-shka-:.
eat-without-just come-afar-perf-1

'I came without eating.'

In example 1164, he persisted in the state of being dressed (his undressing not having taken place) for the time that he slept:

1164 Lloqti-ku-ni-lla punu-shka-:.
undress-refl-without-just sleep-perf-1

'I slept without undressing.'

In examples 1163 and 1164, the referent characterized by the participle was the logical subject (agent) of the verb from which the participle was formed; 1165a and b show that this is not necessarily so, since in no sense is the house the subject of the verbs 'buy' or 'sell'.

1165 a. Wasi-ta ranti-shka-: tiya-ni-ta.
house-OBJ buy-perf-1 live-without-OBJ

b. Tiya-ni-ta rantiku-sha.
live-without-OBJ sell-3PERF

a. 'I bought the house without anyone having lived in it.'

b. 'He sold it (a house) unlived in (i.e., before anyone lived in it)

Of an incomplete tournament one can say:

1166 Chusku partiidu puklla-ni keera-sha.
four matches play-without remain-3PERF

'Four games were not played (i.e., remained unplayed).'

1167 Chira-ni-man muru-pti-n-qa mana papa wayu-n-chu.
fertilize-without-GOAL plant-adv-3P-TOP not potato produce-3-NEG

'If they plant where it has not been fertilized, the potatoes will not produce.'

1168 ...poqo-n urya-ni-lla-na kaasi.
mature-3 cultivate-without-just-now almost

'...they mature (and produce fruit) almost without our thereafter cultivating them.'

The negative participle of example 1169a is equivalent to the negated participle in 1169b. Note how these differ from the active participle of 1169c:

⁹A negative participle is probably present in most varieties of Quechua B, although it has been little reported. The following is from the department of Pasco:

Llaabi-ni-la ka-ya-n pwerta.
be:locked-without-just be-impfv-3 door

'The door is not locked.'

The form may be different; for Llata (Huánuco) Quechua, Sold [39] (p. 37) gives the following example: *yaku-yni-shqa-qa* water-without-prtc-top 'without water' (Sp. *sin agua*).

- 1169 a. Rika-:ni-naw
 b. Mana rika-sha-naw
 c. Mana rika-q-naw } ka-nki.

a,b. 'You are as though you had not seen it.'
 c. 'You are as one who does not see.'

In example 1170, the participle is equivalent to the relative clause, with the participle as the complement of *ka*- 'be':

- 1170 a. miku-:ni-lla-ta ni-pti-:
 eat-without-just-OBJ say-adv-1P
 b. miku-:ni ka-yka-q-ta ni-pti-:
 eat-without be-impfv-sub-OBJ say-adv-1P
 a,b. 'if I say (that) to those who have not eaten'

The syntax and morphology of negative participles is roughly the same as that of other participles (as discussed in section 13.2.1). The following minor differences have been observed:

1. *-ni* participles are exceedingly infrequent, relative to the frequency of the other participles.
2. *-ni* participles occur less frequently as pre-substantival modifiers than the other participles.
3. *-ni* participles occur less frequently with pre-transition suffixes than the other participles; the only example in this section is 1164.

13.3. Complementation

Substantivized clauses may be the subject, the object, or play some other role (e.g., purpose) in a clause/sentence. They are only summarized here; see Weber [45], chap. 4 for a detailed discussion.

13.3.1. Subject Complements

In example 1171, the bracketed portion is a clause, substantivized by *-na* 'sub'; it is the subject of the clause in which it is embedded:

- 1171 [Millu-na-n] pishi-n.
 wind-sub-3P need-3
 'It needs to be wound.'

13.3.2. Object Complements

A substantivized clause may be the (direct) object of the clause/sentence in which it is embedded. There are various possibilities, now to be discussed.

13.3.2.1. *-na* Complements

When the subject of the object complement is not the same as the subject of the superordinate verb, the appropriate subordinator is *-na*; e.g., in example 1172 the subject of the substantivized clause (the one who is to do the kissing) and the sub-

ject of the main clause (the one who wants the kissing done) are different, and so *-na* is the appropriate substantivizer:

1172 [Mucha-ma:-na-n]-ta muna-n.
 kiss=>1-sub-3P-OBJ want-3
 'He₁ wants him_j to kiss me.'

13.3.2.2. Infinitive Object Complements

When the subject of the object complement is the same as the subject of the superordinate verb, the appropriate subordinator is *-y* 'inf'. These are referred to as infinitive object complements. An example follows:

1173 [Mucha-y]-ta muna-:.
 kiss-inf-OBJ want-1
 'I want to kiss her.'

13.3.2.3. Factive Complements

Another sort of object complement is the factive complement; these are subordinate to verbs like *musya-* 'know' which presuppose the truth of their complement. The appropriate subordinator for factive complements is *-shqa*.

1174 [Qanyan aywa-sha-yki]-ta musya-:.
 yesterday go-sub-2P-OBJ know-1
 'I know that you went yesterday.'

When the complement is "future" (with respect to the superordinate verb), *-na* is used as the subordinator of the complement. Compare examples 1175a and b:

1175
 Mana musya-shka-:-chu achka chaya-mu- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a. } -na \\ \text{b. } -sha \end{array} \right\} -n-ta.$
 not know-perf-1-NEG many arrive-afar- $\left. \begin{array}{l} -n-ta. \\ -3-OBJ \end{array} \right\}$
 'I did not know that so many $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a. were going to arrive.} \\ \text{b. arrived.} \end{array} \right\}$

A "future" complement may also be expressed with a compound tense; e.g., see 383, p.114.¹⁰

13.3.2.4. Sensory Verb Complements

Sensory verb complements report some perceived action. The appropriate subordinator is *-q*; e.g.:

¹⁰In such cases, the main verb of the complement is still substantivized with *-sha* 'sub'. There are perhaps some circumstances in which *-na* may not be used as the subordinator of a factive complement because, since *-na* implies "irrealis," it would contradict the factivity of the complement. To get a "future" meaning in such cases would require using a compound future.

1176 *Rika-shka-*: [Hwan Maria-ta mucha-yka-q]-ta.
 see-perf-1 John Mary-OBJ kiss-impfv-sub-OBJ

'I saw John kissing Mary.'

The logical subject of a sensory verb complement may be coded as the object of the (superordinate) verb of perception. This is discussed in section 12.4.2 above and Weber [45], sec. 4.2.5.2. Compare, e.g., example 1176 with 1177:

1177 Hwan-ta rika-shka-: [∅ Maria-ta mucha-yka-q]-ta.
 John-OBJ see-perf-1 Mary-OBJ kiss-impfv-sub-OBJ

'I saw John kissing Mary.'

Agreement facts show further evidence that the object may be a member of the superordinate clause. In 1178, *rika-* 'see' can be either $3=>3$ as in a, where *qam-ta* (you-OBJ) is the object of *maqa-*, or it can be $3=>2$ as in b, where it is the object of *rika-*:

1178

Hwan qam-ta Tumas maqa-yka-q-ta	{	a. rika-ra-n.
John you-OBJ Tom hit-impfv-sub-OBJ		see-past-3
		b. rika-shu-ra-yki.
		see=>2-past-2

'John saw Tom hitting you.'

Placing a sensory verb complement after the verb while placing its object before the verb seems to make it considerably easier to process (in the same way that moving a relative clause from its head may facilitate processing, as suggested in section 13.1.5 above). For example, compare 1179 and 1180 (in which the bracketed clause is a sensory verb complement):

1179 Maria [noqa Pablu-pa mishi-n-ta qara-yka-q-ta] rika-ra-n.
 Mary I Paul-GEN cat-3P-OBJ feed-impfv-sub-OBJ see-past-3

'Mary saw me feeding Paul's cat.'

1180 Maria noqa-ta rika-ma-ra-n [Pablu-pa mishi-n-ta qara-yka-q-ta].
 Mary I-OBJ see=>1-past-3 Paul-GEN cat-3P-OBJ feed-impfv-sub-OBJ

'Mary saw me feeding Paul's cat.'

Example 1180 seems to be far easier to process than 1179, in large measure, I believe, because the main verb (which is underlined) is the third rather than the sixth word. The interpretation of the main clause early in the sentence provides the hearer/reader with something in terms of which to assimilate the other parts.

13.4. Adverbial Uses of Substantivized Clauses

Substantivized clauses (i.e., clauses that *structurally* are substantives) have a wide range of adverbial uses (i.e., they *function* as adverbs).¹¹ The following list is given to illustrate the range of possibilities.

¹¹Weber [45], chap. 5.

13.4.1. Time

Substantivized clauses may be used to indicate the time of an event/state; e.g.:

- 1181 *chaya-mu-sha-n-pita*
arrive-afar-sub-3P-ABL
'since he arrived'
- 1182 *aru-y-ta usha-sha-n-pita-raq*
work-inf-OBJ finish-sub-3P-ABL-yet
'(some time) after he finished working'
- 1183 *qanra lloqshi-na-n-yaq*
dirty leave-sub-3P-LIM
'until the dirtiness comes off'
- 1184 *mana puydi-sha-n-kama*
not be:able-sub-3P-LIM
'until he was no longer able'
- 1185 *ishkay wata-yoq ka-na-n-yaq*
two year-having be-sub-3P-LIM
'until he is two years old'
- 1186 *Puklla-shun tamya-sha-n-yaq.*
play-12FUT rain-sub-3P-LIM
'Let's play while it is raining.'
- 1187 *aywa-yka-sha-n-chaw*
go-impfv-sub-3P-LOC
'as/while they were going along'
- 1188 *tayta-n chaya-mu-na-n-paq*
father-3P arrive-afar-sub-3P-PUR
'by the time their father returned'

See also example 752, p.203.

13.4.2. Place

Substantivized clauses may be used to indicate the place where an event takes place; e.g.:

- 1189 *punu-sha--chaw*
sleep-sub-3P-LOC
'where I slept'
- 1190 *uchku-sha-nchi:-pa*
hole-sub-12P-GEN
'through where we have made a hole'

13.4.3. Circumstance

Substantivized clauses may be used to indicate the circumstances of an event/state; this includes both the time and place of an event; e.g.:

1191 eskuylla-chaw ka-yka-sha--pita
 school-LOC be-impfv-sub-1P-ABL
 'after/from being in school'

13.4.4. Purpose

There are three types of purpose clause: (1) the common type formed with *-na* 'sub' and *-paq* 'PUR', (2) purpose-motion clauses formed with *-q* 'sub', and (3) negative purpose clauses (which lack an overt negative morpheme).

13.4.4.1. Common Purpose Clauses

The common type of purpose clause is substantivized by *-na* 'sub' and marked with the case marker *-paq* 'PUR'; e.g.:

1192 alli-ta willa-pa:-na--paq
 good-OBJ tell-ben-sub-1P-PUR
 'in order that I tell them good'

13.4.4.2. Purpose Motion Clauses

The purpose motion complement is subordinated by *-q*. It has three restrictions (the first two morpho-syntactic, the third semantic):

1. The subject of the purpose clause must be co-referential to the subject of the superordinate clause.
2. The verb to which it is subordinate must be a motion verb.
3. The event indicated by the purpose clause must be understood as happening at the end point of the path of motion indicated by the superordinate clause.

An example follows:

1193 Hurqu-n-na pampa-q.
 remove-3-now bury-sub
 'They now take him out to bury him.'

Consider example 1194b. It meets both of the first two constraints mentioned above, since (1) the subject of the main and purpose clauses are co-referential, and (2) the superordinate verb *aywa-* is a motion verb. However, it fails the third constraint, because "being absent" does not happen at the place to which the subject went, but at the place from which he went. Thus the purpose-motion construction is not possible in this case.

1194 { a. illa:-ku-na-n-paq.
 be:absent-ref-sub-3P-PUR
 Aywa-sha { b. *illa:-ku-q
 go-3PERF be:absent-ref-sub
 a. 'He went in order to be absent.'

There are apparent exceptions to the condition that the subject of the purpose clause must be co-referential to the subject of the superordinate clause; e.g., in 1195, the subject of the purpose clause is understood as first person, which is the object of the superordinate clause:

1195 Papa alla-q aywa]-chi-ma-sha.
 potato harvest-sub go-caus=>1-3PERF

'He made me go to harvest potatoes.'

In such cases, the purpose clause is sensitive to the subject of *aywa-* 'go' regardless of the fact that, with causativization, that subject becomes an object.

13.4.4.3. Negative Purpose Clauses

In some cases--as illustrated in example 1196--a substantivized clause subordinated by *-na* 'sub' is interpreted as a negative purpose clause, despite the absence of any overt negative morpheme (like *mana* 'not'):

1196 qeshpi-na-n-ta
 escape-sub-3P-OBJ

'so that he won't escape'

1197 atoq miku-na-n-pita
 fox eat-sub-3P-ABL

'lest a fox eat it'

1198 pillchi-pa:-ma:-na-nchi:-pita
 splatter-ben=>1-sub-12P-ABL

'so that it won't splatter on us'

Of course, 1196 could be expressed as a common purpose clause with an overt negative morpheme:

1199 mana qeshpi-na-n-paq
 not escape-sub-3P-PUR

'so that he won't escape'

13.4.5. Result

A clause subordinated with *-q+paq* (-sub+PUR) indicates the result of the event indicated by the superordinate clause; e.g.:

1200 Shikwa-sha paki-q+paq.
 fall-sub break-sub+PUR

'It fell, with the result that it broke.'

1201 Niti-sha wanu-q+paq.
 press-sub die-sub+PUR

'It crushed him, so that (with the result that) he died.'

13.4.6. Reason

A substantivized clause may be used with *-pita* 'ABL' to indicate the reason something was done; e.g.:

1202 maqa-ma-sha-n-pita
 hit=>1-sub-3P-ABL

'because he hit me'

1203 mana rispita-sha-n-pita
not respect-sub-3P-ABL
'because he didn't respect him'

1204 tanya-na-n-pita
rain-sub-3P-ABL
'because it is going to rain'

13.4.7. Manner

A substantivized clause may be used with *-naw* 'SIM' to indicate the manner in which the event indicated by the superordinate clause was done:

1205 Rura-shun rika-sha-:-naw.
do-12IMP see-sub-1P-SIM
'Let's do it like I saw (them do it).'

1206 mana qeshya ka-sha-:-naw
not sick be-sub-1P-SIM
'not like when I was sick'

13.4.8. Hypothetical Comparison

A substantivized clause, in conjunction with *-naw* 'SIM', may be a simile; this is discussed at length in section 10.11.2. Examples follow:

1207 Runa sigaarru-ta muka-q-naw aywa-n achikya achikya achikya-r.
man cigarette-OBJ suck-sub-SIM go-3 flash flash flash-adv
'It (a lightning bug) goes flashing like a man smoking a cigarette.'

1208 Kuntista-pa-n wanu-ra-yka-q-naw.
answer-ben-3 die-stat-impfv-sub-SIM
'He answers as one dying.'

See also example 877, p.221.

13.4.9. Correlation "according as"

A substantivized clause may be used with *-pita* 'ABL' to indicate the correlation of one activity/event with another; e.g.:

1209 Kubra-n finaaru-pa ima-n-pis ka-sha-n-pita.
charge-3 deceased-GEN what-3P-even be-sub-3P-ABL
'He charges according to the wealth of the deceased.'

1210 tapu-ma-sha-n-pita-naw-lla
ask=>1-sub-3P-ABL-SIM-just
'just according as he asked us'

13.4.10. Comparison

A substantive clause may be used with *-pita* 'ABL' to indicate the standard of a comparison; e.g.:

1211 Mas achka-ta gasta-n mayurdoomu gasta-sha-n-pita-qa.
more much-OBJ spend-3 majordomo spend-sub-3P-ABL-TOP

'He spends more than the majordomo spends.'

Chapter 14

ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

This chapter deals with the adverbial clauses formed by the suffixes *-r*, *-shpa*, *-pti*, *-sha*, and the combination *-y+(lla)+pa*. They evidence switch reference phenomena, which will be a major topic in this chapter.

The adverbial clauses discussed in this chapter differ from the adverbial uses of substantivized clauses discussed in section 13.4, which *function* as adverbs but are *structurally* substantives, in two respects. First, a substantive clause used adverbially is always followed by a case marker, whereas the adverbial clauses discussed here never are. Second, the substantive clauses do not evidence switch reference phenomena.

Adverbial clauses of the type discussed here, and the adverbial uses of substantivized clauses, cover many of the same functions; e.g., both can indicate 'reason'. In many cases, I do not discern any reason when or why a speaker chooses to use one or the other.

In some sense, the adverbial clauses formed by *-y+(lla)+pa*, (section 14.4, stand midway between the adverbial uses of substantivized clauses and the adverbial clauses formed with *-r*, *-shpa*, *-pti*. This is because *-y+(lla)+pa* is derived from the substantivizer *-y* 'infinitive' and the case marker *-pa* 'GEN'. But this combination of suffixes is becoming (or perhaps has become) frozen as a single adverbializer, and is treated here as such.

14.1. The Basic Facts

In this section, we address the basic facts about adverbial clauses, particularly as it relates to switch reference.

First, a comment about order: Adverbial clauses usually precede the clause to which they are subordinate, as will be amply seen below, but they may also follow;

e.g., the adverbial clause of 1212 (used as a conditional, see section 14.2) follows the main clause:

1212 Waki-n-kuna kantiina-pita ranti-yka-n [qellay-nin ka-pti-n].
 other-3P-plur store-ABL buy-impfv-3 money-3P be-adv-3P
 'Others buy from the store if they have money (lit., 'if their money is').'

14.1.1. The Adverbial Clause Markers and Switch Reference

Adverbial clauses are formed with an appropriate transition on the clause-final verb; see sections 8.15.1-8.15.3. The adverbial clause markers indicate whether the subject of the subordinate clause is the same as or different from the subject of the superordinate clause. Some must be followed by a possessive suffix, while others may not be followed by a possessive suffix. The subordinators for HgQ are as given in table 14-1:¹

FORM	SUBJECT REFERENCE	POSSESSIVE SUFFIX
-pti	different	required
-shpa	same	required
-r	same	disallowed
-y+lla+pa	same	disallowed
-sha	different	disallowed

Table 14-1: Adverbial Clause Markers.

Consider examples 1213-1215:

- 1213 Maqa-rkU-ma- { a. *pti-n (adv-3P) } hayta-shu-ra-yki.
 hit-thereupon=>1 { b. shpa-n (adv-3P) } kick=>2-past-2P
 b. 'After he₁ hit me, he₁ kicked you.'
- 1214 Maqa-rkU-ma- { a. pti-ki (adv-2P) } hayta-shu-ra-yki.
 hit-thereupon=>1 { b. *shpa-yki (adv-2P) } kick=>2-past-2P
 a. 'After you hit me, he kicked you.'
- 1215 Maqa-rkU-ma- { a. pti-n (adv-3P) } hayta-shu-ra-yki.
 hit-thereupon=>1 { b. *shpa-n (adv-3P) } kick=>2-past-2P
 a. 'After he₁ hit me, he_j kicked you.'

Examples 1213-1215 show the following:

1. *-pti* and *-shpa* both require a following possessive suffix (see 1213b and 1214a).
2. *-shpa* may be used only when the subject of the subordinate clause and that of the superordinate clause co-refer; thus, *-shpa* is acceptable in 1213b because the subjects are the same, but it is not acceptable in either 1214b or 1215b because the subjects of the main and adverbial clauses refer to different individuals.

¹*-yllapa* is given here as disallowing a possessive suffix; see example 1247 for a possible counter-example.

3. When the subject of both the subordinate and superordinate clauses is third person, then *-shpa* is appropriate if they refer to the same person/object (see 1213b), and *-pti* is appropriate if they refer to different persons/objects (see 1214a and 1215a).
4. Neither the subject of the subordinate clause nor that of the superordinate clause need be expressed by an overt substantive phrase.

14.1.2. The Difference Between *-shpa* and *-r*

Example 1216 shows that either *-r* or *-shpa* may be used to form adverbial clauses with a subject the same as the superordinate clause. But note that *-shpa* requires a following possessive suffix (see 1216a), whereas *-r* does not allow one (see 1216c):

1216	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-shpa} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a. } *-\emptyset \\ \text{b. } -n \end{array} \right. \\ \text{-r} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{c. } -\emptyset \\ \text{d. } *-nin^2 \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Maqa-rku-} \\ \text{hit-thereupon-} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{hayta-ma-ra-n.} \\ \text{kick} \Rightarrow 1\text{-past-3} \end{array}$
------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

b,c. 'After he₁ hit him_j, he₁ kicked me.'

There seems to be no appreciable semantic difference between *-r* and *-shpa*; example 1217 shows that the two can be used in completely parallel ways:

1217 [Qam binsi-ma-r noqa-ta miku-ma:-nki] y [noqa
you beat=>1-adv me-OBJ eat=>1-2 and I

binsi-shpa-: qam-ta-pis usha-shayki]
beat-adv-1P you-OBJ-also finish-1=>2FUT

'If you beat me, you will eat me, and if I beat you,
I will finish you.'

Because (a) *-r* does not allow a following possessive suffix, (b) *-shu* '=>2' is generally followed by an explicit second person suffix in the same word, (c) *-shpa* requires a following person marker, and (d) *-shpa-POS* and *-r* are semantically equivalent, 3=>2 same subject adverbial clauses are formed with *-shpa* rather than with *-r*. For example, 1218a is (at very best) marginally acceptable, while 1218b is fully acceptable:

1218	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a. } ?-r \\ \text{b. } \text{-shpa-yki} \\ \text{adv-2P} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Maqa-rkU-shu-} \\ \text{hit-thereupon} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{hayta-ma-ra-n.} \\ \text{kick} \Rightarrow 1\text{-past-3} \end{array}$
------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

'After hitting you, he kicked me.'

14.1.3. *-pti+12* Reduced to *-sha*

Ordinarily, a different subject adverbial clause with a first person plural inclusive subject will be subordinated by *-pti-nchi* (-adv-12). In some cases, however, one

²/ni/ is required following a consonant; see section 23.8.12.

finds instead simply *-sha*, which will be glossed 'prtc' (for 'participle').³ These cases all occur in contexts where it is clear that the subject is 12 'we(inclusive)'. Examples follow:

- 1219 Noqakuna-paq
us(excl)-PUR
- | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| allí-mi ka-yka-n qam-kuna-wan
good-DIR be-impfv-3 you-plur-COM | { | a. ka-rka-yka- <u>sha</u> .
be-plur-impfv-prtc |
| | | b. ka-rka-yka- <u>pti-nchi</u> .
be-plur-impfv-adv-12P |

a,b. 'It is good for us to be with you.'

- 1220 Mayna usha-yka-shwan-na ka-ra-n mana
already finish-impfv-12COND-now be-past-3 not

wiya+ra:-chi-ma-sha-qa.
interrupt-caus=>1-prtc-TOP

'We would have been finishing now if he had not interrupted us.'

- 1221 Kapas ura-yka-sha-qa maña-ku-yka-sha-qa kiki-n
perhaps pray-impfv-prtc-TOP ask-refl-impfv-prtc-TOP self-3P

tininti-pis chiki-ku-yka-r-pis rigi-ku-nqa
lieutenant-even hate-refl-impfv-adv-even believe-refl-3FUT

kapas.
perhaps.

'Perhaps if we pray and ask (God), the lieutenant, in spite of his persecution, will believe.'

- 1222 Qam-ta mana ima-pis qo-ku-shu-nki-chu noqanchi
you-OBJ not what-indef give-refl=>2-2-YN? we(incl)

tallpu-ka-yka-sha-pis?
swamp-pass-impfv-prtc-even

'Doesn't it matter at all to you if we sink?'

See also examples 375 and 376, p.113.

14.1.4. Switch Reference and Subject Inflection

Recall the subject marking anomaly discussed in 8.1.2: in the 3=>2 and 3=>12 transitions, the person or possessive suffix agrees in person with the object, so for

³This phenomenon is not limited to HgQ; the following example is from Pantoja et al. [28] (text 97, line 73):

Noqantsik yuri-ku-tsi-pu-shqa-qa llapa-ntsik-ta-chi
we(incl) appear-refl-caus-ben-prtc-TOP all-12P-OBJ-CNJ

rey wanu-ykU-tsi-ma:-shun.
king die-impact-caus=>1-12FUT

'If we make it (the ring) appear, surely the king will have us all killed.'

This is found in more distantly related Quechua languages as well; the following is from F. Quesada's *Gramática Quechua: Cajamarca-Cañaris* (Ministerio de Educación, Lima, Perú, 1976, p. 88):

Chay puyñu-qa-m paki-ra-n llamka-shqa-qa.
that jug-TOP-DIR break-past-3 touch-prtc-TOP

'That jug broke when/because we touched it.'

example, the combination *-shu-nki* (\Rightarrow 2-2) indicates a second person object and a *third* person subject, despite the person marker's being second person.

Switch reference marking is not sensitive to surface grammatical person marking, but to same or different *referent*. This can be seen in examples 1213 and 1214:

1. The possessive suffix of 1214b is *-(y)ki* '2P' in both the adverbial and main clauses; nevertheless, *-shpa* (same subject) is unacceptable, because these suffixes indicate different referents.
2. The possessive suffixes in the adverbial and main clauses of 1213a are different (third person and second person respectively); nevertheless, *-pti* is not acceptable, because these indicate the same referent.

Again, in example 1223, the subordinate clause is marked as having a same subject, even though the possessive suffixes of the adverbial and superordinate clauses are different. This is, again, because in the system they indicate the same person:⁴

1223 *Maqa-ma-shpa-nchi hayta-shu-ra-yki.*
 hit= \Rightarrow 1-adv-12P kick= \Rightarrow 2-past-2

'After he hit us(incl), he hit you.'

A final example: the possessive suffix of the adverbial clause in example 1224 is second person, but since it follows *-shu* ' \Rightarrow 2' it indicates a third person subject. Similarly, in the main clause, *-yki* '2P' refers to a third person. Consequently, either *-pti* or *-shpa* may be used, with the corresponding meanings of same or different subject:

1224 *Maqa-rkU-shu- hayta-shu-ra-yki.*
 hit-thereupon= \Rightarrow 2 { a. *pti* } -*yki* kick= \Rightarrow 2-pst-2P
 { b. *shpa* }

'After { a. *he_j* } hit you, *he_i* kicked you.'
 { b. *he_i* }

To reiterate: the switch reference system does not work in terms of the superficial person markers, but in terms of the logical subjects.

14.1.5. Switch Reference and Subordination

Switch reference is not defined in terms of the order of clauses (as, say, by reference to the immediately following clause, or to the preceding clause, or to the last clause of the sentence). Rather, it is based on the relation of subordination, i.e., same/different subject is always with reference to the immediately superordinate

⁴Both the subordinate and superordinate clauses have third person subjects, even though the possessive suffixes used are 12P and 2P, respectively.

clause.⁵ Subordination relationships (i.e., what is subordinate to what) are not always obvious; in fact, they are sometimes quite subtle. Although there are some formal constraints, I doubt that it would be possible to define a formal procedure for determining what the subordination relations are, since extra-syntactic considerations sometimes enter into determining the chain of subordination.

Consider example 896, p.224. It is not clear whether the first clause *taripaqnaw kaptin masraqshi* is subordinate to the main clause *qallaykun* or to the infinitive clause *koorriyta*. The following express these two possibilities:⁶

- 1225 a. $[[\text{be:about:to:catch:up}(1)]_{\text{ds}} \text{run}(j)]_{\text{INF}} \text{begin}(j)$
 b. $[\text{be:about:to:catch:up}(1)]_{\text{ds}} [[\text{run}(j)]_{\text{INF}} \text{begin}(j)]$

Either 1225a or 1225b is a plausible structures. However, 1225b is much more semantically plausible. Further, the intervention of the adverb *masraqshi* between the first and second clauses provides evidence (see the next paragraph) that the correct structure for 1217 is 1225b.

There are sometimes formal constraints on what the subordination relations are.

⁵This is true across Quechua dialects. Consider the following example from Cuzco Quechua (from a text recorded by Lorient [27]) where *-qti* means 'adverb, different subject' and *-spa* means 'adverb, same subject':

Manuel-cha-qa phawaylla haykuru-sha-qti-n runa-kuna-taq
 Manuel-dim-TOP quickly enter-impfv-adv-3P man-plural-emphatic
 hap'i-spa tanqayurusha-qti-n Manuel-cha-qa
 grab-adv push-adv-3P Manuel-dimin-TOP
 hap'iparquku-spa llusirqu-sqa t'uqu-manta.
 grab-adv get:out-pst hole-abl

'When, after Manuel quickly entered, the men grabbing pushed him, Manuel grabbing hold (of something) got out of the hole.'

The subordinations are as follows, where M=Manuel and m=men:

$[[[[\text{enter}(M)]_{\text{ds}} \text{grab}(m)]_{\text{ss}} \text{push}(m)]_{\text{ds}} \text{grab}(M)]_{\text{ss}} \text{getout}(M)$

The different subject adverbializer (*-qti*) is used to subordinate the first clause (even though that subject is co-referential to the subject of the main clause) because the first clause is directly subordinate to the second clause, whose subject is different (and not to the main clause). To reiterate, the same/different subject marking is sensitive only to the subject of the immediately superordinate clause.

⁶To indicate subordination relations, labeled bracketing such as the following will be used:

- a. $[A(x)]_{\text{ss}} B(x)$
 b. $B(x) [A(x)]_{\text{ss}}$
 c. $[A(x)]_{\text{ds}} B(y)$
 d. $B(y) [A(x)]_{\text{ds}}$

The subscript "ss" indicates same subjects; "ds" indicates different subjects. A referential index of the subject is given in parentheses. For example, c indicates that A is an adverbial clause whose subject is x; it is subordinate to B, whose subject, y, is different. The subordination of example 1217 would be diagrammed as follows:

$[[\text{beat}(you)]_{\text{ss}} \text{eat}(you)] \text{AND} [[\text{beat}(I)]_{\text{ss}} \text{finish}(I)]$

The subscript "INF" in example 1225 indicates that the bracketed portion is subordinated as an infinitive complement.

For example, certain clitics occur only on constituents of the main clause, so these sometimes provide clues to the subordination relations of a sentence. One such clitic is the so-called "topic marker" *-qa*. Consider example 1226:

1226 Toopa-ykU-chi-pti-n mishi-qa *chash* ni-r
 touch-dir-caus-adv-3P cat-TOP say-adv
 kaara-n-pita-shi runa-ta raska-r usha-yku-n
 face-3P-abl-IND man-OBJ scratch-adv finish-dir-3
 shillu-n-wan.
 fingernail-3P-with

'When he_i caused it to touch him_j, the cat_j, spitting
 (lit. 'saying "chash"'), scratching the man_i in his face,
 damages (lit. 'finishes him_i') with his_j claws.'

In example 1227, c = cat and m = man:

1227 a. [touch(m)]_{ds} [c-qa [[say(c)]_{ss} scratch(c)]_{ss} damage(c)]
 b. [[[touch(m)]_{ds} c-qa say(c)]_{ss} scratch(c)]_{ss} damage(c)

Example 1227a is correct; 1227b is not correct because NP-*qa* does not occur as a constituent of a subordinate clause in HgQ.

14.1.6. Identity or Inclusion Defining Switch Reference

Is strict identity of the subjects of the adverbial clause and the main clause required to use the same subject marking? A test can be made with the first person plural inclusive (12) which includes the speaker, the hearer, and possibly others associated--in the context--with the speaker or hearer. Example 1228 shows that inclusion is not sufficient; despite the subject of the main clause (the speaker) being included in the subject of the adverbial clause (the speaker and the hearer), the switch reference marks these with *-pti* 'adv (different subject)':⁷

1228 Chaya { a. *-r } qoyku-shaq.
 arrive- { b. -pti-nchi } give-1FUT
 -adv-12P

'When we(incl) arrive, I will give it to him.'

In example 1228, the set (we = {I,you}) is in the adverbial clause and the member included in it is in the superordinate clause. What if the set (we = {I,you}) is the subject of the main clause and a member of it is the subject of the adverbial clause? Example 1229 shows that, again in this case, having one subject included in the other is not a sufficient condition for them to be treated as the same subject. (The starred variant is ill-formed in all cases.)

1229 Qam-ta apari- { a. *-r } mana-mi chaya-shun-chu.
 you-OBJ carry { b. -pti-:-pis } not-DIR arrive-12FUT-NEG
 -adv-1P-indef

'Even if I carry you, we will not arrive.'

Thus, *identity* of subjects--and not *inclusion*--is a necessary condition to marking an adverbial clause as having the same subject as the superordinate clause.

⁷Example 1228a is an acceptable way to say 'When I arrive, I will give it to him.'

14.1.7. Switch Reference and *kuyraa* 'be careful lest'

Kuyra: 'be careful lest' is borrowed from Spanish *cuidado*. It takes a complement to indicate whatever it is against which the addressee is cautioned. If the (logical) subject of the complement is the hearer, then subordination is with *-r* 'adv (same subject)', as, e.g., in 1230:

1230 *Kuyra*: *tuni-r!*
 be:careful:lest fall-adv(ss)
 'Be careful lest you fall.'

But if the subject of the complement is not the hearer, then the complement is given as a substantive clause with *-na*, followed by the comitative case marker, as 1231 and 1232 illustrate:

1231 *Kuyra*: *pay pusha-shu-na-yki-wan.*
 be:careful:lest he lead=>2-sub-2P-COM
 'Be careful lest he lead you astray.'

1232 *Kuyra*: *kiru-yki-ta paki-na-n-wan.*
 be:careful:lest tooth-2P-OBJ break-sub-3P-COM
 'Be careful lest it break your tooth/teeth.'

Kuyra: is the only verb in HgQ (of which I am aware) that can take a same subject adverbial clause but not a different subject adverbial clause. (I take this as a highly idiosyncratic property of *kuyraa*.)

14.1.8. Other Switch Reference Mechanisms

Switch reference is primarily a feature of adverbial clauses formed with *-r*, *-shpa*, and *-pti*. However, there are other phenomena that serve to indicate a change of referent, among them the following:

- infinitivalization: the subjects of the infinitive clauses must be the same whereas those of *-na*-complements must be different (see sections 13.3.2.1 and 13.3.2.2)⁸
- overt pronouns; see section 12.4.2

14.2. The Uses of Adverbial Clauses

An adverbial clause may be related to the superordinate clause either temporally or logically.

Many temporal relationships can be expressed; e.g.:

while/during; e.g.:

1233 *Aywa-ra-yka-r* *parla-shun.*
 go-stat-impfv-adv converse-12IMP
 'Let's converse as we go along.'

immediately thereupon; e.g.:

⁸Adverbs formed with *-y+lla+pa* also respect a same subject condition, as described in section 14.4.

1234 Miku-rku-r aywa-ku-shaq.
eat-asp-adv go-refl-1FUT
'I will go right after I eat.'

before; e.g.:

1235 Mana-raq sha-mu-r arma-ku-y.
not-yet come-afar-adv bathe-refl-2IMP
'Bathe before you come!'

Which time relation is understood can be influenced by the pre- and post-transition suffixes of the adverbial clause. For example, *-ra-yka:-* (state-impfv) in the adverbial clause (as in 1233) biases the interpretation toward 'while', and *-rkU* 'asp' (as in 1234) biases it toward 'thereupon', as a natural consequence of the aspectual meaning of those suffixes. (This is discussed in more detail in section 9.4.6.)

The logical interclausal relations which may be indicated by an adverbial clause include (perhaps among others) the following:

reason; e.g.:

1236 Chiki-ma-r-qa maqa-ma-n.
hate=>1-adv-TOP hit=>1-3
'He hits me because he hates me.'

concession/adversative; e.g.:

1237 Chay-naw ni-ma-pti-n-pis simri aywa-shaq.
that-SIM say=>1-adv-3P-indef always go-1FUT
'Even though he told me that, I still intend to go.'

condition; e.g.:

1238 Shamu-pti-ki qo-yku-shayki.
come-adv-2P give-impact-1=>2FUT
'If you come, I will give it to you.'

Again, which relation is understood can be influenced by the pre- and post-transition suffixes used with the adverbial clause. For example, *-pis* 'indef' on the adverbial clause (as in 1237) biases the interpretation toward 'adversative/concession', while *-qa* 'TOP' biases it toward 'reason'.

Adverbial clauses are also used as a cohesive device (section 14.6.1).

14.3. Adverbialization in Relation to Other Processes

This section explores the interaction of adverbial clause formation (with switch reference) and other syntactic processes. It will be argued that in some cases adverbial clauses are within the scope of the morphemes which form (a) causatives (section 14.3.1), (b) substantive clauses (14.3.2), and (c) reciprocals (14.3.3).

14.3.1. Causativization

Compare examples 788 (p.208) and 1239:

1239 \bar{N} aka-r qoya:-chi-ma-n.
suffer-adv abide-cause=>1-3

'He causes me to pass time suffering.' (favored reading)
'He suffers in causing me to pass time.'

Example 788 is straightforward in respect to the marking of adverbial clause: the "pickers" and those who "cause to dry" are the same persons, and hence the use of *-r* 'same subject'.

Example 1239 seems to counter the claim that *-r* is used when the subjects of both the subordinate and superordinate clauses is the same, since the one who suffers and the one who causes the suffering are two different persons. It is understandable, though, if one allows adverbialization (with switch reference marking) to apply before causativization, when adverbialization can make reference to the subject of *qoya:-* 'abide/pass time'. (The result would be something like example 1240a.) Subsequently, causativization makes the subject of *qoya:-* become the object. The bracketing reflects this in 1240:

1240 a. HE CAUSES [naka-r qoya:- subject:I]

b. [naka-r qoya:] -chi-ma-n.
suffer-adv abide-cause=>1-3

'He causes me to pass time suffering.'

For a similar case involving infinitive object complements, see example 6 (p.12) and the accompanying discussion. For a case involving the purpose motion construction, see example 1195 (p.293).

14.3.2. Substantivization

Adverbial clauses may be within the scope of substantive clauses. In example 1241, the subject of the adverbial clause (*utikar*) is co-referential to the subject of the (substantivized) purpose clause (*hamakunaapaq*): both refer to the speaker. The subject of the main clause, the chair, is not co-referential to the subject of *utikar*:

1241 \bar{U} tika-r hamaku-na:-paq-mi kay sillaeta (kaykan).
tire-adv rest-sub-1P-PUR-DIR this chair (it:is)

'This chair is for me to rest on when I get tired.'

If the structure were as in 1242b, then *-r* 'adv (same subject)' would be used for different subjects (the speaker and the chair), contrary to its meaning. The correct structure is 1242a:

1242 a. [[TIRE(I)]_{SS} REST(I)]_{PURPOSE} BE(chair)

b. [TIRE(I)]_{SS} [[REST(I)]_{PURPOSE} BE(chair)]

Similarly, in 1243, adverbialization--with switch reference considerations--occurs within the scope of the formation of the purpose clause. There are two cases. First, *in firnuman aywar* 'going to the inferno' is subordinate to *asta-* 'whip'; they have the same subject and thus *-r* 'adv (same subject)' is the appropriate adver-

bializer. Second, *kañiptin* 'if they bite' is subordinate to *asta-* 'to whip'; they have different subjects, so *-pti* 'adv (different subject)' is the appropriate adverbializer. Note that *kañikuq allqukunata* is the object of *asta-* 'whip', and thus, is not part of the adverbial clause *allqukunata kañiptin*.

1243 Chay-ta wata-pa-n [[infirmu-man aywa-r]
 that-OBJ tie-to:him-3 inferno-GOAL go-adv(ss)
 [kañiku-q allqukuna-ta kañi-pti-n] asta-ku-na-n-paq].
 bite-sub dogs-OBJ bite-adv(ds)-3P whip-refl-sub-3P-PUR
 'They tie that to him so that as he goes to the inferno,
 if they attack him, he can whip the biting dogs.'

The purpose clause can only be analyzed as follows:

1244 [[go to the inferno]_{SS} biting dogs
 [if they bite]_{ds} he whip]_{PURPOSE}

14.3.3. Reciprocal Formation

-nakU 'reciprocal' restricts reference in the following way: for every entity referred to by the subject, the relationship expressed by the predicate holds between that entity and every other entity referred to by the subject. For example, *maqa-naku-nchi* (hit-recip-12) is interpreted as HIT(you,me) AND HIT(me,you). (See section 9.6.2 for a fuller discussion and other examples.)

Now consider example 1245:

1245 Mayqa-nchi:-si mas:naw:puntata chaya-r miku-naku-shun.
 which-12-indef first arrive-adv eat-recip-12
 'Whichever of us(incl) arrives first will eat the
 other.' (lit. 'Whichever of us arrives first, we
 will eat each other.')

The only way to understand example 1245 is to consider that adverbialization (along with switch reference marking) is within the scope of the reciprocal.⁹ Example 1245 is understood as the following propositions:

[[([If x arrives first]_{SS} x eat y) where x=me and y=you]
 AND

[[([If x arrives first]_{SS} x eat y) where x=you and y=me]

Therefore the scope of the reciprocal includes the entire conditional:

1246 [[([If x arrives first]_{SS} x eat y)-RECIPROCAL where x={you,me}]

Indeed, 1245 clearly means that it is the relation of eating the other on the condition of arriving first which holds reciprocally between the speaker and the hearer, and not the relation of mutually eating one another!

To conclude, adverbial clauses are sometimes within the scope of reciprocals.

⁹Some Quechua speakers have judged 1245 to be marginal--although the more they think about it the more they accept it. I assume that it is acceptable, since it is from a tape-recorded story by a native Quechua speaker.

14.4. Adverbial Clauses Derived by *-y(+lla)+pa*

A clause formed by substantivizing with *-y* 'inf' and then followed by *-pa* 'GEN' may be used adverbially. In rare cases, a possessive suffix may come between *-y* 'inf' and *-pa* 'GEN'; e.g.:

1247 Mana musya-y-ni:-pa willa-shka-: llapan-ta...
not know-inf-1P-ADV tell-perf-1 all-OBJ

'Unwittingly (lit 'not knowing') we told him everything...'

This mechanism for forming adverbial clauses via substantivization has given rise in HgQ to another same subject adverbializer: *-y...-pa* without a possessive suffix. Because *-lla* 'just' frequently comes between *-y* and *-pa*, I will write *-y(lla)pa* and treat this combination as a single suffix, one which forms adverbial clauses. It will be glossed simply as 'adv'. I will also write *-y+pa* 'adv' and *-y+lla+pa* 'adv'; whether *-lla* 'just' occurs seems to make little appreciable difference in meaning.

The subjects of adverbial clauses formed by *-y+lla+pa* are co-referential to the subject of the clause in which they occur. This is due to the infinitive marker *-y*, from which *-y+lla+pa* is derived. Only in the rare cases where the infinitive is followed by a possessive suffix would the subject of an infinitive clause not be co-referential to the subject of the superordinate clause.

In most cases, *-y(lla)pa* derives one-word adverbs; but as examples 1248-1250 show, they may be longer (and thus, *-y(lla)pa* cannot be considered simply a derivational suffix).

1248 ...kuchu-nchi ... [ruri-n ka-q-ta mana daana-y+lla+pa].
cut-12 inside-3P be-sub-OBJ not damage-adv

'...we cut it, ... not damaging that which is inside.'

1249 Wakin runa-kuna [mana tistamintu-ta rura-y+lla+pa] wanu-n.
other man-plur not will-OBJ make-adv die-3

'Other people die without making a will.'

1250 ...arma-ku-n [pushillu-wan hana-n-man wiña-ku-y+lla+pa].
bathe-refl-3 mug-COM top-3P-GOAL pour-refl-adv

'...they bathe, pouring water over themselves with a cup.'

Adverbial clauses formed by *-y+lla+pa* are used most frequently to express "manner" or "means," though their use runs considerably beyond these. We will now sketch the range of uses of these adverbs.

14.4.1. Manner

In the following cases, the adverbial clause formed by *-y(lla)pa* indicates the manner of the action of the superordinate clause:

1251 Weqru-y+lla+pa puri-nki.
limp-adv walk-2

'You walk limpingly.'

- 1252 Wenqu-y+pa aywa-yka-n yaku.
twist-adv go-impfv-3 water
'The water is going along twisting (whirlpools).'
- 1253 ...aywa-na-nchi:-paq llalli-naku-y+pa.
go-sub-12P-PUR race- recip-adv
'...so that we can go racing.'
- 1254 Tapri-y+pa tupa-y+pa usha-yku-n.
tip-adv knock-adv finish-impact-3
'He is knocking it this way and that.'
- 1255 Wanu-chi-sha illapa-y+pa.
die-caus-3PERF shoot-adv
'He killed it, shooting it.'
- 1256 ...pampa-pa koorri-y+lla+pa.
ground-GEN run-adv
'(go)... running along the ground.'
- 1257 ronka-y+lla+pa punu-
snore-adv sleep-
'to sleep snoring'
- 1258 shawata-y+pa apa-
carry:over:shoulder-adv take-
'to carry hung over the shoulder (something like a bag with a strap)'
- 1259 Rima-naku-y+pa parla-n.
speak- recip-adv converse-3
'They converse arguing.'
- 1260 Noqa apari-y+pa apa-shayki.
I carry:on:back-adv take-1=>2FUT
'I will take you by carrying you on my back.'

See also examples 549 and 550 (p.157), 694 (p.192), 1322 (p.324), and 811 (p.211).

The adverbial clause of example 1261 indicates the manner of resting:

- 1261 Chay-ta kumli-rku-r simri hama-n huk wata ishkay wata
that-OBJ finish-asp-adv always rest-3 one year two year
[mana ima awturidaa-pis ka-y+lla+pa].
not what authority-indef be-adv
'Having finished that, they rest a year or two, not being any authority.'

In examples 1262-1265, the action of the main clause was carried out in a manner that concealed it from someone else:

- 1262 ...yupa-pa-n chawra-qa llulla-pa-y+lla+pa.
count-ben-3 so-TOP lie-ben-adv
'...so he counts them for him, deceptively.'
- 1263 Paka-y+pa rura-sha
hide-adv do-3PERF
'He did it on the sly (hiddenly).'

1264 Tayta-n-ta mama-n-ta mana musya-chi-y+lla+pa
 father-3P-OBJ mother-3P-OBJ not know-caus-adv

paka-y+lla+pa puri-paa-naku-n.
 hide-adv walk-ben-recv-3

'Not letting their parents know, they get together hiddenly.'

1265 ...wasi-n-man pusha-ku-n mana pi-ta-pis willa-pa-y+lla+pa.
 house-3P-GOAL lead-refl-3 not who-OBJ-indef tell-ben-adv

'...he leads her to his house without telling anyone.'

See also example 515, p.150.

In the following cases, an adverb formed with *-y(lla)pa* is immediately followed by the superordinate verb expressing the result of the action expressed by the adverb:

qasha-y+pa kuchu- (slash-adv cut-) 'to cut slashing'

roqo-y+pa paki- (rip-adv break-) 'to part tearing'

shenqa-y+pa wañu- 'to die drowning'; e.g.:

1266 Mayu-chaw shenqa-y+pa-na-shi wañu-n ataq.
 river-LOC drown-adv-now-IND die-3 fox

'The fox dies drowning in the river.'

By contrast, in example 1267 the adverbial clause formed by *-y(lla)pa* seems to express the result of the action expressed in the superordinate clause: the main clause expresses breaking; the adverbial clause expresses that this did not result in a clean break.

1267 Mana qasha-y+pa rachi-sha-chu.
 not slash-adv break-3PERF-NEG

'It did not break cleanly (i.e., it did not part with a smooth motion, leaving a smooth edge).'

14.4.2. Means

Adverbs formed by *-y(lla)pa* may indicate the means by which the action/event of the superordinate clause was accomplished; e.g., in 1268 the condor was able to survive the cold by thawing out his feet (under the fox's tail):

1268 Y kondor-qa chaki-n-ta chulla-chi-pa-y+lla+pa
 and condor-TOP foot-3P-OBJ melt-caus-ben-adv

awanta-yka-n qasa-y-ta hanka-chaw.
 tolerate-impfv-3 be:cold-inf-OBJ peak-LOC

'And the condor, by thawing his feet, survived the cold on the snow-capped peak.'

Other examples follow:

1269 ...tinku-chi-nchi chawpi qasha-sha-nchi:-man qasha-y+lla+pa.
 meet-caus-12 middle slash-sub-12P-GOAL slash-adv

'...by slashing, we make it (the cut) meet the one we slashed down the middle.'

1270 Uma-lla-n-ta-shi kañi-y+lla+pa horqo-ku-ri-n mishi.
 head-just-3P-OBJ-IND bite-adv remove-refl-asp-3 cat

'The cat takes his head off by biting it.'

1271 Llachapa-n-kuna-ta taqsha-ku-n yaku-ta timpu-rI-ykU-chi-r
 clothes-3P-plur-OBJ wash-refl-3P water-OBJ boil-asp-asp-caus-adv

qasa-q yaku-wan tibya-pa-y+lla+pa.
 be:cold-sub water-COM luke:warm-bec-adv

'They wash their clothes, having boiled water, mixing it with cold water to make it luke warm.'

See also examples 1487 (p.356) and 1334 (p.326).

14.4.3. Other Uses

In this section, various other uses of adverbial clauses formed with *-y(lla)pa* are illustrated. In example, 1272 the adverbial clause expresses the color that something shines, i.e., 'it shines blue-ly':

1272 Nina-naw hana-n-kuna achikya-n asul-ya-y+lla+pa.
 fire-SIM top-3P-plur shine-3 blue-bec-adv

(describing a type of light-emitting worm): 'Its top shines blue like a flame.'

In 1273, the adverbial clause expresses the color of a skirt:

1273 ...qarcha-y+lla+pa rahi-sha qarwash-wan puka raya raya
 drag-adv skirt-prtc yellow-COM red line line

'...dressed in a red and yellow striped skirt.'
 (lit. 'skirted stripedly, red and yellow, line line')

In example 1274, the adverbial clause formed by *-y(lla)pa* expresses the length of time (into the evening) of the event expressed by the main clause (stay, pass time):

1274 Lunis hunaq-pis puri-yka-r qoya-n tardi-pa-y+pa-na-qa.
 monday day-even walk-impfv-adv pass:time-3 late-bec-adv-now-TOP

'They pass Monday walking about until it gets late (in the evening).'

Similarly, the adverbial clauses of examples 1275 and 1276 indicate that the event/action of the superordinate clause is carried out unceasingly:

1275 ...beela-qa rata-yka:-na-n mana pishi-y+pa.
 candle-TOP burn-impfv-sub-3 not be:lacking-adv

'...a candle should be burning unceasingly/constantly.'

1276 ...mana ultimu chawa-y+pa.
 not final complete-adv

'...never ending/never coming to completion.'

In examples 1277-1279, the adverbial clause formed by *-y(lla)pa* indicates the direction of motion or orientation of the action/event expressed in the superordinated clause:

1277 ...ura-y+pa aywa-shun.
 go:down-adv go-12IMP

'...let's go downhill.'

1278 Atoq-shi ura-y+pa apuraado koorri-na-n-paq...
 fox-IND go:down-adv fast run-sub-3P-PUR

'The fox, in order to run fast downhill...'

- 1279 Ama ukpa-y+pa. Tiyachi-y+pa tiyachi-y.
 not be:inverted-adv put:upright-adv put:upright-2IMP
 'Not upside down. Set it upright.'

The adverbial clause of example 1280 seems to be a complement to *qallay*- 'begin':

- 1280 ...qalla-yku-nchi [maki-n chaki-n moqo-n-pita kuchillu-wan
 begin-asp-12 foot-3P hand-3P joint-3P-ABL knife-COM
 kuchu-pa-y+lla+pa].
 cut-ben-adv
 '...we begin cutting from the joints of its forelegs and hind
 legs with a knife.'

14.4.4. Reduplication with -y(+lla)+pa 'adv'

Subordination with *-y+lla+pa* may serve as the mechanism by which a verb is reduplicated, i.e., a verb *V* (either root or stem) can be reduplicated as *V-y(lla)pa V-*. (This is dealt with further in chapter 15.) Examples follow:

- 1281 Y punta wash+waqta-n-pa ura-y+pa ura-nchi.
 and ridge far+back-3P-GEN go:down-adv go:down-12
 'And we go down on the backside of the ridge.'
 1282 ...usha-y+pa usha-r kanta-nki...
 finish-adv finish-adv sing-2
 '...crow again and again without ceasing...'

See also the examples in section 15.3.2, which deals with this type of reduplication.

14.5. Dialect Differences in Use of Adverbial Clauses

Across Quechua dialects there are differences in the switch reference systems. Here I will consider differences between HgQ and HzQ (Huaraz Ancash Quechua, another Quechua B dialect far to the west).

First, In HgQ, *-r* does not allow a following possessive person marker, but *-shpa* requires one. In HzQ, almost the opposite condition holds. According to Swisshelm [40] (sec. 0.6332) *-shpa* does not allow a following possessive marker, while *-r* allows, but does not require, one.¹⁰ Swisshelm gives the following examples: *maqa-ma-r-niki* (hit=>1-adv-2P) 'upon my hitting you', *maqa-ma-r-ni*: (hit=>1-adv-1P) 'upon your/his hitting me'. Note that the person marker which may follow *-r* in HzQ refers to the object of the verb, rather than to the subject (as in the person marker which follows HgQ *-shpa*).

¹⁰Peter Cole (personal communication) informs me that this may not be correct. According to Cole, *-rnin* alternates freely with *-r*, and does not involve third person; he gives the following example (where *-rnin* is used with a first person subject):

Chaya-mu-rnin Fuan-ta rika-rqu-:.
 arrive-afar-adv(ss) John-OBJ see-past-1

'Upon arriving I saw John.'

Swisshelm [40] (fn. 24) says that "*-nin* may also be used instead of *-ni:* in the 2=>1 and 3=>1 forms" (translation mine--DJW).

Second, whereas in HgQ the complements of phasal verbs ('begin', 'continue', 'finish', etc.) are infinitives, in HzQ they are subordinated by *-r*. Thus the difference:

1283 HgQ: aru-y-ta usha- (work-INF-OBJ finish)

HzQ: yapy-a-r usha- (work-adv(ss) finish)

'to finish working'

This is not the case for complements to non-phasal verbs; in both HgQ and HzQ, an infinitive object complement would be used for expressions like the following (with the difference that HzQ allows a possessive person marker following the infinitive and HgQ does not):

1284 Maqa-ma-y-(ni:)-ta muna-n.

hit-=1-INF-(1P)-OBJ want-3

'He wants to hit me.'

Third, in certain temporal adverbial expressions it seems that an adverbial clause is used as the modifier of a temporal head (looking--except for the subordinator--like a relative clause). An example (from Pantoja et al. [28] (Vol. 2, p. 376, line 65)):

1285 qo-ri-ya-pti-n ora
give-asp-plural-adv-3P time

'when he arrived'

14.6. Discourse Function of Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are important to the implementation of two discourse notions: "recapitulative" adverbial contribute to the cohesiveness of a discourse (section 14.6.1) and very long sentences ("mega-sentences"), formed by chaining adverbial clauses, mark the peak of a folk tale/narrative (section 14.6.2).

14.6.1. Recapitulative Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses formed with *-r* and *-pti* play a major role in giving discourse cohesion. An adverbial clause often recapitulates--in a very summary way--the contents of the preceding sentence. The resultant pattern is as follows:

A happened. A having happened, B happened. B having happened,...

For example, 1286 is a familiar pattern:

1286 ...mikuran. Mikurkur, ...
eat-past-3 eat-asp-adv

...he ate. Having eaten,...

We will refer to such adverbial clauses as recapitulative adverbial clauses.

The verb of the recapitulating adverbial clause need not be identical to the main verb. There are two common cases: First, the recapitulating clause has some sort of "pro-verb." In some cases this is *ni-* 'say', even though the action/event it recapitulates is not one of speaking. For example, one text begins: 'One day a man was working his plot with his team', and continues:

1287 *Ni-yka-pti-n-shi* *chaya-pa-rku-n* *ukumarya.*
 say-impfv-adv-3P-IND arrive-ben-asp-3 bear

'As he was doing so (lit. 'saying'), there arrived a bear.'

Of course *ni-* 'say' cannot be taken literally in 1287; it is a pro-verbal form referring to the man's plowing.¹¹

Second, the recapitulating adverbial may indicate a related event; e.g., "going" can be recapitulated by its completion, namely "arriving":

1288 ...*Pillku-man* *aywa-ra-n.* *Chaya-rku-r...*
 Pillku-GOAL go-past-3 arrive-asp-adv

'...he went to Pillku. Upon arriving, ...'

The adverbial clause does not recapitulate the action of going, but it does directly relate to it in that it states the terminal point of the going, and thus indirectly recapitulates the "going". (Note: it sounds exceedingly strange to the Quechua ear to hear something like "John went to the store and bought a shirt." Rather one says--in Quechua--"Having gone to the store, John bought a shirt" or "John went to the store. Having arrived, he bought a shirt." Quechua seems to have an intense preoccupation with getting people to where they are going.)

The recapitulating adverbial clause need not immediately follow the clause/sentence that it recapitulates. In example 1638 (p.385), it is separated from it by 110 words of explanatory (background) material. Indeed, the function of the recapitulative adverbial of 1638b is to return to the spatial/temporal orientation of 1638a, which is suspended in the intervening material.

The reader may get the impression that adverbial clauses are used exclusively for recapitulating prior assertions. That is not the case; an adverbial clause may bear new information. A speaker may make many of his primary assertions in the form of adverbial clauses. (This is certainly constrained by many factors.) Indeed, sometimes it seems that adverbialization is simply the mechanism for conjoining two clauses.¹² For example, rather than say "John came home and went to bed," the Quechua speaker is more likely to say "Having come home, John went to bed," making one clause an adverbial.

The mechanism of adverbial clauses allows the speaker to tailor his text to his hearer, balancing factors of the rate of information flow and thematicity.

Let us consider various alternatives. Using "[X]_{ss/ds}" to symbolize an adverbial clause with same or different subject marking, 1289 shows three alternatives (among others) for organizing four clauses, A, B, C, and D:

¹¹The use of *ni-* 'say' as a "pro-verb" in recapitulative adverbial clauses has given rise to one of the most common "links" (i.e., sentence initial words which provide a juncture to the preceding sentence). This is *nirkur*, which might be glossed 'then, thereupon'. Historically, it was certainly *ni-rku-r* (say-aspect-adv), but it is now taken as a single word.

¹²Sometimes the choice of which clause is to be main and which is to be subordinate seems quite arbitrary.

1289 a. A. B. C. D...

b. A. [A]_{SS/ds}, B. [B]_{SS/ds}, C. [C]_{SS/ds}, D...

c. [[[A]_{SS/ds} B]_{SS/ds} C]_{SS/ds} D...

1289a may result in a very disjointed text, where the hearer is given no help in getting from one sentence to the other. If 1289b is followed to an extreme, i.e., too many recapitulative clauses are introduced, then the text becomes tedious and "talks down" to the hearer ("as though to a child"). One can equally go overboard in the direction of 1289c: the speaker packs too much into a single sentence by subordinating within subordinate clauses. Consequently, the text becomes difficult to understand. (But 1289c is appropriate at the peak of an episode; see section 14.6.2.)

Not surprisingly, a fair amount of the editing which must be done to get from colloquial speech to good written Quechua (or the other way around) involves the juggling of the possibilities afforded by "recapitulating" adverbial clauses.

14.6.2. Mega-Sentences

The second discourse role of adverbial clauses is in the formation of appropriately long sentences used at critical points in the discourse. Typically, at the peak of an episode in a Quechua story there is a "mega-sentence" like example 1290, which involves a great deal of subordination, mainly adverbial clauses:

1290 Chawra-ga salteador-kuna-ga "Ima-taq chay tuni-yka:-mu-n?"
then-TOP highwayman-plur-TOP what-?? that fall-impfv-afar-3

ni-r-shi qeshpi-r aywaku-sha llapan qellay-nin-ta
say-adv-IND flee-adv go-3PERF all money-3p-OBJ

yupa-yka-sha-n-ta kacha-riyku-r.
count-impfv-sub-3p-OBJ leave-aspect-adv

'The highwaymen, saying "What is that falling on us?" left fleeing, leaving behind all their money which they had counted.'

The structure is as follows (where h = highwaymen):¹³

So-ga h-ga [*...* say(h)]-shi_{SS} [flee(h)]_{SS} go(h) [leave(h,money)]_{SS}

While mega-sentences usually involve adverbial clause formation to achieve length and complexity, other subordination mechanisms come into play as well. For instance, example 1291a is a mega-sentence at the climax of a folk tale which uses a purpose clause (the bracketed portion) to achieve complexity. Note that the anticlimax (1291b-1291d) is a series of very short, disjointed sentences:

¹³Because -ga occurs only on constituents of a main clause, we know that *salteadorkunaqa* 'the highwaymen' is the subject of *aywakusha* 'they went' rather than the subject within one of the subordinate clauses.

- 1291 a. Atoqshi [uraypa apuraado koorrinanpaq] chupanman ruyru rumita watakurkun.
b. Y rumi apakurkur aywakun.
c. Mayuyaq paasachikun.
d. Wanushanashi.
e. Chayasha mayuman atoq.
f. Sapo gaanasha apustita atoqta.
- a. 'And the fox, in order to run downhill fast, tied a round stone to his tail.'
b. 'And taking the stone, he went.'
c. 'It made him pass on into the river.'
d. 'He died.'
e. 'The fox arrived at the river.'
f. 'The frog won the bet with the fox.'

Chapter 15

REDUPLICATION

"Reduplication" is used here to refer to any process which involves the repetition of an element--either identically or in a highly similar form, and possibly accompanied by other suffixes--to form a composite element.¹ It is often but not always the case that the meaning of that composite differs systematically as a function of the meaning of the repeated element.

This discussion is organized in terms of what sort of unit is reduplicated and by what mechanism:

- reduplication in the formation of lexical items (15.1 and 15.4)
- reduplication of nonverbal words (15.2)
- cases in which the first occurrence of the element is subordinate to the second as an adverbial clause (15.3)
- cases in which the first occurrence of the reduplicated element is an incomplete verb stem (15.5)
- cases in which both occurrences of the reduplicated element are finite verbs (15.6)
- reduplication of infinitives (15.7)

15.1. Reduplication Within Lexical Items

Many lexical items transparently involve the reduplication of some element; e.g.:

machamacha 'a wild berry (reputed to make one dizzy or drunk)', cf.
macha- 'to be drunk'

pakapaka 'a species of bird (regarded as a bad omen)', cf. *paka-* 'hide'

Many other lexical items suggest reduplication, but less transparently than these. The interested reader is referred to Willem Adelaar's [1] careful treatment of such cases in his grammar of Tarma Quechua.

¹I recognize that "reduplication" traditionally refers to a narrower set of phenomena; as I am using it to refer to any grammatically significant repetitions.

15.2. Reduplication of Simple Words

Nonverbal words may be reduplicated in various ways:² Words may simply be repeated (15.2.1), they may be repeated with *-n* following each word (15.2.2), and they may be repeated with a case marker following each word (15.2.3).

15.2.1. Word-Word Reduplication

Substantives which refer to a property of an object may be reduplicated to indicate various occurrences of that property; e.g.:

mukru-mukru 'uneven (part thin, part thick; e.g., wool which has been spun unevenly)' cf. *mukru* 'a small ball' (e.g., a lump of food)

kapti-kapti '(of the edge of cloth): fluted, pinked' from *kapti* 'a small cut in the edge';³ e.g., *taksha kapti kapti* (small cut cut) 'fine fluted edge'

raya raya 'striped' from *raya* 'line'; e.g.,

1292 qarwash-wan puka raya raya
yellow-COM red line line

'red and yellow (alternating) stripes'

Quantifiers may be reduplicated, in which case the expression so formed indicates an approximation to the quantity expressed in the quantifier. (These are frequently followed by *-lla* 'just'.) For example:

wallka-wallka-lla 'roughly a few' from *wallka* 'few'

ichik-ichik-lla 'few, a little bit' from *ichik* 'small'

mas mas-lla 'just a bit more than, roughly' from *mas* 'more'; e.g.:

1293 ...uchku-n ruri-ta huk runa ichi-y altu-ta
dig-3 inside-OBJ one man stand-inf tall-OBJ

mas mas-lla-ta.
more more-just-OBJ

'...they dig down just a little more than the height of a man standing.'

See also example 197, p.60.

In the following, the reduplicated expression indicates a reduced intensity relative to the meaning of the word from which it is formed:

chaka-chaka-lla 'pre-dawn when it is still dark' from *chaka* 'dark'⁴

rama-rama-lla 'just enough light to make out shapes' (I do not think there is a free word *rama*.)

²Verbal reduplication is discussed in sections 15.3, 15.5, and 15.6.

³*kapti* may be a verb which means 'to cut into the edge of'.

⁴Perhaps this is derived from *chaka-chaka-y-lla* (be:dark be:dark-inf-just), reduplicating the verb root *chaka-* 'be dark' where *-y* 'inf' has been dropped?

The following indicate various instances scattered in space of the object referred to by the substantive from which the reduplication is formed:

chakra chakra 'from field to field' from *chakra* 'field';⁵

1294 Pay-kuna tuma-n chakra chakra miku-y-kuna-ta rika-r...
he-plur go:about-3 field field eat-inf-plur-OBJ see-adv

'They go about from field to field checking the crops...'

munti munti-lla 'scattered brush' from *munti* 'forest'; e.g.:

1295 ...chunyaq-pa-na-shi aywa-rka-yka-n munti munti-lla-pa.
wilderness-GEN-now-IND go-plur-impfv-3 woods woods-just-GEN

'...in the wilderness now they are going along through the scattered woods.'

Adverbs may be reduplicated; e.g., from *iwal* 'together' one gets *iwal iwal* 'mutually' (perhaps also 'back and forth' or 'one to another'):

1296 iwal iwal pilyasha / rimanakun
together together fight-3PERF talk-recip-3

'they fought / argued back and forth'

The negative word *ama* 'no' may be reduplicated; in example 1302, *ama ama* 'no no' is a way to plead:

1297 Ama ama maqa-ma-y-chu.
no no hit=>1-2IMP-NEG

'Don't hit me!'

15.2.2. Reduplication with *-n*

A substantive may be reduplicated, putting *-n* on each occurrence of the reduplicated element. This *-n* seems to be little more than a mechanism for binding the reduplicated forms together; it contributes little or nothing to the meaning of the reduplicated expression.

If the reduplicated element refers to a time expression, the reduplication indicates a sequence of times; e.g., *waran waran* 'day after day, daily' as used in example 1298:

1298 Wakin arma-n wara-n wara-n.
some bathe-3 tomorrow-N tomorrow-N

'Some bathe daily.'

1299 Pooku arma-n wara-n wara-n. Mas arma-n karu karu.
little bathe-3 tomorrow-N tomorrow-N more bathe-3 far far

'Little do they bathe daily. More commonly they bathe infrequently.'

If the reduplicated element refers to a place, the reduplication refers to a path going from one such place to another, and then another, etc.; e.g.:

⁵ *chakra chakra* of 1303 should be compared with the reduplications discussed in section 15.2.2; semantically it is like them, but does not have *-n* on the reduplicated element.

marka-n marka-n 'from town to town' from *marka* 'town'
raqra-n ragra-n 'from one gorge/valley to another' from *raqra* 'gorge, valley'
punta-n punta-n 'from one peak/ridge to another' from *punta* 'peak, ridge'
wasi-n wasi-n 'from house to house' from *wasi* 'house'; e.g.:

1300 Chay-kuna puri-n wasi-n wasi-n. Chaya-n eskirbaanu-pa
 that-plur travel-3 house-N house-3 arrive-3 scrivener-GEN

wasi-n-man, kapilla-pa wasi-n-man, rihidur-pa
 house-3P-GOAL kapilla-GEN house-3P-GOAL rigidor-GEN

wasi-n-man...
 house-3P-GOAL

'Those go from house to house. They arrive at the scrivener's house, at the *kapilla*'s house, as the *regidor*'s house...'

1301 Wasi-ki-kuna-ta rika-chi-ma-y mayqa-n mayqa-n-ta-taq.
 house-2P-plur-OBJ see-caus=>1-2IMP which-N which-N-OBJ-??

'Show me which are your houses (when they are spread out throughout town).'

15.2.3. With Case

When a reduplication formed from nonverbal forms is in a case relationship that merits a marker, this occurs on each of the reduplicated elements; e.g., in 1302 *huk...huk* is the object of *ashta-* and *apa-*:

1302 ...ashta-n runa-ta huk-ta huk-ta yoora-ta mutu-na-n-paq.
 pull-3 man-OBJ one-OBJ one-OBJ tree-OBJ chop-sub-3P-PUR

...Chay-naw huk-ta huk-ta apa-yka-pti-lla-n...
 that-SIM one-OBJ one-OBJ take-impfv-adv-just-3P

'...pulls, she leads in men one by one to cut the tree.'

'...taking them one by one in that way, ...'

1303 Buurru-ta pas ura-ta ura-ta-na apa-yka-n.
 donkey-OBJ expl down-OBJ down-OBJ-now take-impfv-3

'(The river) is carrying the donkey farther and farther down.'⁶

1304 ...ni-r salta-yku-n karu-man karu-man karu-man.
 say-adv jump-impact-3 far-GOAL far-GOAL far-GOAL

'...so saying, he (a frog) jumps far, far, far.'

1305 ...hana-n-man hana-n-man wicha-sha.
 top-3P-GOAL top-3P-GOAL climb-3PERF

'...they climbed one on top of the other.'

See also example 235, p.68.

15.3. Adverb Verb Reduplication

One of the commonest ways to reduplicate a verb is to make the first occurrence an adverbial clause subordinate to the second occurrence. Since the reduplicated verbs have the same subject, the appropriate adverbializer is either *-r* (section

⁶[urát:::uratána] bears very heavy stress on the first [a], with the following [t] held unreleased for a considerable time.

15.3.1) or *-y+pa* (section 15.3.2). This type of reduplication indicates that the action/event indicated by the verb is repeated.

15.3.1. Verb-*r* Verb Reduplication

Among the ways for adverbializing the first of reduplicated forms, the most common is with the suffix *-r* 'adverbializer (same subject)'. Various possibilities are discussed below.

15.3.1.1. Verb-*r* main verb

In the following, reduplication serves to indicate that the going was not by means of a direct trip; it is equivalent roughly to "I worked my way to Cayumba Chico":

- 1306 Primer punto aywa-r aywa-ra-: kayumba chiku-man.
 first point go-adv go-past-1 Cayumba Chico-GOAL
 'First I went to Cayumba Chico.'
 (lit. 'First point, going I went to Cayumba Chico.')

15.3.1.2. Verb-*r* verb-*r* reduplication

Reduplications of the form verb-*r* verb-*r* are adverbs indicating repetition.

- 1307 Chawra miku-n asi-rku-r asi-rku-r.
 then eat-3 laugh-asp-adv laugh-asp-adv
 'Then they eat, laughing and laughing.'
 1308 Chawra mas ruri-ta oqti-r oqti-r oqti-r
 then more inside-OBJ dig-adv dig-adv dig-adv
 aru-rka-yka-sha-n-chaw...
 work-plur-impfv-sub-3P-LOC
 'Then, as they are working, digging down deeper and deeper...'

(In 1308, *ruri-ta* is perhaps the understood object of not just the immediately following verb, but of the entire complex of reduplicated verbs.)

- 1309 ...kondor chaya-rku-r shikra-ta rachi-r rachi-r...
 condor arrive-asp-adv sack-OBJ rip-adv rip-adv
 '...the condor, arriving, ripping away at the sack...'
 1310 Huk warmi-shi wayta-ta ashta-q siwraa-man punta-kuna-pita
 one woman-IND flower-OBJ take-NRP town-GOAL peak-plur-ABL
ashi-rku-r ashi-rku-r.
 seek-asp-adv seek-asp-adv
 'A woman took flowers to the city from the peaks, looking for them here and there.'

Note that in 1311 *karukama* is part of the adverbial clause (as indicated by the bracketing) and that it is an argument of the entire reduplicated verb:

- 1311 ...liberti-ku-n [karu-kama witi-rku-r witi-rku-r].
 liberate-refl-3 far-LIM move-asp-adv move-asp-adv
 '...he took his liberty, moving far off farther and farther.'

Frequently, verb-*r* verb-*r* reduplication is used to indicate action carried out until some result is achieved; such cases give rise to reduplication followed by a result clause.

- 1312 Habun-wan kupa-rku-r kupa-rku-r llachapa-n-kuna-ta kupa-n
 soap-COM rub-asp-adv rub-asp-adv clothes-3P-plur-OBJ rub-3
 qanra lloqshi-na-n-yaq.
 dirtiness leave-sub-3P-LIM

'They scrub their clothes with soap until the dirtiness comes off.'

In example 1313, the following clause is a purpose clause which expresses the desired result:

- 1313 ...asta-n ... rinsaaru-wan ... willa-paa-ri-r willa-paa-ri-r
 whip-3 whip-COM tell-ben-asp-adv tell-ben-asp-adv
 yapay-chaw sumaq rika-na-n-paq.
 again-LOC well see-sub-3P-PUR

'...he whips him ... with a whip, ... repeatedly warning him so that next time he will watch well (so the animals don't get into the crops).'

Examples 1314 and 1315 show the use of *yaparir yaparir* 'repeatedly':

- 1314 ...mas-ta awrindi-ta kunbira-n yapa-ri-r yapa-ri-r
 more-OBJ fire:water-OBJ offer-3 again-asp-adv again-asp-adv
 awni-na-n-kama.
 agree-sub-3P-LIM

'...they offer him firewater again and again until he agrees.'

- 1315 ...mutu-r usha-yku-n uma-n uma-lla-n
 chop-adv finish-impact-3 head-3P head-just-3P
yapa-ri-r yapa-ri-r wañu-sha-n-yaq.
 again-asp-adv again-asp-adv die-sub-3P-LIM

'...he finishes him, chopping again and again on his head until he has died.'

15.3.1.3. Verb-*r* verb-rkU-*r*

In cases such as examples 1307 and 1310, the verb is reduplicated with an aspectual suffix. In examples 1316 and 1317 the aspectual suffix occurs only on the second of the reduplicated elements; this leads me to believe that the structure is [[puklla-*r* puklla-]-*rku*-].

- 1316 ...chaqcha-n kawitu-chaw puklla-r puklla-rku-r-shi.
 chew:coca-3 bed-LOC play-adv play-asp-adv-IND

'...they were chewing coca, playing around in bed.'

- 1317 ...hana-n-chaw kondor paasa-n tuma-r:: tuma-rku-r.
 ...above-3P-LOC condor pass-3 go:about-adv go:about-asp-adv

'...the condor passes overhead, circling round and round.'

Example 1318 has the words of an old man who "chews" coca by rubbing it in his hands to break it up:

1318 *Kupa-rku-lla-r* *chaqcha-:-mi* *maki-:-chaw*
rub-asp-just-adv *chew:coca-1-DIR* *hand-1P-LOC*

kupa-rku-r *kupa-rku-lla-r-qa.*
rub-asp-adv *rub-asp-just-adv-TOP*

'I chew coca, just rubbing and rubbing it between my hands.'

15.3.2. Verb-*y+pa* Verb

Verbs may be reduplicated by making the first an adverb with *-y+pa*; e.g.: *ikchu-y+pa ikchu-r*⁷ 'sobbing' from *ikchu-* 'heavy sigh'. I am uncertain how these differ from reduplications using *-r*. Other examples follow:

1319 *Qarinta-y+pa* *qarinta-r* *kuchpa:-ku-n.*
turn:end:for:end-adv *turn:end:for:end-adv* *roll-refl-3*

'It rolls down the hill end for end.'

Example 1320 is probably a case formed by adverbialization with *-y+lla+pa*, with the [pa] elided from [urayllapa]:

1320 ...*ura-y-lla* *ura-shun.*
pray-inf-just *pray-12IMP*

'...let's pray fervently.'

Other cases are mentioned in section 14.4.4; see examples 1281 and 1282. See also example 682, p.190.

15.4. Adverbial Clause Reduplication

Example 1321 is an unusual case in that a reduplicated adverbial clause has an adverbial clause within it: what is reduplicated is [[*horqorkur*] *kutirkachir*]. But note that like all the other cases of this sort of reduplication, it indicates a repetition of the event referred to by the reduplicated element. In this case, what is repeated is the complex action of removing the head from a bag and returning it to the bag.

1321 *Chawra mishi alpurha-pita* *horqo-rku-r* *kuti-rkU-chi-r*
then cat saddle:bag-ABL *remove-asp-adv* *return-asp-caus-adv*

horqo-rku-r *kuti-rkU-chi-r* *huk uma-lla-n-ta-shi*
remove-asp-adv *return-asp-caus-adv* *one head-just-3P-OBJ-IND*

chunka ishkay-ta yupa-yku-n.
ten twelve-OBJ count-impact-3

'Then the cat, repeatedly removing the head from the saddlebag and returning it, counts the one head twelve times.'

15.5. Reduplication with Incomplete Verb Stems

A verb may be reduplicated as an incomplete verb stem followed by the verb, which as a combination bears some transition; e.g.:

⁷Pronounced [ikchuyp:lkchur], with the [p] held into the [i].

1322 Rusa-chi- rusa-chi-y+lla+pa awlli-nchi.
cross-caus- cross-caus-adv wind:warp-12

'We wind the warp crossing (the thread) back and forth.'
(/Rusachi rusachiyllapa/ is pronounced [rusachí::rusachi:llápa].)

The following example is from a description of a worm that glows (*nina kuru*):

1323 Pacha-n-chaw paari-pti-n nina-naw achikya- achikya-r aywa-n.
stomach-3P-LOC fly-adv-3P flame-SIM flash flash-adv go-3

'It goes flashing like a flame on its stomach when it flies.'

In the following, note that *-mu* 'afar' does not occur on each of the reduplicated elements, but only on the second. This leads me to believe that reduplication is a stem formation process.⁸

1324 [Wara-rk wara-rkU]-mu-q oqa-ta usha-sha-lla...
dawn-asp dawn-asp-afar-sub oca-OBJ finish-prtc-just

'Day after day he came into the new day (over there)
the oca being finished.'

15.6. Verb Verb

A finite verb may be reduplicated. This indicates the repeated occurrence (on different occasions) of the event indicated by the reduplicated verb; e.g.:

1325 Chawra-qa wata-pti-n-si kacha-ka-sha kacha-ka-sha.
then-TOP tie-adv-3P-indef release-pass-3PERF release-pass-3PERF

'Then, even though they tied it, again and again it would get loose.'

1326 "...ni-sha ni-sha huk runa-kuna-qa, rika-q-nin-kuna-qa.
say-3PERF say-3PERF one man-plur-TOP see-sub-3P-plur-TOP

'"...ni-sha said various people who had seen them (on different occasions).'

1327 Wamra masi-n-kuna-ta upa-ya-q upa-ya-q.
child fellow-3P-plur-OBJ deaf-bec-NRP deaf-bec-NRP

Laqya-ri-q puklla-pa-pti-n.
slap-pnct-NRP play-ben-adv-3P

'Again and again he would make his young companions deaf.
He would slap them when they made fun of him.'

15.7. Infinitive Infinitive

In example 1328, an infinitive is reduplicated; e.g.:

1328 ...kanta-y-ta kanta-y-ta yacha-ku-nki.
sing-inf-OBJ sing-inf-OBJ know-refl-2

'...you know how to sing them again and again.'

⁸A similar comment was made in section 15.3.1.3 in conjunction with example 1316. In 1324, *wara-rk wara-rkU-mu-q* was pronounced roughly as [wárark::wararkámox], where the release of the first /k/ was delayed and no vowel followed.

Chapter 16

QUESTION FORMATION

HgQ has the following types of question:

- validation questions; e.g., *Do you like toqosh?* (16.1)
- content questions; e.g., *What did you have for lunch?* (16.2)
- alternative questions; e.g., *Did you have spaghetti or ravioli?* (16.3)
- tag questions; e.g., *You had ravioli, right?* (16.4)
- what+do questions; e.g., *What did he do to you?* (16.5)
- negative questions; e.g., *You didn't eat lunch?* (16.6)
- embedded questions (16.7), which include: embedded content questions; e.g., *Do you know what's for lunch?* (16.7.1); embedded alternative questions; e.g., *I don't know whether he came* (16.7.2); and finite embedded questions (16.7.3)
- third person questions; e.g., *What does John say is good to eat?* (16.8)

The intonation with which questions are spoken has not been a focus of this study, but I will venture the following as vague impressions. Validation questions (but not content questions) generally have rising pitch toward the end of the sentence.¹ With alternative questions (section 16.3), it generally rises to the end of the first alternative, the second having a decline in pitch and intensity. The "questioned element" (see definition below) does not have any special status in the intonation contour.

16.1. Validation Questions

A validation question generally has a "questioned element"; this is the constituent that is in focus, the one that the speaker does not assume to be correct and for which he is requesting verification. Validation questions may be formed by the

¹This is probably not as pronounced as it is in languages like English, where intonation can be the sole indicator that a sentence is interrogative.

simple addition of *-chu*, which I gloss 'YN?', to the questioned element.² For example, the questioned element in 1329 is *kay* 'this':

1329 *Kay-chu runa-yki, Señora?*
 this-YN? husband-2P madam

'Is this your husband, Madam?

The questioned element may be any major constituent of the sentence. It cannot be an interjection, an expletive, a conjunction or link (like *y* 'and' or *chawra* 'then'), etc. It may follow *mana* 'not' in the formation of alternative questions (section 16.3) or negative questions (section 16.6). For example, in 1330 it is an adverb:

1330 *Rasun-chu wafu-shqa?*
 really-YN? die-3PERF

'Has it really died?'

Validation questions are possible in which no particular element is questioned; in this case, *-chu* 'YN?' is placed on the verb, as in example 1331:

1331 *Runa-yki illa-yka-n-chu, Señora?*
 husband-2P absent-impfv-3-YN? madame

'Is your husband absent, Madam?'

Another way to form validation questions is to put *-qa* on the focal element and *-chu* on the main verb of the sentence (section 20.2.3.3). For instance, compare example 1332a with 1332b, which differs in that *-qa* 'TOP' is on the questioned element and *-chu* 'YN?' is on the verb:

1332 a. *Hwan-ta-chu rika-sha?*
 John-OBJ-YN? see-3PERF

b. *Hwan-ta-qa rika-sha-chu?*
 John-OBJ-TOP see-3PERF-YN?

a,b. 'Did he see John?'

Another example is 1708 (p.410).

Validation questions can be formed for any tense; e.g., with the future tense as in example 1333 or the conditional tense as in 1334:

1333 *Tuni-mu-shaq-chu?*
 fall-afar-1FUT-YN?

'Shall I fall?' (a threat to fall on someone)

1334 *Qam chaki-chi-nki-man-chu kay yaku-ta upu-y+lla+pa?*
 you dry-caus-2-cond-YN? this water-OBJ drink-adv

'Could you dry up this water by drinking it?' (a challenge to drink a lake dry)

With compound tenses, when the questioned element is the verb, the *-chu* occurs on the subordinate verb rather than on the auxiliary; see example 343, p.107.

-chu+raq 'dubitive' is used to make a query, expressing doubt about the questioned

²*-chu* is glossed 'YN?' here and 'NEG' when it is used in negatives; this is intended as an aid to the reader, and should not be taken to mean that these are two different morphemes.

element, to which it is suffixed:³

1335 Qam-pa surti-ki noqa-pa surti-:-naw-chu+raq
you-GEN fate-2P me-GEN fate-1P-SIM-dubit

o mas piyur-chu+raq?
or more worse-dubit

'Might your fate be like mine or might it be worse?' or
'Is your fate perhaps like mine, or perhaps worse?'

1336 Kanan hunaq tamyā-nqa-chu+raq?
today day rain-3FUT-dubit

'Might it rain today?' or 'Will it perhaps rain today?'

16.2. Content Questions

Content questions are formed with a question word (like English *who*, *what*, *where*, *when*, etc.) followed by a question marker (*-taq* or *-raq*; the difference between these is discussed at the end of this section). The question words are as follows:

pi	'who'	may	'where'
ima	'what'	mayqan	'which'
imay	'when'	ayka	'how much/many'
ima+ni+r	'why (motive)'	ima+paq	'what for'

Generally the questioned element is fronted (i.e., occurs initial in the sentence). The question marker may occur on the question word if that word is the head of its phrase, following, of course, the pluralizer, the shading suffixes, and the case markers; e.g.:

1337 Ima-ta-taq rura-shaq?
what-OBJ-?? do-1FUT

'What shall I do?'

1338 Ayka-naw-ta-taq tanta-ta chara-nki?
how:much-SIM-OBJ-?? bread-OBJ have-2

'About how much bread do you have?'

The question marker occurs at the end of the questioned constituent;⁴ e.g., in example 1339a, *-taq* '??' occurs at the end of the adverbial clause containing the question word. Compare the ungrammatical 1339b, in which *-taq* occurs within the questioned constituent:

1339 a. Ima-ta yarpa-yka-r-taq rura-sha?
what-OBJ think-impfv-adv-?? do-3PERF

b. *Ima-ta-taq yarpa-yka-r rura-sha?
what-OBJ think-impfv-adv-?? do-3PERF

'What was he thinking when he did it?'

Likewise, *-taq* cannot occur within a questioned substantive phrase. For example, consider 1340:

³Peter Landerman (personal communication) doubts that this suffix derives from *-chu* 'YN?', since dialects like HzQ, which have *-ku* 'YN?', nonetheless have *-tsuraq*.

⁴*-pis* ~ *-si* 'indef' shows similar but somewhat different distribution; see example 1569, p.371.

- 1340 a. [Ayka tanta-ta]-taq chara-nki?
 how:much bread-OBJ-?? have-2
- b. [Ayka-ta]-taq tanta-ta chara-nki?
 how:much-OBJ-?? bread-OBJ have-2
- c. *Ayka-ta tanta-ta-taq chara-nki?
 how:much-OBJ bread-OBJ-?? have-2
- d. *Ayka-taq tanta-ta chara-nki?
 how:much-?? bread-OBJ have-2
- a, b. 'How much bread do you have?'

In 1340a, *-taq* '??' occurs on the largest constituent containing *ayka* 'how much'. The same is true in 1340b; *tanta* is not a member of the questioned constituent, evidence of which is the additional case marker *-ta* 'OBJ' it bears. (One could say that *tanta* has been moved out of the questioned constituent and inherits a copy of the case marker in the process.) 1340c is not grammatical because *-taq* '??' is not on the questioned constituent (which must contain the question word, in this case *ayka*). And 1340d is ungrammatical because *-taq* is not at the end of the questioned constituent.⁵

Other examples of questions follow:

- 1341 Imay-taq aywa-nki?
 when-?? go-2
 'When will you go?'
- 1342 Ima-paq-taq apa-mu-nki punku-ta, upa bu:rro bestya?
 what-PUR-?? take-afar-2 door-OBJ dummy donkey beast
 'What did you bring the door for, dummy donkey beast?'
- 1343 Kanan ima-naw+pa-taq horqo-shun?
 now what-manner-?? remove-12FUT
 'Now how shall we get it out?'
- 1344 May-lla-man-taq pampa-:shi-ykU-ma-nki, awkin?
 where-just-GOAL-?? bury-assist-dir=>1-2 old:man
 'Where will you help me bury him (polite), old man?'
 (Politeness is signaled here by *-lla* and *-ykU*.)
- 1345 Pi runa-taq chay?
 who man-?? that
 'Who is that?'
- 1346 May-taq qam ka-nki?
 where-?? you be-2
 'Where are you from (i.e., your place of origin)?'
- 1347 Ima aru-y-taq mas sasa?
 what work-sub-?? more difficult
 'What work is the most/more difficult?'

⁵In cases like 1340d, this creates a problem for the hearer: upon hearing *-taq* without encountering any case marker, he must assume that what *ayka* questions is the subject of the sentence, which is not possible because on one hand *tanta* is marked as being the object, and on the other hand, the verbal inflection indicates that the subject is second person.

1348 Ayka qam-pa-ka+q-taq?
how:many you-GEN-def-??

'How many are yours?'

1349 Pi-taq chay marka-chaw qara-ma:-shun?
who-?? that town-LOC feed=>1-12FUT

'Who will feed us in that town?'

Diana Weber [47] analyzes the difference between *-taq* and *-raq* as follows: *-taq* is used when the speaker assumes that the addressee knows the answer to the question; *-raq* is used when he does not assume so. For example, if you ask the time of someone who has a watch, it is appropriate to say *Imay ooranataq?* 'What time is it', but if you ask someone who obviously does not have access to a time piece (so he will take a guess, say, from the position of the sun), it is more appropriate to use *-raq* '??'.

1350 Imay o:ra-na-raq?
when time-now-??

'What time might it be?'

Obviously, given its meaning, *-raq* '??' is the really appropriate way when there are uncertainties; e.g.:

1351 Imay o:ra-raq kaarru chaya-mu-nqa?
when time-?? car arrive-afar-3FUT

'When might the car arrive?'

16.3. Alternative Questions

Alternative questions are formed by juxtaposing two alternatives (with *o* 'or' optionally intervening), each of which bears *-chu* '?' (or, in cases like example 1335, *-chu+raq*). Examples follow:

1352 Kanan-chu o wara-chu?
today-YN? or tomorrow-YN?

'Today or tomorrow?'

1353 Qam-chu o noqa-chu aywa-shun?
you-YN? or I-YN? go-12FUT

'Should you or I go?'

Validation questions are really a type of truncated alternative question, where the alternative *mana-chu* 'not-YN?' is left implicit: 'Are you going?' is really 'Are you going (or not)?'

1354 Aywa-nki-chu mana-chu?
go-2-YN? not-YN?

'Are you going or not?'

16.4. Tag Questions

Tag questions are simple declarative sentences (generally without rising intonation) followed by *aw* 'yes', which has rapidly rising pitch. Examples follow:

1355 Pillku-ta aywa-yka-nki, aw?
Pillku-DIR go-impfv-2 yes

'You are going to Pillku, right?'

1356 Rasun-pa ka-sha, aw?
really-adv be-3PERF right

(to someone who had doubted beforehand): 'It was really so, right?'

16.5. What-Say/Do Questions

The verbs *na-* 'do' and *ni-* 'say' fuse with *ima* 'what' to form interrogative verbs; they form *ima+na-* 'what+do', *ima+ni-* 'what+say'. The questions formed from these will be called "what+do questions." Examples follow:

1357 Ima+na-sha-taq?
what+do-3PERF-??

'What has happened?'

1358 Wamra-lla-: ima+na-n-taq?
child-just-1P what+do-??

'What's my child doing?'

1359 Ima+ni-shu-pti-ki-taq maqa-shka-nki?
what+say=>2-adv-2P-?? hit-perf-2

'What did he say to you that you hit him?'

It is also possible to form questions where the questioned element is the verb formed by *ima* 'what' and a verbalizing suffix; e.g., in example 1360 with *-ya:* 'become' and in 1361a with *-na:* 'desiderative':

1360 Ima-ya:-chi-ma-nqa-raq?
what-bec-caus=>1-3FUT-??

'What might it cause me to become?'

Note that in example 1361, *ima+na-* 'what+do' and *ima-na:-* (what-desid) 'what desire' differ only in vocalic length, but differ considerably in their meaning:

1361 a. Ima-na:-chi-ma-nqa-raq?
what-desid-caus=>1-3FUT-??

b. Ima+na-chi-ma-nqa-raq?
what+do-caus=>1-3FUT-??

a. 'What effect will it have on me?'
(i.e., Will it make me thirsty, hungry, dizzy, etc.?)

b. 'What will he/it cause me to do?'
(i.e., Will it make me throw up, go to sleep, etc.?)

16.6. Negative Questions

Negative questions are formed by putting *-chu* 'YN?' on *mana* 'not'. Examples follow:

1362 Mana-chu noqa willa-rqa-:?
no-YN? I tell-past-1

'Didn't I tell you?' (= 'See, I told you so!')

1363 Mana-chu chay-naw+pa wañu-ykU-chi-nchi?
 no-YN? that-MAN kill-impact-caus-12
 'Did we ever kill in that way before?'
 (No!--so now you owe me for my cleverness.)

1364 Qam mana-chu hampi-ma-nki-man tayta?
 you no-YN? medicate=>1-2-cond sir
 'Won't you medicate me, sir?'

A shading suffix (see chapter 19) may intervene between *mana* and *-chu*; e.g., see 1365a. Example 1365b, which is synonymous with 1365a, shows that *-raq* could just as well occur following the verb:

1365 a. Qam-kuna mana-raq-chu tantiya-nki?
 you-plur no-yet-YN? understand-2
 b. Qam-kuna mana-chu tantiya-nki-raq?
 you-plur no-YN? understand-2-yet
 a,b. 'Don't you understand yet?' or
 'You still do not understand?'

16.7. Embedded Questions

There are three types of embedded questions:⁶ (1) embedded content questions (section 16.7.1), (2) embedded alternative questions (section 16.7.2), and (3) finite embedded questions (section 16.7.3).

16.7.1. Embedded Content Questions

Examples 1366 and 1367 demonstrate content questions as complements; these have a question word in an object complement (with a substantivized verb) and are followed by *-pis* ~ *-si* 'indef':

1366 Sumaq fiiha-y [may-chaw ka-sha-n-ta-pis].
 well observe-2IMP where-LOC be-sub-3P-OBJ-indef
 'Observe well where it is.'

1367 Chawra-qa chay yayku-q-ta yupa-pa-n eskirbaanu
 so-top that enter-sub-OBJ count-ben-3 scrivener
 minisru-n-kuna-wan [ayka wawa ka-sha-n-ta-pis]
 minister-3-plur-COM how:many baby be-sub-3-OBJ-indef
 [ayka ima-n-kuna ka-sha-n-ta-pis].
 how:many what-3P-plur be-sub-OBJ-indef

'So the scrivener and his ministers count for the one who enters how many babies there are and how many of his things (whatever) there are.' (These "babies" are small loaves of bread made in the form of babies.)

Example 1368 has a negative question in the main clause as well as an embedded question:

⁶Weber [45], pp. 93-97.

- 1368 [P1 maqa-ma-sha-n-ta-pis] mana-chu rika-shka-nki?
 who hit=>1-sub-3-OBJ-indef no-YN? see-perf-2
 'Didn't you see who hit me?'

16.7.2. Embedded Alternative Questions

Embedded alternative questions have two alternatives juxtaposed (i.e., with no overt conjunction). The alternatives have substantivized verbs, and each alternative bears a case marker which, since the alternatives are parallel, must be the same. The alternatives do not have *-chu* 'YN?' (as with the nonsubordinate alternative questions). For example,

- 1369 ...tapu-n chay ashi-sha-n hipash-ta [chay moosu-wan
 ask-3 that seek-sub-3P young:woman-OBJ that young:man-COM
 rasun-pa parla-sha ka-sha-n-ta] [mana parla-sha
 true-adv agree-prtc be-sub-3P-OBJ not agree-prtc
 ka-sha-n-ta-pis].
 be-sub-3P-OBJ-indef
 '...they ask that sought-after young woman if she has really
 agreed with that young man or if she has not agreed.'

One of the alternatives may be left implicit, as in examples 1370 and 1371:

- 1370 Rimeeru tihira-ta rika-nchi [sumaq fiinu ka-sha-n-ta].
 first scissor-OBJ see-12 very sharp be-sub-3P-OBJ
 'First we see whether (or not) the scissors are very sharp.'
 1371 Rika-nchi [millwa ata ka-sha-n-ta].
 see-12 wool long be-sub-3P-OBJ
 'We see whether the wool is long (or not).'

16.7.3. Finite Embedded Questions

The verb *rika-* 'see' may occur with an embedded question, the verb of which is not substantivized as in the above-mentioned cases. For example, in 1372 the verb in the embedded question (*kaykan* 'it is') is finite:

- 1372 [Ima-shi ka-yka-n] chay-chaw rika-ykU-mu-nki.
 what-IND be-impfv-3 there-LOC see-dir-afar-2
 'Go see what's there! (and come back)'

16.8. Third Person Questions

Third person questions ask the hearer about what someone else has said.⁷ A question word occurs in a quotation expressing what the other person is alleged to have said. However, the question marker follows the instance of *ni-* 'to say' that dominates the quotation; e.g.:

⁷Carolyn Orr has written about this sort of question in *WH-Questions in Ecuadorian Oriente Quichua* (manuscript).

1373 *Pi-mi taqay* ni-n-tag noqa-paq?
 who-dir that say-3-?? me-PUR

'Who does he say that I am?'
 (lit. 'About me, he says "that(one) is who?")

Note that such questions are not simply quoted questions, as in 1374:

1374 *Pi-tag taqay?* ni-n noqa-paq.
 who-?? that say-3 me-PUR

'"Who is that?" he says about me.'

Chapter 17

NEGATION

This chapter surveys the major facts concerning negation for HgQ.¹ Negative suffixes not discussed in this chapter are *-ynaq* and *-ni* (e.g., *rika-ni-naw* 'as one who has not seen') (see sections 4.2.1.3 and 13.2.3). Negative questions are treated in section 16.6. Queries, i.e., sentences indicating doubt (sometimes called "dubitives"), are discussed at the end of section 16.1; they could equally well have been discussed in this chapter.

17.1. Basic Negation in Main Clauses

One way to negate an element is to precede it by *mana* 'not' and suffix *-chu* 'NEG' to it. (*-chu* is glossed 'YN?' in some cases and 'NEG' in others; this is not intended to imply that these are two different suffixes.) For example:

1375 *Mana rura-shka-:-chu.*
not do-perf-1-NEG

'I did not do it.'

mana 'no' may be omitted, as in example 1376; however, in almost all cases it is present (when a main clause is negated).

1376 *Maya-shka-:-chu.*
sense-perf-1-NEG

'I didn't hear it.'

Instead of *mana* 'not', some negatives are formed with *nunka* 'never' (from Sp. *nunca* 'never'); e.g.:

1377 *Achu-koq qopi-koq nunka hata+ri-q-chu ka-sha.*
armadillo-get (rodent)-get never get:up-sub-NEG be-3PERF

'He was never one to get up and go after armadillos and *qopi*'s.'

And some use *ni* 'nor' (from Sp. *ni* 'nor'); e.g.:

¹Another treatment of negation for a Quechua language is Robert Weber and N. Theisen de Weber [48], on San Martín Quechua.

1378 Y suncha ni huknaylla-pis wahu-yku-n-chu.
and wasp nor just:one-even die-impact-3-NEG

'And not even one of the wasps died.'

ni may also be used in forming negative indefinite expressions; see section 17.8 below.

-chu often occurs on the negated element, i.e., the focal constituent, the one that the speaker assumes is primarily responsible for the falsity of that sentence.² For instance, in example 1379 the negated element, *Hwan-paq* (John-PUR) 'for John', is followed by *chu* 'NEG':

1379 mana rura-ra-n Hwan-paq-chu; rura-ra-n Pablo-paq-mi.
not do-past-3 John-PUR-NEG do-past-3 Paul-PUR-DIR

'He didn't do it for John; he did it for Paul.'

Another way to focally negate a particular element is to follow it with *-qa* 'TOP' and put *-chu* on the main verb; this is discussed in section 20.2.3.3 and amply illustrated there (examples 1709-1714).

17.1.1. Negation with Compound Tenses

When compound tenses are negated, three possibilities are attested regarding the placement of *-chu* 'NEG':

- *-chu* 'NEG' may attach to the syntactically subordinate verb (which is semantically the main verb); e.g., see examples 344 (p.107), 350 (p.108), 362 (p.110), and 1377 (p.335).
- *-chu* 'NEG' may attach to the auxiliary verb (which is syntactically the main verb); e.g., see example 349 (p.108).
- *-chu* 'NEG' may be absent; e.g., see the second sentence of example 364 (p.111). This may be limited to cases where the auxiliary does not occur.

At present, I am unable to specify the conditions under which *-chu* would occur on the subordinate or on the auxiliary verb; further research may bring these conditions to light. (See section 17.1.2, particularly example 1384, for similar puzzles regarding the distribution of *-chu* with other uses of *ka-* 'be'.)

17.1.2. Negation with *ka-* 'be'

Recall (from section 3.1.1.2) that *ka-* 'be' may be used in various ways, among them an existential use (to assert the existence of the subject) and a predicational use (i.e., it has as complement a substantive that makes a predication about the subject).

²With causatives, the negated element is always the causative; i.e., the negation applies logically to the causation:

Mana qeshya-chi-ku-n-chu.
not be:sick-caus-refl-3-NEG

'It doesn't make one sick.'

*'It makes one not sick.'

In negative existentials, *-chu* 'NEG' follows *ka-* 'be',³ as seen in examples 1380-1382:

1380 Mana papa ka-ra-n-chu.
not potato be-past-3-NEG
'There were no potatoes.'

1381 Mana-shi ima-si ka-ra-n-chu.
not-IND what-indef be-past-3-NEG
'There wasn't anything.'

1382 Mana ka-chi--chu.
not be-caus-1-NEG
'I don't have any more left.'

In the case of negative predicate substantives, *-chu* 'NEG' follows the complement. For example, in 1383 *-chu* 'NEG' follows the complement (*hatun* 'big') and in 1384 the complement is *huchayoq* 'guilty':

1383 a. *Mana hatun ka-ra-n-chu.
not big be-past-3-NEG

b. Mana hatun-chu ka-ra-n.
not big-NEG be-past-3

b. 'He wasn't big.'

1384 Mayqa-nchi:-pis mana hucha-yoq-chu ka-nchi.
which-12P-indef not guilty-have-NEG be-12

'None of us is guilty.'

However, there are cases in predicate substantive structures where *-chu* 'NEG' follows *ka-* 'be'. First, such is the case with negative commands, as, e.g., in 1385, where the *upa* 'fool, deaf' is the complement, *-chu* follows *ka-* 'be':

1385 Ama upa ka-y-chu qam! Aywa-ku-shun noqa-wan...
not fool be-2IMP-NEG you go-refl-12IMP me-COM

'Don't be a fool! Come along with me...'

See also the examples of section 17.1.3.

Second, *-chu* 'NEG' may occur on *ka-* 'be' when the complement is focally negated. Section 20.2.3.3 demonstrates that either (a) a negated or questioned element may bear *-chu*, or (b) to make that element more focally negated or questioned, *-qa* may be put on it, with *-chu* being put on the verb:

X *-chu* ... VERB ==> X *-qa* ... VERB *-chu*
[-focal] [+focal]

Now consider example 1386a: *-chu* 'NEG' occurs precisely where it is expected, i.e., on the complement. Example 1386b demonstrates focal negation of the complement, with *-chu* 'NEG' moving to the verb and *-qa* 'TOP' on the complement. In example 1386c, the complement has been moved to after the verb.

³Snow [38] (p. 108, fn. 108) writes for Llamellín (Ancash) Quechua that 'The negative suffix *-tsu* [...] occurs on the verb *ka-* only as an existential negator' [italics mine--DJW]. This *-tsu* corresponds to HgQ *-chu* 'NEG'. Example 1386b and c below shows that Snow's claim does not hold in HgQ.

1386 a. Mana-mi kanan ka-yka-sha-yki-naw-chu ka-nki-paq.
not-DIR today be-impfv-sub-2P-SIM-TOP be-2FUT-fut-NEG

b. Mana-mi kanan ka-yka-sha-yki-naw-ga ka-nki-paq-chu.
not-DIR today be-impfv-sub-2P-SIM-TOP be-2FUT-fut-NEG

c. Mana-mi ka-nki-paq-chu kanan ka-yka-sha-yki-naw-ga.
not-DIR be-2FUT-fut-NEG today be-impfv-sub-2P-SIM-TOP

a,b,c. 'You will not be like you are now.'

Of course, examples such as 1386b and c do not constitute evidence against the claim that the most natural place for *-chu* with predicate substantive structures is on the complement.

So to summarize: in a negated existential, *-chu* 'NEG' follows *ka-* 'be'; in a negated predicate substantive, *-chu* 'NEG' occurs on the complement, except in the case of negative imperatives; and in negative imperatives, *-chu* 'NEG' follows *ka-*. We now ask why this should be the case. The following discussion is intended as suggestive.

First, we might explain the case of the negative existential on semantic grounds: what is being negated is the existence of some object. Since the claim of existence is made by the predicate (i.e., by *ka-*), the negator (*-chu*) should occur on that predicate. Further, we might explain this case by reference to what may be omitted. To say 'There aren't any potatoes', in the appropriate context one could omit the subject: i.e., *mana-mi ka-n-chu* (not-DIR be-3-NEG) 'There aren't any (potatoes)'. But there is no context in which the predicate can be omitted and the result mean 'There aren't any (potatoes)'. Thus, both from a semantic and a structural perspective, *-chu* 'NEG' occurs on the "essential" element.

Second, we might explain the case of the predicate complement in a similar way. Semantically, what is being predicated is not *ka-* 'be', but the complement. Thus on semantic grounds it is more natural that the complement bear the negator. Further, when *ka-* would be third person and present, *ka-* is omitted. For instance, in example 1387, *ka-* 'be' is not present in the second sentence.

1387 ...ka-yka-n boniitu dibuhu-yoq. Pero mana dibuhu-n-chu.
be impfv-3 pretty drawing-have but not drawing-3P-NEG

'...it has a pretty picture (lit. 'it is pretty picture having').
But it is not a picture.' (followed by an explanation that it is
a photograph)

But note that *-chu* 'NEG' remains on *dibuhun* 'its picture'. Thus, as in the first case, *-chu* occurs on the "essential" element.

Third, for negative commands, the claim that *-chu* 'NEG' occurs on what (semantically) is being negated does not seem to hold; these are semantically parallel to the other predicative substantives, for which we claimed that the complement (and not the verb) was being negated. However, there is a structural difference in the negative commands: *ka-* 'be' must always be present.

Thus, a single generalization seems to account for all three cases: *-chu* 'NEG' occurs on *ka-* 'be' except for predicative substantives in which the auxiliary would be

omitted if it were third person and present, in which case it occurs on the complement.

17.1.3. Negative Commands

Prohibitions are formed by using *ama* as the negative word and putting *-chu* following the imperative suffix:

1388 *Ama imay-pis yata-nki-chu kay-ta-qa!*
not when-indef touch-2FUT-NEG this-OBJ-TOP

'Do not ever touch this!'

1389 *Ama qonqa-shun-chu.*
not forget-12IMP-NEG

'Let's not forget it.'

1390 **Mana wañu-chun-chu.*
Ama wañu-chun-chu.
not die-3IMP-NEG

'May he not die.'

See also examples 27 (p.18) and 1385 (p.337).

17.1.4. The Distribution of Negative Morphemes

To form negatives, it is necessary to correctly locate the negative suffix *-chu* 'NEG' and the overt negative word *mana* or *ama* 'not'.

17.1.4.1. The Distribution of *-chu* 'NEG'

-chu 'NEG' follows the case markers and shading suffixes; e.g., in 1391 it follows the case markers *-chaw* 'LOC' and *-naw* 'SIM', and in 1392 it follows the shading suffixes *-na* 'now' and *-pis* 'indef':

1391 *Mana kay-chaw-naw-chu wasi ... huk-niraq.*
not here-LOC-SIM-NEG house one-SIM

'It is not like the houses here... (It is) different.'

1392 ...*ni arma-n-na-pis-chu.*
nor bathe-3-now-indef-NEG

'...they no longer bathe them at all.'

-chu 'NEG' and an evidential suffix (*-mi*, *-shi*, *chi*) do not co-occur on the same word, but they (frequently!) co-occur in the same sentence on different words; e.g.:

1393 *Mana-mi kama-ka-n-chu.*
not-DIR arrange-pass-3-NEG

'It is not fitting/just.'

-chu 'NEG' is systematically absent in the expression *mana alli* (not good) 'bad'. Thus, contrasts such as the following are possible, which differ only in the presence or absence of *-chu* 'NEG':

- 1394 a. mana alli-ta rura-pa:-ma-sha.
not good-OBJ do-ben=>1-3PERF
- b. mana alli-ta-chu rura-pa:-ma-sha.
not good-OBJ-NEG do-ben=>1-3PERF
- a. 'He did bad to/by me.' (*mana alli* 'bad')
- b. 'He did not do good to me.' (or '...well by me')

17.1.4.2. The Position of *mana* 'not' and *ama* 'not'

When *mana* 'not' or *ama* 'not' and *-chu* 'NEG' occur in a negative sentence, *mana* or *ama* are almost always to the left *-chu*. Generally, what occurs between the negative word and *-chu* is the negated element. Example 1395a is simply ungrammatical if *mana* 'not' follows rather than precedes *-chu* 'NEG':

- 1395 a. *Muna-shka:-chu mana pi-pis musya-na-n-ta.
want-perf-1-NEG not who-indef know-sub-3-OBJ
- b. Mana muna-shka:-chu pi-pis musya-na-n-ta.
not want-perf-1-NEG who-indef know-sub-3-OBJ
- b. 'I didn't want anyone to know.'

But there are cases in which *mana* 'not' may follow *-chu* 'NEG':

- 1396 a. Mana+ka+q-paq-chu mana-mi aywa-:.
insignificant-PUR-NEG not-DIR go-1
- b. Mana-mi aywa-:-chu mana+ka+q-paq-qa pay-man.
not-DIR go-1-NEG insignificant-PUR-TOP he-GOAL
- a,b. 'I do not go in vain to him.'

Out of 130 examples from texts, examples 1397 and 1398 are the only two with *mana* following rather than preceding *-chu* 'NEG'; they both express an emphatic or "exasperated" negation. For example, 1397 was said in exasperation under the pressure of making a recording, after several false starts:

- 1397 Mana puydi-:-chu! Rima-:-chu mana!
not be:able-1-NEG speak-1-NEG not

(From a flustered language helper in a recording session):
'I can't do it! I can't speak!!'

In the context preceding example 1398, a child is asked to climb up a high ladder; 1398 indicates that she most certainly did not climb it. Having *mana* following *-chu* seems to indicate that the child absolutely refused (although politely) to do so:

- 1398 Chawra wicha-n-chu mana-shi wamra-qa.
so climb-3-NEG not-IND child-TOP
- 'So the child refused to climb (up the ladder).'

Almost all negative commands have *ama* 'not' at the beginning of the sentence. There are a few odd exceptions, among them examples 1399 and 1400:

- 1399 Qam-pis ama sunsu ka-y-chu.
you-also not fool be-2IMP-NEG
- 'Don't you be a fool also.'

1400 Ama mas-ta-qa, pi-ta-pis ama rigi-chi-y-chu.
not more-OBJ-TOP who-OBJ-indef not believe-caus-2IMP-NEG

'No more, do not cause anyone else to believe.'

17.2. Negation in Subordinate Clauses

-chu 'NEG' and *-taq+chu* 'NEG' (see section 17.7) do not occur in subordinate clauses. Negation is indicated simply by *mana* 'not'; e.g., the underlined clauses in the following examples have negation in adverbial clauses:

1401 [Mana risibu ka-pti-n] agente mana pantyun punku-ta
not receipt be-adv-3P agent not cemetery door-OBJ

kicha-pa-n-chu aya-ta yayku-chi-na-n-paq.
open-ben-3-NEG corpse-OBJ enter-caus-sub-3P-PUR

'If there isn't a receipt (from the justice) the agent will not open the door of the cemetery for them, so that they can take the corpse in.'

1402 ...[warmi mana muna-r-qa] *mana-mi qam-wan tiya-:-man-chu* ni-n.
woman not want-adv-TOP not-DIR you-COM live-1-cond-NEG say-3

'...if the woman doesn't want (to marry him), she says, "I would not live with you."'

1403 Chay palma ka-na-n bindisaaru.
that palm be-sub-3P blessed

[Mana bindisaaru ka-r-qa] mana-shi alli-chu.
not blessed be-adv-TOP not-IND good-NEG

'That palm should be blessed.
If it is not blessed, (they say that) it is not good.'

1404 ...hama-n ... [mana ima awturidaa-pis ka-y+lla+pa].
rest-3 not what authority-indef be-adv

'...they rest, ... not being any authority.'

Cases in which a subordinate clause is negated must be distinguished from those in which a negated clause happens to have a subordinate clause within it; in the latter, *-chu* does occur, whereas in the negation of subordinates it does not. For example, in 1405 and 1406, the negated clause contains an adverb, in contrast to 1404 above, in which the contained adverb is itself negated:

1405 mana weqru-y+pa puri-:-chu.
not limp-adv walk-1-NEG

'I don't walk limpingly.'

1406 mana rachi-y+pa rachi-sha-chu.
not rip-adv rip-3PERF-NEG

'It didn't part tearing (but had to be cut with something like scissors).'

Similarly, in examples 1407 and 1408, what is negated is the whole clause, which includes an infinitive:⁴

⁴As in 1408, *-pis* 'indef' occurs on the infinitive; this may be a mechanism for focusing the negation on the infinitive.

1407 Chakay-pa noqa mana aywa-y-ta puydi-:-chu.
 night-GEN I not go-inf-OBJ be:able-1-NEG

'I am not able to go at night.'

1408 ...mana karga apa-y-ta-pis puydi-n-chu.
 not cargo take-inf-OBJ-indef be:able-3-NEG

'...he is not able to take cargo.'

17.3. Negation with Genitive Construction

The genitive construction is described in section 12.3.1. When preceded by *mana* 'not' and followed by *-chu* 'NEG', the negated element could be interpreted as either the possessor or the possessed. For instance, example 1409 could be used to negate either *Hwan* 'John' or *wasi* 'house':

1409 mana Hwan-pa wasi-n-chu
 not John-GEN house-3P-NEG

'not John's house' or 'not John's house'

However, there are ways to focus the negation on either the possessor or the possessed element. Examples 1410 and 1411 focus the negation on the possessed by putting *mana* 'no' directly before it:

1410 Pay-pa mana wasi-n ka-n-chu.
 he-GEN not house-3P be-3P-NEG

'He does not have a house.'

1411 Chawra runa-kuna-pa mana ima-n-pis ka-ra-n-chu
 So man-plur-GEN not what-3P-indef be-past-3-NEG

miku-na-n-paq.
 eat-sub-3P-PUR

'So the people didn't have anything to eat.'

The mechanism of putting *-qa* 'TOP' on the negated element and *-chu* 'NEG' on the main verb (see section 20.2.3.3) may be used to focus on the possessor. Thus, to focally negate X one would use a structure like 1412b rather than 1412a:

1412 a. mana-mi [X-pa Z-POS_x]-ta VERB-chu

b. X-pa-ta-qa mana-mi [Z-POS_x]-ta VERB-chu

This is illustrated in 1413, where rather than being sentence-initial, the focally negated possessor is final:

1413 ...lihitiimu kasta-: mana pii-ni:-pis ka-n-chu noqa-pa-qa.
 ...legitimate clan-1P not who-1P-indef be-3-NEG I-GEN-TOP

'I don't have any blood relatives.'

This mechanism may also be used to focally negate a modifier of either the possessor or of the possessed. In example 1415, a modifier of the possessed is negated, i.e., what is negated is *achka* 'many'; the non-negated genitive to which this corresponds is 1414, in which *achka* 'many' modifies *mandu* 'subordinate':

1414 [pay-kuna-pa]_{POSSESSOR} [achka mandu-n-kuna]_{POSSESSED}

1415 Pay-kuna-pa mana ka-n-chu achka-qa mandu-n-kuna.
 he-plur-GEN not be-3-NEG many-TOP subordinate-3P-plur

'They do not have many subordinates.'
 (i.e., they have some subordinates, but not many)

17.4. Negation with -raq 'yet', -na 'now', and -pis 'even'

The combination *-raq* 'yet' and *-chu* 'NEG' indicates 'not yet'; e.g.:

1416 Pullan-ta-si mana rura-nchi:-raq-chu.
 half-OBJ-even not do-12-yet-NEG

'We have not yet done even a half.'

1417 mana tapu-:-raq-chu.
 not ask-1-yet-NEG

'I haven't asked yet.'

Example 1418 shows that *-chu* 'NEG' does not have to immediately follow *-raq* to mean 'not yet':

1418 Chay-naw ka-pti-n-pis mana-raq-mi mundu
 that-SIM be-adv-3P-indef not-yet-DIR world

usha-ka-nqa-paq-chu.
 finish-pass-3FUT-fut-NEG

'Although it is like that, the world will not yet be finished.'

The combination *-na* 'now' and *-chu* 'NEG' indicates 'no longer'; e.g.:

1419 Kanan mana puydi-n-na-chu. ... Ima-paq-pis mana sirbi-n-na-chu.
 now not be:able-3-now-NEG what-PUR-indef now serve-3-now-NEG

'He is no longer able. ... He no longer serves for anything.'

See also example 1619, p.379.

Example 1420a shows that for the combination of *-na* 'yet' and *-chu* 'NEG' to mean 'no longer', they need not occur in the same word, but simply in the same clause:

1420 a. Mana-na sirbi-n-chu.
 b. Mana sirbi-n-na-chu.
 c. Mana-na sirbi-n-na-chu.
 not-now serve-3-NOW-NEG

a,b,c. 'It no longer serves.'

The combination *-pis-chu* (-even-NEG) indicates 'not even'; e.g., note the combination with *-na* 'now' to mean (roughly) 'no longer even':

1421 Wakin... runa-kuna-qa mana-na arma-n-na-pis-chu pasaypa-pis!
 other man-plur-TOP not-now bathe-3-now-even-NEG really-even

'Other... men no longer even bathe them at all!'

17.5. The Neg-Purpose Construction

One way to negate a purpose clause is simply to put *mana* at the front of it.⁵

1422 mana aywa-na:-paq
not go-sub-1P-PUR

'so that I won't go'

There is another way, one which is surprising in that no overt negative marker is involved. It is formed simply by substantivizing the verb with *-na* 'irrealis substantive' followed by either *-ta* 'OBJ' or *-pita* 'ABL'. For instance, example 1423a has a simple purpose clause negated by *mana* 'not'; example 1423b demonstrates the neg-purpose construction; example 1423c shows that *mana* 'not' is not allowed in this construction:

1423

a. Wata-shka-shu-nki mana qeshpi-na-yki-paq.
tie-perf=>2-2 not escape-sub-2P-PUR

b. Wata-shka-shu-nki qeshpi-na-yki-ta.
tie-perf=>2-2 escape-sub-2P-OBJ

c. *Wata-shka-shu-nki mana qeshpi-na-yki-ta.
tie-perf=>2-2 not escape-sub-2P-OBJ

a,b. 'He tied you so that you would not escape.'

One way to think about this sort of negated purpose is that it expresses a future possibility to be avoided, what in English would be expressed by 'lest'. This is very consistent with the meaning of *-na* 'irrealis': i.e., the clause is understood as negative because *-na* 'irrealis' indicates that the event it refers to has not happened.

In the following examples (the first with *-pita* 'ABL' as the case marker of the negated clause, the rest with *-ta* 'OBJ'), the negated clause is underlined:

1424 ...maki-nchi:-wan wañu-chi-na-nchi:-pita-ga.
hand-12P-COM kill-caus-sub-12P-ABL-TOP

'...lest we kill him with our own hands.'

1425 ...tanya ushma:-na-n-ta.
rain sop-sub-3P-OBJ

'...so the rain won't make it sopping wet.'

1426 Pantalun-niki-ta hati-ku-y qasa:-shu-na-yki-ta.
pants-2P-OBJ put:on-refl-2IMP be:cold=>2-sub-2P-OBJ

'Put your pants on so you will not be cold.'
(lit. 'so it will not be cold to you')

1427 ...uywa-ku-ra-n ... chapa-sha-lla wasi-n-pa
raise-refl-past-3 confine-prtc-just house-3P-GEN

kuti-ku-na-n-ta.
return-refl-sub-3P-OBJ

'...he raised them ... imprisoned, so that she would not return to her house.'

1428 Rikcha-y ... punu-ka-sha-ta tari-shu-na-yki-ta.
watch-2IMP sleep-pass-prtc-OBJ find=>2-sub-2P-OBJ

'Be alert, ...lest he find you having dozed off.'

⁵Of course, it lacks *-chu* 'NEG' because it is a subordinate clause, as discussed in section 17.2.

It is possible to have double negation; e.g., in 1429 the *mana* 'not' negates the neg-purpose construction:

- 1429 Daana-ku-q-kuna mana rispita-na-n-ta puri-chi-n
 damage-refl-sub-plur not respect-sub-3P-OBJ travel-caus-3
 chay urdin-ta.
 that order-OBJ
 'They carry that order with them lest those who damage (the
 crops) not respect them.'

17.6. Negatives with *-q-pis*

The combination of the subordinator *-q* and *-pis* 'indef' indicate roughly 'without doing'. (Note that these do not have *-chu* 'NEG' in them.) For example, see the underlined clauses of examples 1430 and 1431:

- 1430 Chay warmi-kuna mana kuti-n-chu wasi-n-man punu-q-pis.
 that woman-plur not return-3-NEG house-3P-NEG sleep-sub-indef
 'Those women do not return to their homes, not even to sleep.'
 1431 Llapan chari-naku-sha laguna-man heqa-q-pis
 all grab-recip-prtc lake-GOAL fall-sub-indef
 lloqshi-sha saanu-lla.
 leave-3PERF healthy-just
 'All of them, grabbing hold of one another, without falling
 escaped healthy.'

17.7. Negation with *-taq+chu* 'NEG'

The combination of *-taq* '??' and *-chu* 'YN?'⁶ indicates a type negation which has greater rhetorical force than other negatives, and thus might be called "emphatic negation."⁷ This type of negation is limited to main clauses; i.e., it is not used in any subordinate clauses. In the following examples, *-taq+chu* is glossed simply as 'NEG':

- 1432 Chawra noqa-taq+chu (mana) ni-ma-sha. Wawa:-ta ni-sha...
 so me-OBJ-NEG not say=>1-3PERF child-1P-OBJ say-3PERF
 'Well, he didn't say it to me. He said it to my child...'

If someone yells from afar and you say what you think he said, I can disagree with you by saying:

- 1433 Ni-mu-n-taq+chu chay-naw.
 say-afar-3-NEG that-SIM
 'He doesn't say that.'

Example 487 (p.138) contains several examples of *ni-mu-n-taq+chu*

⁶In dialects which have separate forms for 'YN?' and 'NEG', this suffix is the 'YN?'; e.g., in Marías (Dos de Mayo Quechua), it is *-taq+ku* (-??-YN?).

⁷This type of negation probably originated from a rhetorical question by the ascendancy of the implication that the clause is false; e.g., a sentence like 'Am I my brother's keeper?' has come to mean 'I am not my brother's keeper', which is, of course, strongly implied by the rhetorical question.

(say-afar-3-NEG) 'it doesn't sound'. Example 238 (p.69) shows *-taq+chu* with something akin to a negative imperative.

17.8. Negative Indefinite Expressions

Negative indefinite expressions are formed by: (1) a negative (*mana* 'not', *ni* 'nor' from Sp. *ni* 'nor', *ama* 'not [prohibition]'); (2) a substantive containing an interrogative word (*pi* 'who', *ima* 'what', etc.); and (3) *-pis* ~ *-si* 'indefinite'. In the simplest case, the substantive is simply an interrogative word, perhaps followed by a case marker, as in the following:

ama pi...-pis or *mana pi...-pis* 'no one'; see example 792 (p.208)

mana imay...-pis 'never'

mana ima...-pis or *ni ima...-pis* 'nothing'; e.g.:

1434 Aqcha suwa mana ima-ta-pis malubra-n-chu.
hair thief not what-OBJ-indef damage-3-NEG

'The hair thief (an insect with very long legs, which gets tangled in dust) doesn't damage anything.'

In some cases the interrogative-indefinite word modifies some other substantive; e.g., *mana ima manira-pis* (not what manner-indef) 'in no way'. And in other cases *-pis* ~ *-si* is put at the end of the constituent containing the interrogative word;⁸ e.g.:

1435 Y tinri wallka-lla mana ima-naw+pa waha-ku-y-ta-pis
and tiger little-just not what-manner shield-refl-inf-OBJ-indef
puydi-n-chu.
be:able-3-NEG

'And the tiger was in no way able to shield himself, not even a little.'

⁸This is the case for *taq* '??' in content questions (see example 1339) and for *-pis* 'indef' in embedded content questions (see example 1570).

Chapter 18

CONJUNCTION

18.1. Conjunction of Substantives

Substantive phrases are conjoined in a number of ways. Probably the most common is simply to juxtapose the conjuncts (18.1.1). Sometimes a suffix occurs on one of the conjuncts to indicate the conjunction, such as *-wan* (18.1.2) or *-ntin* (18.1.3). Or the parallelism of conjoined substantives can be made by putting *huk* 'one' (or *waki-* 'other') before each conjunct (18.1.4). Another possibility is to list the substantives, followed by a number reflecting the number of elements in the list (18.1.5).

18.1.1. Juxtaposition of Substantives

The most common way to conjoin substantives is simply to juxtapose them; e.g., consider the underlined portions of the following:

1436 ...allqay wiskul miku-na-n-paq.
hawk buzzard eat-sub-3P-PUR

'...for the hawks and buzzards to eat.'

1437 Pay timpu-pita tapu-chi-n regidor-wan kampu-wan
he time-ABL ask-caus-3 rigidor-COM kampu-COM

tesureeru-ta mayurdoomu-kuna-ta...
treasurer-OBJ majordomo-plur-OBJ

'He has the rigidor and the *kampu* ask the treasurer and the majordomos...'

(In example 1437, *-wan* 'COM' is not due to conjunction but to causativization; see section 9.5.3.)

1438 ...ranti-n awrindi-ta achka-ta kuka-ta sigaaruta.
buy-3 fire:water-OBJ much-OBJ coca-OBJ cigarette-OBJ

'...they buy a lot of firewater and coca and cigarettes'

- 1439 ...ni-r tininti-ta ahenti-ta willa-n.
say-adv lieutenant-OBJ agent-OBJ tell-3
'...saying he tells the lieutenant and the agent.'
- 1440 ...mana ashi-n-chu tayta-n-pita mama-n-pita...
not seek-3-NEG father-3P-ABL mother-3P-ABL
'...they don't seek (a wife) from their parent...'
- 1441 ...ima-man may-pa-pis kacha-ku-na-n-paq.
what-GOAL where-GEN-indef send-refl-sub-3P-PUR
'...to send after whatever and wherever...'

In example 1442, the possessed substantive of a genitive construction is conjoined:

- 1442 ...chay runa-pa uysha-n-man waaka-n-man aywa-sha.
that man-GEN sheep-3P-GOAL cow-3P-GOAL go-3PERF
'...he went to that man's sheep and cows.'

In example 1455 (p.350), two substantive phrases, each of which is a conjunction formed with *-wan*, are conjoined by juxtaposition.

Occasionally *y* 'and' or *o* 'or' intervene between the conjuncts (disjuncts) as an explicit coordinator; e.g.:

- 1443 Ima-naw-pa-pis qellay-ta o ima-ta-pis simri
what-SIM-GEN-indef money-OBJ or what-OBJ-indef always
chura-chi-n.
place-caus-3
'In some way or another they always make him put in money or whatever.'
- 1444 Listu-ku-nki huk kullu-ta y huk haacha-ta sumaq fiinu-ta.
ready-refl-2 one block-OBJ and one axe-OBJ very fine-OBJ
'Prepare a cutting block and a very sharp axe.'
- 1445 Y pacha+manka-ta y haka+pikanti-ta ripara-sha...
and earth+pot-OBJ and guinea:pig+spicy-OBJ prepare-3PERF
'And she prepared *pachamanka* and *hakupikanti* (two very special foods)...'
- 1446 ...pinkullu-:-wan y tinya-:-wan tuka-ra-yka-r.
flute-1P-COM and drum-1P-COM play-stat-impfv-adv
'...playing my flute and drum.'
- 1447 ...geru-pa murun-ta y hacha-pa wawa-n-ta
wood-GEN seed-3P-OBJ and shrub-GEN offspring-3P-OBJ
miku-na-n-paq ashi-yka-sha-n-chaw...
eat-sub-3P-PUR seek-impfv-3P-LOC
'...while he was looking for the seeds of trees and the shoots of bushes to eat...'

18.1.2. Substantives Conjoined with *-wan* 'COM'

Another mechanism for conjoining substantives is to put *-wan* 'COM' on one of the conjuncts. Semantically, it seems to make little or no difference whether conjunction is by this mechanism, by juxtaposition, or with *y* between the conjuncts.

One conjunct may bear *-wan*, either preceding or following the other conjunct, or both conjuncts may bear *-wan*. In the following examples, subjects are conjoined:¹

1448 Chay chura-sha-n qellay-ta shunta-n ahenti-wan tininti.
that put-sub-3P money-OBJ gather-3 agent-COM lieutenant

'The agent and the lieutenant receive the money which is put in.'

1449 ...chay-ta rura-n rihidur-wan kampu.
that-OBJ do-3 rigidor-COM kampu

'...the rigidor and the *kampu* do that.'

1450 Kondor asendaadu-wan saapo markaano ... leeta-naku-n.
condor hacendado-COM frog townsman litigate- recip-3

'The hacienda-owner condor and the townsman frog litigated one with another.'

See also example 911, p.226.

In the following examples, objects are conjoined:

1451 ...awbindi-ta wayta-TA-wan chaqchu-pa-n aya-pa
holy:water-OBJ flower-OBJ-COM sprinkle-ben-3 corpse-GEN

hana-n-man.
top-3P-GOAL

'...they sprinkle holy water and flowers on top of the corpse.'

(In example 1451, the object marker in upper case was not actually spoken, due to a process that suppresses like syllables at the ends of words, as in the case of /ta/ in *-ta* 'OBJ' next to the /ta/ of *wayta* 'flower'.)

1452 ...yaku timpu-n-ta-wan papa yanu-y-lla-ta runa-n-ta
water boil-3P-OBJ-COM potato cook-inf-just-OBJ husband-3P-OBJ

qara-yku-sha.
feed-asp-3PERF

'...she fed her husband just water, soup, and boiled potatoes.'
(After having prepared some lavish foods for her boyfriend, she fed her husband what are considered very humble foods.)

In examples 1453 and 1454, the conjuncts occur discontinuously:

1453 Pay-ta kacha-ra-n wakin runa-n-kuna-ta-wan...
he-OBJ send-past-3 other men-3P-plur-OBJ-COM

'He sent him, along with the rest of his men...'

1454 Pushpu-ta lomismo muru-nchi hara-ta-wan iwal.
beans-OBJ same plant-12 corn-OBJ-COM together

'In the same way we plant beans along with the corn.'

In example 1455, which speaks of the responsibilities of various officials in the administration of fiestas, there are two instances of substantives conjoined by *-wan* 'COM': first, the *rihidur* conjoined with *alwasirnin* 'his alguacil', second, the *kampu* conjoined with *alwasirnin* 'his alguacil'. As mentioned above, these two

¹In example 1448, the author first wrote *ahenti-wan tininti* and subsequently edited this to be *tininti-wan ahenti*. I have no idea why the editor felt it was better with the conjuncts reversed, but I suspect that it may have to do with which one is more thematic at this point in the narrative, the more thematic one being the better candidate for the *-wan*-less conjunct.

(conjoined) phrases are conjoined to each other by simple juxtaposition. The entire conjoined substantive phrase is the possessor of a genitive construction; the possessed element is *kustumri-n* 'their custom'.

1455 [[Rihidur-pa alwasir-nin-pa-wan] [kampu-pa
rigidor-GEN alguacil-3P-GEN-COM marshal-GEN
alwasir-nin-pa-wan]] ka-n mas huk-pis kustumri-n
alguacil-3P-GEN-COM be-3 more other-even custom-3
rura-na-n-paq.
do-sub-3P-PUR

'The rigidor and his alguacil as well as the marshal and his
alguacil have another custom to do.'

In 1456 the principal conjunct is not explicit. Note that some implicit object must be understood, since the verb *upu-* 'drink' could not occur with *kamcha* 'toasted corn', as shown by the peculiarity of *??kamcha-ta upu-*: 'I drink toasted corn.' But one ordinarily "drinks" breakfast, it most typically being soup.

1456 Kamcha-lla-ta-wan upu-:.
toasted:corn-just-OBJ-COM drink-1

'I eat it (breakfast) with just toasted corn.'

In example 1457, the second *-wan* can be viewed as instrumental and the first as conjoining 'water' and 'soap':

1457 ...awi-ku-n ... qasaq yaku-wan habun-nin-pa-wan.
rinse-refl-3 cold water-COM soap-3P-GEN-COM

'...they wash it ... with soap and water.'

18.1.3. Substantives Conjoined with *-ntin*

Substantives may be conjoined with *-ntin* 'together' in much the way they are conjoined with *-wan* 'COM'. However, this is reserved for cases where the substantives are in some sense closely associated. Such conjunctions are discussed in section 4.2.1.13. An example follows:

1458 ...tabla-ntin yeqa-ku-mu-n muku-n pampa-man.
plank-together fall-refl-afar-3 lamb-3 ground-GOAL

'...the lamb falls to the ground together with the plank.'

18.1.4. The *huk...huk* or *waki...waki*- Mechanism

In English, conjoined noun phrases may be contrasted by using 'one...the other', for example, *One had carrots and the other had peas*, or by using 'some...the others', for example, *Some had carrots and the others had peas*. Such cases in Quechua would be formed by juxtaposing the two conjuncts; each conjunct would begin with *huk* (possibly followed by a possessive suffix) or with *waki-POS* 'other-POS'. *huk* would be used if the elements being contrasted were singular; *wakin* would be used if they were plural. (Because the second conjunct contrasts with the first, it generally ends with *-qa* 'TOP'; see section 20.2.3.2.)

1459 ...arma-n wakin yaku-lla-wan wakin habun-nin-pa-wan...
 bathe-3 some water-just-COM other soap-3P-GEN-COM

'...some bathe them just with water and others along with soap...'

The conjuncts of example 1460 are two groups that go to two different places. (Note that each conjunct is itself a conjunction formed with *-wan* 'COM', and the verb of the second is omitted.)

1460 Huk-nin-man aywa-n rihidur mishru-n-kuna-wan waylas-nin-wan,
 one-3P-COM go-3 rigidor master-3P-plur-COM waylas-3P-COM

huk-nin-man kampu mishru-n-wan waylas-nin-wan.
 one-3P-GOAL kampu master-3P-COM waylas-3P-COM

'The rigidor goes to one (place) with her ministers and dancers, and the *kampu* to another with her ministers and dancers.'

18.1.5. List-and-Count Conjunction

It is possible to conjoin several elements by repeated juxtaposition, i.e., simply listing the elements as in examples 1461 and 1462:

1461 Ka-n tininti ahenti fis.
 be-3 lieutenant agent judge

'There are a lieutenant, a marshal, and a judge.'

1462 Chaya-n eskirbaanu-pa wasi-n-man, kapilla-pa wasi-n-man,
 arrive-3 scrivener-GEN house-3P-GOAL kapilla-GEN house-3P-GOAL

rihidur-pa wasi-n-man, ...
 rigidor-GEN house-3P-GOAL

'They arrive to the scrivener's house, to the *kapilla*'s house, to the rigidor's house, ...'

It is common to follow such lists with a number indicating how many elements there were in the list; e.g.:

1463 ...muku aywa-ku-n mancha-ri-sha mishi ishka-n.
 lamb go-refl-3 afraid-sud-3PERF cat two-3P

'...the lamb, very frightened, and the cat leave.'

1464 Wasi-:-pita qarqU-ma-sha tiyo-: mishi muku-n ishka-n.
 house-1P-ABL expel=>1-3PERF uncle-1P cat lamb-3P two-3P

'Uncle cat and his lamb drove me out of my house.'

1465 Allqo y buurru ishka-n-shi *aw aw* ni-paaku-n.
 dog and donkey two-3P-IND yes yes say-plural-3

'The dog and the donkey both agree.'

1466 Rihidur-pa kampu-pa ishka-n-pa ka-n baara-n-kuna...
 rigidor-GEN kampu-GEN two-3P-GEN be-3 staff-3P-plur

'The rigidor and the *kampu* both have their staff of office...'

1467 ...pusha-ra-n Pedru-ta Jacobo-ta Hwan-ta kimsa-n-ta.
 lead-past-3 Peter-OBJ James-OBJ John-OBJ three-3P-OBJ

'...he leads off Peter, James, and John.'

In some cases the "count" following such a list is not a number, but a generality like *ima-pis* (what-indef) 'whatever' or, as in example 1468, *llapan* 'all':

1468 Ka-sha kuka asukar awrinti sigaarro llapan.
 be-3PERF coca sugar fire:water cigarette all

'There were coca, sugar, firewater, cigarettes, everything.'

In some cases, like example 1127 (p.275) *llapan* 'all' may precede the list.

18.2. Conjunction of Main Verbs

Verbs are conjoined by simple juxtaposition; e.g.:

1469 Chawra-qa llapan kasta-n-kuna-wan alli parla-n upya-n
 so-TOP all clan-3P-plur-COM good speak-3 drink-3

chaqcha-n.
 chew:coca-3

'Then with all her relatives they converse nicely, drink, and chew coca.'

See also example 463, p.132.

As with substantives, *y* 'and' may intervene; e.g.:

1470 Ni-yka-pti-lla-n-na oora chaya-mu-n y paasa-n-na.
 say-impfv-adv-just-3P-now time arrive-afar-3 and pass-3-now

'As they are so doing, time comes and goes.'

Note the "↑" in example 1471. This indicates that there is no pause whatsoever at this point, and high pitch is sustained.² This supports the idea that this is a single sentence with a conjoined verb rather than two sentences.

1471 Señor Yus:::-ta, qaya-ku-: ↑ maña-ku-: tukuy^x:
 Lord God-OBJ call-refl-1 ask-refl-1 all

shonqo-:-pa chay-pita.
 heart-1P-GEN that-ABL

'...I call and ask Lord God with all my heart, because of that.'

18.3. Conjunction of Subordinate Clauses

Subordinate clauses are conjoined by juxtaposition.

18.3.1. Embedded Questions

Embedded questions are discussed in section 16.7.2.³ They are conjoined by simple juxtaposition; in the following examples, the conjuncts are bracketed:

²Example 1471 is from an extemporaneous, tape-recorded speech. The raised "x:" indicates that the /y/ that it follows ends in a harsh, sustained velar friction.

³And Weber [45], sec. 4.2.4.1.

1472 ...eskirbaanu-n-ta willa-n [uyshiiru-kuna rispita-sha-n-ta]
 scrivener-3P-OBJ tell-3 shepherd-plur respect-sub-3P-OBJ

[mana rispita-sha-n-ta].
 not respect-sub-3P-OBJ

'...he tells his scrivener whether the shepherds have obeyed him or not.'

1473 ...parla-n [imay hunaq chaski-na-n-paq-pis] [imay oora
 speak-3 when day receive-sub-3P-PUR-indef when time

chaski-na-n-paq-pis].
 receive-sub-3P-PUR-indef

'...they discuss what day and what time he should receive it.'

1474 Chay runa musya-n-na [ima-naw+pa warmi-pa tayta-n-man
 that man know-3-now what-manner woman-GEN father-3P-GOAL

chaya-na ka-sha-n-ta-pis] [ima-naw-pa parla-na
 arrive-sub be-sub-3P-OBJ-indef what-manner speak-sub

ka-sha-n-ta-pis].
 be-sub-3P-OBJ-indef

'That man knows how one ought to go into the woman's father's (house) and how one ought to speak to him (in proposing a marriage).'

See also example 1571, p.371.

18.3.2. Infinitive Complements

Infinitive complements are conjoined simply by juxtaposing them; e.g.:

1475 ...buurru-shi hachin-ya-y-ta qalla-yku-n, allqu-shi
 donkey-IND bray-bec-inf-OBJ begin-impact-3 dog-IND

kani-y-ta awlla-y-ta, mishi waqa-y-ta, gaallu kanta-y-ta.
 bark-inf-OBJ howl-inf-OBJ cat cry-inf-OBJ rooster sing-inf-OBJ

'...the donkey began to bray, the dog to bark and howl, the cat to screech, and the rooster to crow.'

18.3.3. Conjunction of Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are conjoined by simple juxtaposition. Examples 1476 and 1477 illustrate the conjunction of (same-subject) adverbial clauses:

1476 ...dereechu-n-ta qo-n kuka-ta awrindi-ta
 right-3P-OBJ give-3 coca-OBJ firewater-OBJ

chay-ta upu-r chaqcha-r uchku-na-n-paq.
 that-OBJ drink-adv chew:coca-adv dig-sub-3P-PUR

'...they offer them coca and firewater, so that they dig (the grave) chewing and drinking it.'

Note that in example 1476, *y* 'and' intervenes, but this is by no means necessary:

- 1477 ...[wasi-n-chaw chaychika qellay-ta qotu-ra-yka-q-ta
house-3P-LOC lots money-OBJ pile-stat-impfv-sub-OBJ
rika-r] y [ishkay muula-ta rika-r].
see-adv and two mule-OBJ see-adv
'...seeing the money piled up in his house and seeing his two
mules.'

Common purpose clauses are conjoined by simple juxtaposition; e.g.:

- 1478 ...kacha-n [warmi-pa kasta-n-kuna-ta shunta-mu-na-n-paq]
send-3 woman-GEN clan-3P-plur-OBJ gather-afar-sub-3P-PUR
[llapan chay-chaw parla-na-n-paq].
all that-LOC speak-sub-3P-PUR
'...they send him to gather all the woman's relatives
so that they can discuss it there.'

- 1479 Awrindi-ta mas achka-ta rantí-n kuka-ta sigaarú-ta
firewater-OBJ more much-OBJ buy-3 coca-OBJ cigarette-OBJ
awrindi-ta upu-r chaqcha-na-n-paq muku-na-n-paq.
firewater-OBJ drink-adv chew:coca-sub-3P-PUR smoke-sub-3P-PUR
'They buy a lot of firewater, as well as coca and cigarettes,
in order to chew and smoke while drinking the firewater.'

I am not sure what the constituent relationships of example 1479 really are; two good alternatives are displayed in 1480. This is probably a case where the issue of "what goes with what" is trivial from a semantic point of view (one chews coca, smokes cigarettes, and drinks firewater), but difficult or perhaps impossible from a strictly formal syntactic point of view.

- 1480 a. [...rantí-n kuka-ta sigaarú-ta]
[[[awrindi-ta upu-r] chaqcha-na-n-paq] muku-na-n-paq]
b. ...rantí-n [[kuka-ta sigaarú-ta awrindi-ta]
[[upu-r chaqcha-na-n-paq] muku-na-n-paq]]
1481 ...warmi-ta piña-ku-n tayta-n mama-n [runa-n-ta
woman-OBJ upbraid-refl-3 father-3P mother-3P husband-3P-OBJ
suyru-n-ta suyra-n-ta allí rispita-na-n-paq]
fatherinlaw-3P-OBJ motherinlaw-3P-OBJ good respect-sub-3P-PUR
[runa-pa mandaru-n-chaw ka-na-n-paq].
husband-GEN authority-3P-LOC be-sub-3P-PUR
'...her parents upbraid/charge her, so she will respect
her husband, her father-in-law, and her mother-in-law, and
so that she will submit to her husband's authority.'

In example 1482, *y* 'and' occurs between the conjuncts:

- 1482 ...warmi-n [qellay-ta apa-chi-na-n-paq] y [horqu-na-n-paq].
wife-3P money-OBJ take-caus-sub-3P-PUR and remove-sub-3P-PUR
'...so his wife would send money and remove him (from jail).'

Purpose motion clauses are conjoined by simple juxtaposition; e.g.:

- 1483 Achu-ku+q qopi-ku+q aywa-sha wamra-yki-qa.
armadillo-to:get qopi-to:get go-3PERF child-2P-TOP
'Your child went after *achu* and after *qopi*.'
(An *achu* is an armadillo and a *qopi* is a small rodent.)

18.4. Sentential Conjunction

Links are words which occur (generally) as the first word of a non-initial sentence in a narrative. Links function as boundary markers between sentences, and indicate--to a very limited degree--the relation of the second sentence to the first.

The most meaningless of these is *y*, from Sp. *y* 'and'; not infrequently *y* precedes another link (e.g., *y chaypita*).⁴ To some extent the Spanish conjunction *y* 'and' is being used to conjoin sentences; e.g., see example 1217, p.299.

The link that is most meaningful, i.e., the one least bleached of semantic content, is *manchag* 'if not then'.⁵ Examples follow:

1484 Sumaq watakushun; manachag qespikunqa.
well let's:tie:it otherwise it:will:escape

'Let us tie it tight; otherwise it would escape.'

1485 Tuta-lla mishi-ta rimeeru wānu-chi-shun; manchag-qa
morning-just cat-OBJ first die-caus-12FUT otherwise-TOP

aycha-nchii-ta usha-paa-maa-shun.
meat-12P-OBJ finish-ben=>1-12FUT

'In the morning, first we will kill the cat; otherwise he will finish up all our meat (to our detriment).'

The most common links are:

chawra(s) derived from *chay oora(s)* (that time) 'at that time'

nirkur/nikur/niykur from *ni-* 'say' and *-r* 'adverbial clause, same subject', with some intervening suffix (sometimes *-rku*, sometimes *-rqU*, and sometimes *-ykU*)

chaypita, i.e., *chay-pita* (there-ABL) 'from/after that'

All three are glossed simply as 'then'. Of the three, *chawra* is the most neutral. *Nirkur*, roughly 'thereupon', and *chaypita*, roughly 'after that', differ roughly in the time lapse indicated between the two events, *nirkur* indicating a short lapse and *chaypita* indicating a potentially long lapse. (A consequence of this is that *chaypita* frequently initiates new paragraphs whereas *nirkur* generally does not.)

manchuraq (from *mana-chu+raq* [not-dubitive]) may be used as a link meaning 'perhaps'; e.g.:

⁴*Y* is used by some bilinguals as a conjunction for noun phrases and clauses, but this use is recognized by native speakers as a recent innovation which is not Quechua. The same can be said for *o*, borrowed from Spanish *o* 'or', and *si* borrowed from Spanish *si* 'if'. These are particularly entering the speech of bilingual young people.

⁵*manchag-qa* (otherwise-TOP), pronounced [manchá:] or [manchá:ɣa], is derived from *mana chay-qa* 'not that'. Evidence for this etymology is that in Huamalies (Huánuco) Quechua, the form is *manasayqa*. In HgQ, *-qa* 'TOP' need not necessarily follow (although it usually does), but whether it does or not, the form is never now *manachay*, but always *manachag*.

1486 Manchuraq pay-kuna-si mana-ku-nqa señor-ninchi:-ta.
Perhaps he-plur-also ask-refl-3FUT lord-12P-OBJ

Manchuraq yarpa-chaku-nqa bendiito señor Jesucristo.
Perhaps think-iter-3FUT blessed lord Jesus:Christ

'Perhaps they too will call on our Lord.
Perhaps he will believe the blessed Jesus Christ.'

18.5. Parenthetical Insertions

A sentence may occur as a parenthetical insertion within another sentence. Examples 1487 and 1488 are examples from written discourse:

1487 ...ashi-nchi qewa ulta-na-n-ta (chay-pa huti-n nillputin)
seek-12 grass swallow-sub-3P-OBJ that-GEN name-3P throat

kunka-n-pa ura-n-pa qasha-y+pa kuydaadu-lla.
neck-3P-GEN down:side-3F-GEN slash-adv careful-just

'...we seek the grass swallower (that thing's name is
"nillputi") under its neck, slashing carefully.'

1488 Tayta-: chaya-mu-ra-n Qera-man tiya-yka-sha-:
father-1P arrive-afar-past-3 Qera-GOAL live-impfv-sub-1P

wasi-man (chay ka-ra-n hulyo killa) wara-nnin Pillku-ta
house-GOAL that be-past-3 July month next:day-sup Pillku-OBJ

aywa-na-n-paq.
go-sub-3P-PUR

'My father arrived to Qera, to the house where I was living
(that was in the month of July), in order to go to Pillku the
next day.'

Examples 1489 and 1490 are from a folk tale which was given orally. The parenthetical insertions have lower pitch than that of the surrounding text.

1489 Nirkur-qa (ka-sha amigu-n-pa kaarru-n) chay kaarru-n-wan
they-TOP be-3PERF friend-3P-GEN car-3P that car-COM

apa-ku-sha.
take-refl-3PERF

'Then (a friend of his had a car), he took it with that car of his.'

1490 Y chawra wika-pa-ri+yku-na-n-paq koopa upu-q
and then throw:over-ben-asp-sub-3P-PUR shot drink-sub

yayku-sha-n-yaq (ka-sha huk awkin y biyooru y)
enter-sub-3P-LIM be-3PERF a old:man and widower and

wakcha; y animal-nin ka-sha bastanti, waaka, uysha)
orphan and animal-3P be-3PERF many cow sheep

chay-ta ni-sha "ooye! ooye!"...
that-OBJ say-3PERF hey hey

'And while he had gone in to drink a shot (of liquor) in order
to throw him over (there was an old man, a widower, and an
orphan; and he had lots of animals, cows and sheep), he said
to him, "hey! hey!"...'

Chapter 19

THE "SHADING" SUFFIXES

This chapter deals with the suffixes *-lla* 'just' (19.1), *-pis* ~ *-si* 'indef' (19.2), *-na* 'now' (19.3), and *-raq* 'yet' (19.4). (The glosses are intended as nothing more than suggestive.) *-na* and *-raq* are temporally oriented while *-lla* and *-pis* have much more to do with the speaker's attitude toward what he is communicating. Section 19.5 contrasts *-na* 'now' and *-raq* 'still'. These suffixes have very wide distribution, occurring on substantives, verbs, adverbs, the negative words (*mana* and *ama* 'not'), and perhaps some other minor classes.¹ They are post-transition suffixes, i.e., when occurring on a word that has a transition, they follow it.

I refer to these suffixes as "shading" suffixes because they add fine shades of meaning. But whereas many of the pre-transition suffixes add fine shades of meaning to the verb to which they are suffixed, these post-transition suffixes add shades of meaning which generally apply to the entire clause of which they are a part. They often figure in an important way in the formation of discourse (e.g., as by serving as important cues for time reference). For this reason, many of the examples given below are more than a single sentence.

19.1. *-lla* 'just'

This section deals with *-lla*, which will be glossed 'just': we first discuss the order of *-lla* relative to other morphemes (19.1.1) and then its various uses (19.1.2).

19.1.1. The Order of *-lla*

This section deals with the order of *-lla* 'just' relative to other morphemes in the word, first considering the cases where it occurs with simple (i.e., underived) sub-

¹The frequency with which these suffixes occur on different categories is somewhat skewed: *-lla* rarely follows a finite verb, *-pis* occasionally does, but *-na* and *-raq* frequently do.

stantives, particularly when these have a possessive suffix, and then considering it with substantives and adverbs derived from verbs.

19.1.1.1. With Simple (Possessed) Substantives

Some variation in the position of *-lla* 'just' relative to other suffixes is possible. This is especially true of substantives (section 7.2). When *-lla* 'just' occurs with a possessive person marker, it generally precedes it. For example, *?kiki-:-lla* (self-1P-just) 'just myself', in which *-lla* follows the possessive suffix, sounds strange (although perhaps not entirely wrong). The more acceptable way to say this in HgQ is *kiki-lla-:* (self-just-1P) 'just myself'. Likewise, *Kiki-lla-yki* (self-just-2P) 'just yourself' is preferable to *?kiki-ki-lla* (self-2P-just).

In some cases, *-lla* 'just' follows the possessive, the pluralizer, and the case marker. This happens quite generally when *-kuna* 'plural' occurs in the word. For instance, in example 1491a, it follows the possessive and the pluralizer, whereas in 1491b it precedes the possessive:²

1491	a. <u>Kiki-n-kuna-lla</u> self-3P-plur-just	}	rika-chi-ku-sha. see-caus-refl-3PERF
	b. <u>Kiki-lla-n</u> self-just-3P		
	'They saw themselves.'		

In example 1492, *-lla* 'just' follows the case marker as well:

1492	<u>qam-kuna-pita-lla</u> you-plur-ABL-just
	'just from you (plural)'

Example 1493 shows that *-lla* 'just' may not precede the case marker *-yaq* 'LIM':

1493	a. <u>chay-yaq-lla</u> that-LIM-just
	b. * <u>chay-lla-yaq</u> that-just-LIM
	a. 'just to there'

The possible positions of *-lla* 'just' with simple substantives are summarized in table 19-1:

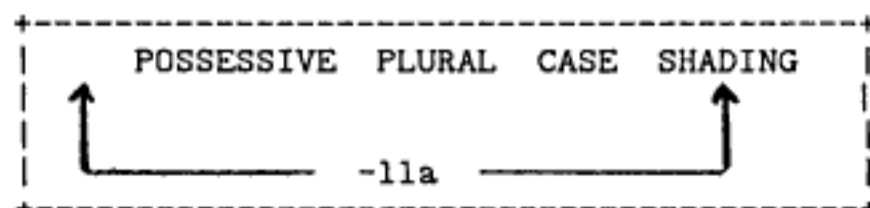


Table 19-1: The Position of *-lla* 'just' with Simple Substantives.

²In Huaraz Quechua it is possible to say *noqa-lla-kuna* (I-just-plur) 'just us(excl)'. (An example is found in Pantoja et al. [28], text 97, line 76.) In HgQ, this is unacceptable; *-lla* 'just' must follow *-kuna* 'plur': *noqa-kuna-lla* (I-plur-just) 'just us(excl)'.

I believe that the order of *-lla* before a possessive suffix is the result of a reordering process, which I call the *-lla-POS Switch*. Some reasons for believing this are:

1. Some other dialects do not have this reordering; they place *-lla* somewhere following the possessive.
2. Even in HgQ, there are cases where *-lla* follows the possessive, as discussed above.
3. There is evidence of reordering from a consideration of *-lla* 'just' co-occurring with a possessive suffix on substantives that end in a consonant. Consider example 1494:

1494 a. *kikish-ni-ki*
 b. **kikish -yki*
 c. *kikish-ni-lla-yki*
 d. *kikish -lla-yki*
 e. **kikish-lla-ni-ki*

a,c,d. 'just your armpit'

Recall that to be possessed, a substantive that ends in a consonant (such as *kikish*) requires *-ni* 'Ø' before the possessive to avoid an illegal consonant cluster; compare 1494a and b. But when *-lla* 'just' occurs, *-ni* 'Ø' may still occur, as in 1494c. (1494d shows that it is optional in this case.) 1494e shows that *-lla* 'just' may not precede *-ni* 'Ø'. The simplest explanation for 1494c is that it results from *kikish-2P-lla*, with *-ni* 'Ø' inserted because 2P directly follows a consonant, with subsequently *-lla-POS Switch* which puts *-lla* ahead of 2P.³

Section 19.1.1.2 shows that *-lla-POS Switch* applies with subordinating transitions. Example 1495 shows that it may also apply to the final /n/ of *-nnin* 'superlative', even though in section 4.2.1.12 this /n/ is claimed not to be a possessive suffix:

1495 Mas *allī-nnī-lla-n-ta qo-ma-y.*
 more good-sup-just-3P-OBJ give=>1-OBJ

'Give me just the best ones (i.e., to the exclusion of all but the best).'

19.1.1.2. With Subordinating Transitions

As just seen, with simple substantives *-lla* 'just' precedes a possessive suffix. The same is true when the possessive is part of a substantivizing or adverbializing transition; i.e., *-lla-POS Switch* applies even if the possessive suffix is part of a tran-

³It must be assumed that the form of 2P is determined *subsequent* to *-lla-POS Switch*. If the form of 2P were determined before *-lla-POS Switch*, it would be *ki*, because it follows the /i/ of *-ni*. After *-lla-POS Switch* it follows /a/, for which the correct form is *-yki*.

sition. (We might say that *-lla* "invades" the transition.)⁴ Example 1496 shows this for a substantive formed with *-sha* and 1497 for an adverbial clause formed with *-pti*:

1496 *kacha-ykU-ma-sha-lla-n-chaw*
leave-impact=>1-sub-just-3P-LOC

'right where they left me'

1497 a. *rika-ma-pti-lla-yki*
see=>1-adv-just-2P

b. ?*rika-ma-pti-ki-lla*
see=>1-adv-2P-just

'just when you see me'

Example 1498 shows that a certain amount of variation is possible when the case marker *-naw* 'SIM' occurs; in 1498a *-lla* 'just' follows the case marker, whereas in 1498b it precedes the possessive suffix and case marker:

1498 a. *yarpa-sha-n-naw-lla-mi*
think-sub-3P-SIM-just-DIR

b. *yarpa-sha-lla-n-naw-mi*
think-sub-just-3P-SIM-DIR

'just as he thinks'

(a. is fine; b. is acceptable but less so than a.)

-lla-POS Switch has been extended beyond just the possessive suffixes to also apply with *-r* 'adv (same subject)'; i.e., *-lla* 'just' precedes *-r* 'adv (same subject)'. Examples follow:

1499 *Kampana-ta tuka-lla-r-shi qoya:-ku-q.*
bell-OBJ ring-just-adv-IND pass:time-refl-NRP

'He would spend his time ringing the bell.'

1500 a. *aywa-yka:-lla-r*
go-impfv-just-adv

b. **aywa-yka-r-lla*
go-impfv-adv-just

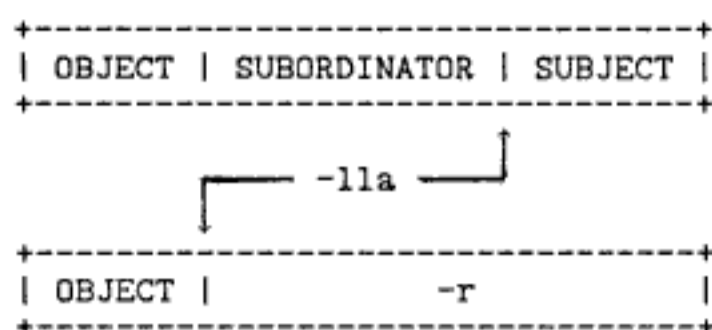
a. 'as they were going along'

-lla follows all the other subordinators (*-q* 'sub', *-y* 'inf', etc.).⁵

Table 19-2 summarizes the possible positions of *-lla* 'just' with a subordinator:

⁴It has been claimed that suffixes like *-chun* '3IMP' and *-shayki* '1=>2FUT' are bi-morphemic, with morpheme divisions as follows: *-shu-n* '12FUT', *-chu-n* '3IMP', *-sha-yki* '1=>2FUT', and *-n-ki* '2'. (For example, see Soldá [39].) However, *-lla*-POS-Switch does not apply (as would be expected): */-chun-lla/* (-3IMP-just) does not become **/-chu-lla-n/*; */-shun-lla/* (-12FUT-just) does not become **/-shu-lla-n/*; and */-shayki-lla/* (-1=>2FUT-just) does not become **/-sha-lla-yki/*. Thus, *-chun*, *-shun* and *-shayki* are really single morphemes in HgQ now. Further, */-shayki-lla/* (-1=>2FUT-just) contrasts with */-sha-yki-lla/* (-sub-2P-just), which does become */-sha-lla-yki/*. And it is possible to say *ayku-lla:-shun* (go-pol-12FUT) 'let's go', but this form contains the pre-transition *-lla*: 'polite' rather than *-lla* 'just'.)

⁵*-lla* 'just' also follows *-q* 'human'; e.g., *ishka-q-lla* (two-human-just), not **ishka-lla-q* (two-just-human), to say 'just two (persons)'.

Table 19-2: The Position of *-lla* 'just' with a Subordinator.

19.1.2. The Uses of *-lla* 'just'

The following uses of *-lla* 'just' are discussed:

- to mean 'exclusive of' (section 19.1.2.1)
- to mean 'precisely' (section 19.1.2.2)
- with time expressions (section 19.1.2.3)
- to indicate a small amount (section 19.1.2.4)
- to indicate meagerness (section 19.1.2.5)
- in adverbial clauses (section 19.1.2.6)
- to indicate politeness (section 19.1.2.7)
- in frozen forms (section 19.1.2.8)

19.1.2.1. *-lla* 'just' to Mean 'exclusive of'

-lla 'just' may occur on a substantive to indicate that nothing more than its referent is involved (in the action/event). That is, if X is that referent, then it may indicate 'only X' or 'X to the exclusion of others'. For instance, example 1501 indicates that the grain is gathered up, but not the chaff:

1501 Y shunta-nchi graanu-lla-n-ta-na.
 and gather-12 grain-just-3P-OBJ-now
 'And then we gather up only the grain.'

Other examples follow:

1502 Buynu, uma-lla-n-ta kuchu-ku-ri-shun.
 all:right head-just-3P-OBJ cut-refl-pnct-12IMP
 'All right, let's cut off just its head (i.e., not any other parts).'

1503 N̄awpa-: kullu-lla-ta mutu-nki.
 side-1P stump-just-OBJ chop-2
 'Just chop the stump which is beside me (and don't chop me).'

1504 ...raatu-lla sha-mu-shka-: nina-koq-lla.
 ...moment-just come-afar-perf-1 fire-to:get-just
 'I came just for a moment, just to get fire.'

See also example 700 (p.193), in which *-lla* indicates that the sponsor pays up to the limit of his ability to pay but no more, and examples 853, (p.217), 1459 (p.351), and 1622 (p.379).

In the following examples, *-lla* 'just' occurs with *kiki* 'self' to indicate 'by one's self':

1505 Kiki-lla-yki-kuna ka-ku-pti-ki-qa...
self-just-2P-plur be-refl-adv-2P-TOP

'If you are just yourselves...' (i.e., if you do not multiply)

See also example 760, p.204.

In example 1506, *-lla* 'just' is used with a locative expression to mean 'just at that place', 'at that place and nowhere else':

1506 Qam-kuna-lla ka-ku-y huk wasi-lla-chaw.
you-plur-just be-refl-2IMP one house-just-LOC

'You (and just you) must be in just one house (i.e., do not split up into two houses, and do not have others than yourselves there).'

In example 780 (p.207), *-lla* 'just' is used in roughly this way, but with the sense of 'nowhere around here except Pillku' or 'nowhere between here and Pillku' (since presumably shrouds can be bought in many other places, such as Lima).

When *-lla* 'just' follows *hana* 'top, above', the combination means 'just on the surface' or 'on the surface and no deeper'; e.g.:

1507 ...qasha-y-ta qalla-yku-nchi hana qara-lla-n-ta...
slash-inf-OBJ begin-impact-12 above skin-just-3P-OBJ

'...we begin to slash it just on its surface...'

See also example 251, p.71.

19.1.2.2. *-lla* 'just' to Mean 'precisely'

In some cases, *-lla* 'just' indicates precision or exactness. For example, in 1508 *-lla* contributes the notion that the stones are to be laid precisely:

1508 Hillu-lla-n+pa perqa-nchi rumi-ta.
string-just-along stack-12 stone-OBJ

'We lay the stones exactly along the string.'

Other examples follow:

1509 Y chay-man punta-lla-n-man kwadra-chi-sha...
and that-GOAL ridge-just-3P-GOAL park-caus-3PERF

'And he had it parked precisely at the ridge (edge)...'
(so that when someone touched it, it went over the edge)

1510 Mishru tuka-pti-lla-n ashta-n.
musician play-adv-just-3P lead-3

'Right when the musicians play, she leads them
(i.e., a woman leads some man into the circle).'

1511 ...wasi-n sirka-n-man chaya-r chay-lla-chaw kiira-ku-n...
house-3P vicinity-3P-GOAL arrive-adv that-just-LOC remain-refl-3

'...arriving in the vicinity of their house, they remain right there... (i.e., they do not go any nearer).'

1512 ...beela-wan achki-pa-n kara kanta-y-lla-n.
candle-COM illuminate-ben-3 every sing-inf-just-3P

'...he lights candles at every singing'

As used to indicate precision or exactness, *-lla* 'just' co-occurs frequently with the case marker *-naw* 'SIM' to mean 'just like that, precisely in that manner':

1513 Chay-naw-lla-na usha-ri-nchi.
that-SIM-just-now finish-pnct-12

'We finish it up just like that.'

1514 Chay-naw-lla kanta-pa-n asta pampa-na-n-yaq.
that-SIM-just sing-ben-3 until bury-sub-3P-LIM

'He₁ sings for him_j just like that until they bury him_j.'

19.1.2.3. *-lla* 'just' with Time Expressions

Following expressions that indicate time, *-lla* 'just' seems to indicate 'at precisely that time', as an instance of the use discussed in section 19.1.2.2). For example, in 1517 it indicates 'at precisely the moment when the first ray of sun is seen':

1515 Y llalli-yku-n awtoridaa-man nawin inti-lla.
and beat-impact-3 authority-GOAL eye-3P sun-just

'And he beats him to the authority right at the first ray of sun.'

See also example 1608, p.377.

In other cases in which *-lla* 'just' occurs with time expressions, it is not so clear that it means 'precisely at that time'; for example, in 1516, *mas hunaqlla* 'later in the day' does not indicate a precise time:

1516 Noqa-ta tuta-lla wañu-chi-ma-n. Qam-ta mas hunaq-lla
I-OBJ morning-just die-caus=>1-3 you-OBJ more day-just

pishta-shu-nki.
slaughter=>2-2

'They kill me in the morning. They will kill you a little later in the day.'

Other examples of time expressions with *-lla* 'just' follow; I leave it to the reader to judge to what extent these are instances of other categories of usage of *-lla*.

1517 Upu-yka-sha-lla-n-chaw pashta-sha pacha-n.
drink-impfv-sub-just-3P-LOC burst-3PERF stomach-3

'Right as he was drinking, his stomach burst.'

1518 Kay karnabal fista ashi-n simri killa usha-q-lla-ta
this carnival fiesta search-3 always month finish-sub-just-OBJ

llullu killa-lla-ta. Simri ashi-n domingu-lla-ta.
immature month-just-OBJ always search-3 Sunday-just-OBJ.

'(To have) this Carnival fiesta, they seek a waning moon, a new moon. They search just for a Sunday.'

1519 Tuta-nnin-qa tuta-lla aywa-ku-n...
morning-sup-TOP early-just go-refl-3

'On the following morning, he left very early...'

-lla 'just' frequently occurs with *chaka-y* (be:dark-inf) 'darkness, night'; some examples follow:

mas chaka-y-lla-man (more be:dark-inf-just-GOAL) 'later that night',
chaka-y-lla-na (be:dark-inf-just-now) 'when it was now dark'
chaka chaka-lla (be:dark be:dark-just) 'in the twilight'
chaka-y-lla-pa (be:dark-inf-just-GEN) 'by night'
ni-sha-n chaka-y-lla-chaw (say-sub-3P be:dark-inf-just-LOC) 'on said night'

19.1.2.4. -lla 'just' to Indicate a Small Amount

-lla frequently occurs with words that express smallness; this may be "small" in various senses:

small in size; e.g.:

1520 ...ka-yka-n ... huk rus pero mas taksha-lla.
be-impfv-3 other cross but more small-just

'...there is ... another cross, but smaller.'

1521 Ichik ramita-lla-ta upu-nchi konaka-wan ichik-lla-ta.
tiny sprig-just-OBJ drink-12 cognac-COM tiny-just-OBJ

'We drink (a tea made with) just a tiny sprig of it and cognac.'

small in intensity; e.g.:

1522 Taksha-lla achki rata-yka:-mu-n karu-chaw.
small-just light shine-impfv-afar-3 far-LOC

'A little light is shining off in the distance.'

small in quantity or number; e.g.:

1523 y okalito ichik pullan ramita-lla-n...
and eucalyptus small half sprig-just-3P

'and a bit of eucalyptus, just half a sprig of it...'

1524 wallka wallka-lla
few few-just

'very few'

1525 Chay tuka-q-kuna-pis ka-n waki-lla-n.
that play-sub-plur-indef be-3 some-just-3P

'Those who play (music) are just a few.'

In this use, -lla 'just' often occurs with a numeral to indicate a small number; e.g.:

1526 ...huk uma-lla-n-ta-shi chunka ishka-ya yupa-pa-yku-n.
one head-just-3P-OBJ-IND ten two-OBJ count-ben-impact-3

'...he counts a single head twelve times.'

1527 ...hati-pa-n murtaahi-ta huk kulur-ta-lla-ta...
put:on-ben-3 shroud-OBJ one color-OBJ-just-OBJ

'...they dress it in a shroud which has but a single color...'

1528 ...ishka-q-lla apa-n kirma-wan.
two-human-just take-3 stretcher-COM

'...just two persons take it on a stretcher.'

See also example 1587, p.373.

small in cost; e.g.:

1529 ...mas baraa-tu-lla kubra-n
more cheap-just charge-3

'...they charge less.'

small in length of time; e.g.:

1530 Raatu-lla shamu-shka-:..
moment-just come-perf-1

'I came for just a moment.'

small in usefulness or effect; e.g.:⁶

- 1531 ...yanqa-lla-shi mutu-qtuku-n.
in:vain-just-IND chop-pretend-3
'...he pretends to chop him, without effect
(i.e., without really doing so).'

small in distance; e.g.:

- 1532 ...tuma-n hinan marka sirka-lla-n-pa.
go:about-3 just:that town near-just-3P-GEN
'...he circulates in the immediate vicinity of the town.'

- 1533 han⁶qa-lla-yki-chaw
above-just-2P-LOC
'just a little way above you (i.e., up the side of the
mountain)'

Interestingly, *-lla* may also occur with *hatun-nin* 'biggest'; the combination means 'somewhat smaller than the biggest' (see example 1135c, p.278). This suggests that, with scalar expressions (big-little, hot-cold, etc.), *-lla* shifts the meaning toward the small end of the scale.

19.1.2.5. *-lla* 'just' to Indicate Meagerness

-lla 'just' may indicate meagerness, humbleness, inadequacy, or simplicity. This use is very similar to that just discussed in section 19.1.2.4; the difference is that the cases discussed here more strongly suggest an evaluative viewpoint, i.e., small, meager, humble, etc., relative to some standard, whereas the cases in section 19.1.2.4 indicate simply small in quantity, degree, etc. For example, 1534 does not mean that a small amount of *kamcha* 'toasted corn' is eaten, but that it is humble food relative to bread:

- 1534 ...upu-:, pobre-qa, kamcha-lla-n-ta-wan.
drink-1 poor-TOP toasted:corn-just-3P-OBJ-COM
'...we drink it, being poor, just with toasted corn
(since we can not afford bread).'

Other examples follow:

- 1535 ...qella ka-y-pita ... chay-lla-ta miku-n.
lazy be-inf-ABL that-just-OBJ eat-3
'...from being lazy, ... they eat just that.'
- 1536 Chawra-qa kuchu-lla-man-shi puñu-chi-n wamra-ta.
then-TOP corner-just-GOAL-IND sleep-caus-3 child-OBJ
'Then, they make the child sleep just in the corner.'
- 1537 Chay-lla-mi chakra-chaw-qa. Mihur pastilla...
that-just-DIR rural:area-LOC-TOP better pills
'(We cure with) simply that (referring to herbs) in the
rural areas. Pills are better...'

See also example 116, p.44.

⁶-*qtuku*- 'pretend' is recently derived from the merging of *-q* 'sub' and *tuku*- 'pretend'. In some cases, perhaps this one, it is possible to consider them as parts of two words.

In example 1538, the *-lla* 'just' on *chakipa* 'on foot' indicates the meagerness of this mode of travel relative to the distance the speaker (a child) had to go:

1538 Noqa chaki-lla-pa aywa-ku-shka-: Pillku-kama.
I foot-just-GEN go-refl-perf-1 Pillku-LIM

'I went just on foot all the way to Pillku.'

See also examples 1126 (p.277) and 1452 (p.349).

Recall that a participle meaning 'without having' can be formed with *-ni* (see section 13.2.3). *-lla* 'just' frequently occurs with such participles, perhaps to emphasize the simplicity or inadequacy of not doing the action expressed in the participle. Examples follow:

1539 Y chay-qa hara-wan iwal-lla-na poqo-n
and that-TOP corn-COM together-just-now mature-3

urya-:ni-lla-na kaasi.
cultivate-without-just-now almost

'And that matures together with the corn, almost without cultivation.'

1540 Rika-:ni-lla eskribi-shka-:.
see-without-just write-perf-1

'I wrote it without looking.'

19.1.2.6. *-lla* 'just' in Adverbial Clauses

-lla 'just' frequently co-occurs with the adverbializer *-pa*, either directly following a substantive as in *chaki-lla-pa* (foot-just-adv) 'on foot', or in the combination *-y(lla)-pa* 'adv', e.g., *qasha-y-lla-pa* (slash-inf-just-adv) 'slashing(ly)'; the latter types are discussed in detail in section 14.4. As stated there, the presence or absence of *-lla* 'just' seems to make little or no appreciable difference in the meaning of *-y(lla)pa*.

-lla 'just' also occurs in adverbial clauses formed with the other adverbializers (*-r*, *-pti*, and *-shpa*). It co-occurs far more frequently with *-r* 'adv (same subject)' than with the others. I do not know exactly what *-lla* 'just' adds semantically to these adverbial clauses. All the co-occurrences of *-r* and *-lla* that I have seen can be interpreted as temporal adverbial clauses. Examples follow:

1541 Atoq wasi-ta watqa-yku-lla-r-shi kuti-ku-n.
fox house-OBJ spy-impact-just-adv-IND return-refl-3

'The fox, having spied on his house, returns.'

1542 Tardi-ya-n aywa-yka-:lla-r-shi.
late-bec-3 go-impfv-just-adv-IND

'As they are going along, it becomes late.'

1543 Papa-ta miku-yka-:lla-r mas hatun-ya-n.
potato-OBJ eat-impfv-just-adv more big-bec-3

'Eating potato it grows (becomes bigger).'

1544 Chawra "waychaw waychaw" ni-lla-r-na-shi puri-ku-yka-n.
so say-just-adv-now-IND walk-refl-impfv-3

'So he walks around saying, "Waychaw, Waychaw."'

Section 9.7.5 describes the pre-transition suffix *-lla*: 'polite', which is different from *-lla* 'just' preceding *-r* in these examples. The difference can be seen in pairs like the following:

- 1545 a. Paasa-ykU-lla:-mu-y.
pass-impact-polite-afar-2IMP
- b. Paasa-yka:-mu-lla-r shikwa-chi-shka-:.
pass-impfv-afar-just-adv fall-caus-perf-1
- a. 'Please come in.'
b. 'Right upon passing in, I dropped it.'

19.1.2.7. *-lla* 'just' to Indicate Politeness

Recall that the pre-transition suffix *-lla*: indicates politeness (see section 9.7.5). It seems that *-lla* 'just' is sometimes used this way, with the difference that it is used on substantives or adverbs rather than within verbs.⁷ In these cases, *-lla* 'just' often bears length.⁸ This suggests that this suffix is not *-lla* 'just' but *-lla*: 'polite'. But this is problematic, in that *-lla*: 'polite' is a pre-transition suffix whereas the *-lla(:)* in question occurs post-transitionally; furthermore, we have no account of why length would occur in some cases but not others. So we cannot strictly identify the two.

Obviously, *-lla(:)* 'just' used to indicate politeness and *-lla*: 'polite' are similar, both in form and meaning, and the question our linguistic presuppositions thrust upon us is "Are they the same morpheme or are they different?" In a case like this where we must recognize both similarity and difference, our linguistic presuppositions have led us to ask a question which is, perhaps, not answerable. It seems that that this *-lla(:)* owes something to both morphemes. It has probably arisen (historically) from *-lla* 'just', with which it shares position and form. The polite usage of *-lla* 'just' may have arisen independently (it would not be inconsistent with the other uses of *-lla* 'just'), or it may have arisen by analogy to *-lla*: 'polite'. The latter seems more likely, and would justify the claim that this suffix owes its meaning more to *-lla*: 'polite' than to *-lla* 'just'. Perhaps the lengthening of the vowel is a supra-segmental feature associated with politeness (which would explain why it does not follow the regularities of segmental length), and perhaps it has arisen by analogy to the length of *-lla*: 'polite', in which case that aspect of its form is due to *-lla*: 'polite'.

Examples follow of *-lla(:)* indicating politeness:

with questions; e.g.:

⁷I do not know to what extent the indication of politeness is due to the meaning of *-lla* 'just', or whether it would be better to say that *-lla* 'just' tends to occur on expressions of politeness.

⁸Some bear a normal amount of length (e.g., 1548), some bear protracted length (e.g., 1549), and some bear no length (e.g., 1550).

1546 Pi-lla-mi ka-nki?
who-just-DIR be-2

'Who are you?'

1547 Mayqa-lla-n-mi ka-nki?
which-just-3P-DIR be-2

'Which one of them are you?' (This would be used, e.g., if you had known a group of brothers, and you meet one of them grown up and ask which brother he is.)

with negations; e.g.:

1548 Noqa-lla:-qa mana na:-chu, maya-shka:-chu.
I-just-TOP not do-1-NEG perceive-perf-1-NEG

'I didn't uh... I didn't hear it.'

1549 Ma:na noqa-lla:: wicha:-chu.
not I-just climb-1-NEG

(A child's emphatic but polite refusal to climb a high ladder):
'I won't climb it!'

in formulaic expressions; e.g.:

1550 Kay-raq-mi mishki-lla-qa!
this-yet-DIR sweet-just-TOP

'This is really tasty!'

1551 noqa-lla:
I-just

(In response to 1546): 'just me'

-*lla* occurs in the common forms of polite inquiry into another's health, i.e. in greetings; see examples 1758-1760, p.440.

19.1.2.8. -*lla* 'just' in Frozen Forms

The following are frozen forms which contain -*lla* 'just':

aypalla 'a great many'; e.g.:

1552 Aypalla-ta qellay-ta tari-yku-shka-:.
much-OBJ money-OBJ find-impact-perf-1

'I found a lot of money.'

hapalla 'alone' is from *hapa*, which means 'alone', but is usually used in the sense of being unmarried

huknaylla 'just one'; e.g.:

1553 Tininti ka-n huknaylla alwasir-nin.
lieutenant be-3 only:one alguacil-3P

(Speaking of positions in the fiesta administration):
'There is only one lieutenant, and his *alguacil*.'

huklla 'right away'; e.g.:

1554 ...usha-rku-pti-n huklla rukay-ta hurqU-mu-n.
finish-up-adv-3 right:away replacement-OBJ remove-afar-3

'...right when they₁ are finished, they₂ bring out a replacement.'

hinalla 'just that'; e.g.:

- 1555 Y hinalla-ta apa-ku-n.
and just:that-OBJ take-refl-3
'And he takes it just as it is (without even looking into it).'
- 1556 ...chay keeda-ku-sha hinallan-chaw.
that stay-refl-3PERF just:that-LOC
'...that one stayed right there.'

hinaylla 'just that way'; e.g.:

- 1557 Pasa-ypa hinaylla-shi aywa-ku-n pullan munti-yaq.
pass-adv just:that:way-IND go-refl-3 half forest-LIM
'They really go on just that way until they are to the middle of the forest.'

19.2. *-pis* ~ *-si* 'even, also, indefinite'

In HgQ, *-pis* and *-si* are free (unconditioned) variants; wherever one may occur, the other may equally well occur. In HgQ, *-pis* is overwhelmingly more frequent than *-si*. Neither co-occur (in the same word) with *-qa* 'TOP'.

The gloss here associated with *-pis* ~ *-si*, namely 'indefinite', is (as are all glosses in this book) merely an arbitrary label which, it is hoped, will help the reader understand the examples. In the case of *-pis* ~ *-si*, an equally appropriate gloss would have been 'non-specific'.⁹ I chose 'indefinite' over 'non-specific' because the former, but not the latter, has an informal sense which corresponds roughly to the effect of *-pis* ~ *-si*.

The uses of *-pis* ~ *-si* are discussed under the following headings:

- with indefinite expressions (section 19.2.1)
- with embedded questions (section 19.2.2)
- with concessive adverbial clauses (section 19.2.3)
- meaning 'even, to the extent that' (section 19.2.4)
- terminating quantified expressions (section 19.2.5)
- with conjoined phrases (section 19.2.6)
- meaning 'also, in addition to' (section 19.2.7)
- simply as a marker of indefiniteness (section 19.2.8)

⁹Taglicht [42] (p.1) speaking of the difference between definiteness and specificity, writes, "...it may be informally characterized by saying that [+spec] indicates that an entity has been previously identified by the speaker for himself, while [+def] indicates that an entity is being identified for the hearer." By this definition, 'indefinite' means that the entity is not being identified for the hearer, while 'non-specific' indicates that it has not been previously identified by the speaker for himself.

Many (perhaps most) instances of *-pis* ~ *-si* involve a failure of identification for both the speaker and the hearer. In that a failure of identification on the part of the speaker is the more unusual, particularly as something explicitly marked, glossing *-pis* ~ *-si* as 'non-specific' would make a stronger claim.

19.2.1. *-pis* ~ *-si* with Indefinite Expressions

-pis ~ *-si* 'indef' follows the interrogative/indefinite pronouns *pi* 'who', *ima* 'what', *may* 'where', etc. (see section 4.1.6) to form indefinite expressions; e.g., from *pi* 'who' is formed *pi-ta-pis* (who-OBJ-indef) 'to whomever'. Other examples follow:

1558 Ayka-ta-pis simri paaga-n kustumri-n-ta kumli-na-n-paq.
how:many-OBJ-indef always pay-3 custom-3P-OBJ fulfill-sub-3P-PUR

'No matter how much it is, they always pay it in order to fulfill their custom.'

1559 ...ima-man may-pa-pis muna-sha-n oora kacha-ku-na-n-paq.
what-GOAL where-GEN-indef want-sub-3P time send-refl-sub-3P-PUR

'...in order to send them wherever, to get whatever, at the time they want.'

1560 Pi: warmi-wan-pis kasara-y-ta muna-n.
who woman-COM-indef marry-inf-OBJ want-3

'He wants to marry any woman.'

(Note at what a distance *-pis* follows the interrogative word in example 1561; this is a single constituent.)

1561 Pi: runa-pa wamra-n hipash-paq-pis hutin-pa willa-n.
who man-GEN child-3P woman-PUR-indef name-GEN tell-3

'He calls by name whoever's daughter it is.'

1562 ...kiida-n duynu asta imay-yaq-pis.
remain-3 owner until when-LIM-indef

'...they remained the owners from then on (lit. 'until whenever').'

1563 ...apa-mu-sha imayka-ta-si.
take-afar-3PERF things-OBJ-indef

'...he brought all sorts of things.'

1564 May-ta aywa-r-pis yus-ninchi ayura-yka:-ma-nchi.
where-OBJ go-adv-OBJ God-12P help-impfv=>1-12

'Wherever we go, God is helping us.'

See also example 662, p.187.

A subset of the indefinite expressions formed by an interrogative/indefinite pronoun followed by *-pis* ~ *-si* are those that are negative (see section 17.8). Examples follow:

1565 Mana ima-pis ka-pti-n mas baraatu-ta kubra-n.
not what-indef be-adv-3P more cheap-OBJ charge-3

'If he had nothing, he charges less.'

1566 ...pusha-ku-n mana pi-ta-pis willa-pa-y+lla+pa.
lead-refl-3 not who-OBJ-indef tell-ben-adv

'...he leads her off, telling no one.'

1567 ...mana ima-pis pishi-q.
not what-indef be:lacking-sub

'...without fail' (lit. '...nothing be lacking')

See also examples 50 (p.21) and 1378 (p.336).

19.2.2. *-pis*~*-si* with Embedded Questions

-pis ~ *-si* 'indef' is used with an interrogative/indefinite pronoun *pi* 'who', *ima* 'what', *may* 'where', etc., (discussed in section 4.1.6) to form embedded questions (see section 16.7.1); e.g. (where the embedded question is bracketed):

1568 [Ima-pis pishi-yka-sha-n-ta] willa-n.
 what-indef be:lacking-impfv-sub-3P-OBJ tell-3

'They tell whatever is lacking.'

In such cases, *-pis* ~ *-si* 'indef' generally occurs with the widest possible scope; that is, it is usually placed to the right of the largest constituent that contains the interrogative pronoun. For example, in 1569a, *-pis* occurs on *ima* (with the case marker intervening), but in 1569b it follows the whole clause containing *ima*:

1569 a. [Ima-ta-pis muna-sha-yki-ta] maña-ma-y.
 what-OBJ-indef want-sub-2P-OBJ ask=>1-2IMP

b. [Ima-ta muna-sha-yki-ta]-pis maña-ma-y.
 what-OBJ want-sub-2P-OBJ -indef ask=>1-2IMP

'Ask me for whatever it is that you want.'

Further examples:

1570 Noqa musya-: [imanir kanta-sha-:-ta]-pis.
 I know-1 why sing-sub-1P-OBJ-indef

'I know why I sing.'

1571 ...yupa-pa-n eskirbaanu minisru-n-kuna-wan [ayka wawa
 count-ben scrivener minister-3P-plur-COM how:many child
 ka-sha-n-ta]-pis [ayka ima-n-kuna ka-sha-n-ta]-pis.
 be-sub-3P-OBJ-indef how:many thing-3P-plur be-sub-OBJ-indef

'...the scrivener and his ministers count how many babies (a type of bread) there are and how many (other) things there are.'

1572 ...[ima-naw+pa wañu-sha-n-ta]-pis sumaq musya-na-n-paq.
 what-adv die-sub-3P-OBJ-indef well know-sub-3P-PUR

'...in order to know precisely how he died.'

See also example 1111, p.274.

The embedded question may be of the non-subordinate type described in section 16.7.3;¹⁰ e.g.:

1573 Parla-sha-yki runa-ta mana reqsi-:-chu [pi-shi chay
 speak-sub-2P man-OBJ not know-1-NEG who-IND that

ka-ku-n]-pis.
 be-refl-3-indef

'I don't know who that man is to whom you were speaking.'

¹⁰Weber [45], sec. 4.2.4.3.

19.2.3. *-pis*~*-si* with Concessive Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses that express concession ('even though', 'although', 'in spite of') generally end with *-pis* or *-si*. Examples follow:

1574 Chawra-qa mana muna-n-chu [runa ashi-na-n-paq
So-TOP not want-3-NEG man seek-sub-3P-PUR

parla-pa-pti-n]-pis.
speak-ben-3-indef

'So they refuse, even though the man implores them to seek
(a wife for him).'

1575 ...miku-shka-: taarri tuta [mana alli rima-sha ka-r]-pis.
eat-perf-1 evening morning not good speak-prtc be-adv-indef

'...I ate morning and night, in spite of the fact that they spoke
bad (of me).'

1576 ...[kiki-n tininti]-pis chiki-ku-yka-r-pis
self-3P lieutenant-indef hate-refl-impfv-adv-indef

rigi-ku-nqa kapas.
believe-refl-3FUT perhaps.

'...perhaps even the lieutenant himself, although he hates,
will believe.'

See also the first clause of example 1715, p.411.

A concessive meaning is not limited to adverbial clauses; e.g., in 566 (p.160), a substantive bearing *-pis* has such a meaning.

19.2.4. *-pis*~*-si* 'even, to the extent that'

In some cases, *-pis* ~ *-si* 'indef' marks the exceptional degree to which some action was carried out, or the exceptional number/kind of objects to which some action was directed. (This is somewhat like what, in English, we mean by 'even' or 'to the extent that'.) Examples follow:

1577 Imanir-taq ... kanta-nki ... kunka-yki-pis qasma-na-n-yaq?
why-?? sing-2 neck-2P-indef be:raw-sub-3P-PUR

'Why do you sing to the extent that your throat is raw?'

1578 ...ima-paq-na-taq kawa-chi-shun-pis? ...waqya-y-ta-pis
what-PUR-now-?? live-caus-12FUT-indef bark-inf-OBJ-indef

mana puydi-n-na-chu.
not be:able-3-now-NEG

'...for what purpose do we even let it live? ...he can no
longer even bark.'

(Perhaps the first *-pis* in example 1578 implies 'to the extent that we are so benevolent as to let it live'.)

1579 Chay-chaw aycha-ta-pis miku-yka-n-chari.
there-LOC meat-OBJ-indef eat-impfv-3-surely

'They even eat meat there.'

1580 Chay muku-n tinri-ta-pis wahu-chi-sha!
that lamb-3P tiger-OBJ-indef die-caus-3PERF

'That lamb of his has even killed tigers!'

See also example 1430, p.345.

In 1581, *chay-pis* introduces an adverbial clause, bringing to it a meaning (roughly) 'even at that':

1581 Kapas wata-chaw huk kuti arma-ku-n inteeru kwerpu-n-ta-qa
perhaps year-LOC one time bathe-refl-3 entire body-3P-OBJ-TOP

chay-pis yaku-ta aka-rI-ykU-chi-r.
that-indef water-OBJ be:hot-asp-cause-adv

'Perhaps they bathe their entire body once a year, and at that they heat the water.'

1582 Wakin inuutil niraq runa-kuna-qa mana-na arma-n-na-*pis*-chu
other useless similar man-plur-TOP not-now bathe-3-now-indef-NEG

pasaypa-*pis*. Kiki-n-kuna-*pis* chay-kuna-qa mana
completely-indef self-3P-plur-indef that-plur-TOP not

arma-ku-n-chu pasaypa-*pis*.
bathe-refl-3-NEG completely-indef

'Some worthless-like people no longer bathe them at all.
Those don't even bathe themselves!'

19.2.5. *-pis*~*-si* Terminating Quantified Expressions

-pis ~ *-si* may be used as the right boundary marker of quantified expressions; e.g.:

1583 [Kara uunu-n-pa tuku-q-nin-kuna]-*pis* shuyni ka-na-n.
each one-3P-GEN play-sub-3P-plur-indef apart be-sub-3P

'The musicians of each of them should be apart.'

1584 Alli buluntaa-pa parla-n [ishka-n-pa kasta-n-kuna]-*pis*.
good will-GEN speak-3 two-3P-GEN clan-3P-plur-indef

'The clans of both of them converse with good will.'

1585 Pero [ishka-n]-*pis* ka-yka-n mushoq llachapa-n hati-sha...
but two-3P-indef be-impfv-3 new clothes-3P put-on-prtc

'But both of them have put on their new clothes...'

1586 [llapan mundu-chaw ka-q-kuna]-*pis*
all world-LOC be-sub-plur-indef

'all those in the world'

1587 Ishkay-kaq-qa pooku yacha-q-lla-*pis* ka-ku-n.
two-def-TOP little know:how-sub-just-indef be-refl-3

'There are two who know less well how to do it.'

An example of this type with *-si* is 1416, p.343.

19.2.6. *-pis*~*-si* with Conjoined Phrases

-pis ~ *-si* 'indef' sometimes occurs on the second of conjoined phrases. These may be simple substantives; e.g.:

1588 Upukruy runa-pa yawar-nin-ta shuqu-n chuspi-naw.
(insect) man-GEN blood-3P-OBJ suck-3 mosquito-SIM

Waaka-pa-ta kawallu-pa-ta-pis chay-naw shuqu-n.
cow-GEN-OBJ horse-GEN-OBJ-indef that-SIM suck-3

'The upukruy sucks man's blood like a mosquito/fly.
It also sucks that of the cow and horse.'

It sometimes occurs on both conjoined elements; e.g.:

1589 Ollqu-pis warmi-pis hunta chay kabildu-chaw-qa.
men-indef women-indef full that chapel-LOC-TOP

'The chapel is full of men and women.'

-pis or *-si* may occur following the second of two conjoined subordinate clauses, particularly with alternatives as in the following examples:

1590 [Tari-pti-n] [mana tari-pti-n]-pis pay-pa kwenta-n-chaw
find-adv-3P not find-adv-3P-indef he-GEN account-3P-LOC

chay-qa.
that-TOP

'Whether he finds them or not, that is his responsibility.'

1591 ...[saanu alli ka-yka-sha-n-ta] [uywa miku-sha
healthy good be-impfv-sub-3P-OBJ animal eat-prtc

ka-yka-sha-n-ta]-pis rika-na-n-paq.
be-impfv-sub-3P-OBJ-indef see-sub-3P-PUR

'...to see whether they (the crops) are all right or whether
they are being eaten by the animals.'

1592 Nirkur chay-chaw tapu-n chay asi-sha-n hipash-ta [chay moosu-wan
then that-LOC ask-3 that seek-sub-3P woman-OBJ that man-COM

rasunpa parla-sha ka-sha-n-ta] [mana parla-sha ka-sha-n-ta]-pis.
really agree-prtc be-sub-3P-OBJ not agree-prtc be-sub-3P-OBJ

'Then, there they ask that sought-after young woman if she
has really agreed (to marry) with that young man, or whether
she hasn't.'

19.2.7. *-pis*~*-si* Meaning 'also, in addition to'

-pis or *-si* occurs on the second of parallel elements, adding the idea that the second was also involved or affected in addition to the preceding element(s). For example, in 1593, the speaker asks how his brother gets rich, and then says that he too will become rich:

1593 Ima-naw+pa-taq riiku-ya-n pay? Noqa-si riiku-ya:-shaq.
what-adv-?? rich-bec-3 he I-indef rich-bec-1FUT

'How does he become rich? I too will become rich.'

In example 1594, first the chapel is said to have two doors and then that it also has windows:

1594 Chay kapilla ishkay punku-yoq. Bentaana-n-pis ishkay ka-yka-n.
that chapel two door-have window-3P-indef two be-impfv-3

'That chapel has two doors. There are two windows too.'

The text preceding example 1595 below reads: "They put on the shroud. There

are shrouds for purchase in Huánuco. If they don't buy one they sew it themselves from homespun. Having cut it, they put it on. Then they tie a cord about his waist." In example 1595, the *-pis* of the first sentence harkens back to the statement that there are shrouds for sale, saying that there are also cords for sale. The *-pis* of the second sentence harkens back to the statement that they can sew the shroud themselves, saying that they can also make a cord from palm fiber. (Note that adding *-pis* here adds a great deal of cohesion to the text.)

1595 Chay kurdun-pis ka-n ranti+paq. Mana ranti-r kiki-n-kuna
that cord-indef be-3 for:purchase not buy-adv self-3P-plur

chay-ta-pis rura-n palma-pita.
that-OBJ-indef make-3 palm-ABL

'There are also those cords for purchase. If they don't buy one, they make that too themselves from palm (fiber).'

Other examples follow:

1596 Wakin lloqshi-sha saanu-lla.
some get:out-3PERF healthy-just

Noqa-pis lloqshi-shka-: saanu-lla.
I-indef get:out-perf-1 healthy-just

'Some got out all right (from a truck that went off a bridge). I too got out all right.'

1597 Chawra chay-chaw warmi-ta pinaku-n...
then there-LOC woman-OBJ upbraid-3

Ollqu-kaq-ta-pis chay-naw pinaku-n...
male-def-OBJ-indef that-SIM upbraid-3

'Then there they upbraid the woman... They upbraid the man too like that...'

1598 Qam aywa-ku-pti-ki noqa-pis aywa-ku-:.
you go-refl-adv-2P I-indef go-refl-1

'If you go, I will go too.'

As a final illustration, consider examples 1717d and e (p.413). In both, *-pis* 'indef' occurs on adverbial clauses; thus one might expect that they have a concessive meaning (as discussed in 19.2.3), but that is not the case. In the text from which it is drawn, the cantor's singing is mentioned repeatedly. The immediately preceding sentences say: "As they take him (the deceased), the cantor goes along singing, until they arrive at the chapel inside the cemetery. At that chapel he again sings for a long while. Then they take him to the hole to bury him." *-pis* occurs on the adverbial clauses of both 1717d and e to indicate that the cantor *also* sings on the occasion of the events indicated in these adverbial clauses.¹¹

19.2.8. *-pis*~*-si* Simply as a Marker of Indefiniteness

-pis ~ *-si* may be used simply as a marker of indefiniteness; e.g., in example 1599, *allitapis* does not refer to any particular thing, but whatever good food might have been purchased in Huánuco:

¹¹The use of *-r* 'adv (same subject)' in 1717e is curious; perhaps it reflects a perception of the cantor as a member of the group that places the casket beside the hole.

1599 Wanuku-pita apa-sha-nchi oora-ran miku-nchi alli-ta-pis.
 Huánuco-ABL take-sub-12P time-yet eat-12 good-OBJ-indef

'Not until we take it from Huánuco do we eat something good.'

In example 1600, the people and the night referred to are indefinite:

1600 Kumun runa-kuna-pis musya-n-na imay noochi
 community man-plur-indef know-3-now when night
 ka-na-n-ta-pis.
 be-sub-3P-OBJ-indef

'Community people know what night that should be.'

In example 1601, *yanqalla* is a predicate complement and *arushaapis* is the subject:

1601 Yanqa-lla aru-sha-:-pis.
 in:vain-just work-sub-1P-indef

'Whatever I worked was in vain.'

19.3. -na 'now'

-na is glossed simply as 'now'. In different contexts, *-na* is used to express what--in English--would be expressed with 'already', 'at/by this time', 'by now', 'from this time on', 'this time in contrast to before', 'again', 'another time', etc. A good analogy for *-na* 'now' is that of a temporal pointer (which is why 'at this point' is a good gloss for *-na* in many contexts).

The uses of *-na* 'now' will be discussed under the following headings:

- meaning simply 'now' and 'soon' (section 19.3.1)
- with time expressions (section 19.3.2)
- meaning 'right at that time' (section 19.3.3)
- meaning 'now--in contrast to before' (section 19.3.4)
- meaning 'already, previously' (section 19.3.5)
- in procedural text (section 19.3.6)
- as an episode boundary (section 19.3.7)
- with background material (section 19.3.8)
- a residue case (section 19.3.9)

19.3.1. -na Meaning Simply 'now' and 'soon'

In many cases *-na* simply means 'now, at the present time'. It can be used to report the current time, as in, e.g., *lasdoosi-na* (noon-now) 'It is now 12:00 noon.' Or it occurs in examples like the following:

1602 Aywa-ku-y-na.
 go-refl-2IMP-now

'Go right now.'

1603 Aywa-ku-:-na-mi.
 go-refl-1-now-DIR

'I am going now.'

- 1604 Tari+pa-yka-n-na.
catch:up:to-impfv-3-now
'She is catching up to him (in height)'
- 1605 Mayna usha-yka-sha-nchi:-na ka-ra-n.
already finish-impfv-perf-12-now be-past-3
'We would already be finishing by now.'

See also example 1693, p.401.

When used with the future tense, *-na* may mean 'soon, right away'; e.g.:

- 1606 Miku-shun-paq-na.
eat-12FUR-fut-now
'We are going to eat right away.'
- 1607 Kanan-qa apa-shaq-na nobillu-ta.
now-TOP take-1FUT-now ox-OBJ
'I will take your ox right now.'

19.3.2. *-na* with Time Expressions

-na 'now' is used with time expressions to establish a time frame in a discourse, or to reset the time frame. For example, a text about the fiestas in March begins with example 1608, which establishes the beginning time of the narrative:

- 1608 Karnabal fiesta usha-sha-n-pita birnis-lla-n-na
carnival fiesta finish-sub-3P-ABL Friday-just-3P-now

qalla-yku-n rusyun.
begin-impact procession

'Right on the first Friday after the end of Carnival,
the procession begins.'

Examples 1609 and 1610 illustrate the time expression with *-na* resetting the time frame of a narrative:

- 1609 Tuta chaka-lla-na-shi awkin-qa aywa-ku-n.
early be:dark-just-now-IND old:man-TOP go-refl-3
'Early, when it was still dark, the old man left.'
- 1610 Chay-naw aywa-yka-sha-n-chaw tardi-ya-sha-na. Chaka-sha-na.
that-SIM go-impfv-sub-3P-LOC late-bec-prtc-now be:dark-prtc-now
'As they are going along like that, it became late now.
It is now dark.'

See also example 160, p.52.

The use of *-na* to reset a time frame of a narrative is particularly natural after *chaypita* 'then', which initiates a new paragraph (often having a new spatial and temporal setting); this is the case in examples 1611 and 1612:

1611 Chay-naw-lla achka wata qoya-sha. Chay-pita oosu-pa
that-SIM-just many year pass:time-3PERF that-ABL bear-GEN

wamra-n hatun-na-shi ka-sha.
child-3P big-now-IND be-3PERF

'In that way many years passed. After that the bear's child was now big (in contrast to his former size).'

1612 ...aywa-ku-n. Chay-pita chunya-q-pa-na-shi
go-refl-3 that-ABL be:silent-sub-GEN-now-IND

aywa-rka-yka-n...
go-plur-impfv-3

'...they go. After that, they are now going through a deserted place...' (Note: this further points to *chaypita* as a loose link, see section 18.4.)

-na 'now' frequently occurs with expressions of time, whether or not they are used in narratives to establish or to reset the time; examples follow:

pacha wara-y-na (firmament dawn-inf-now) 'at dawn'
mas pacha wara-y-man-na-qa (more firmament dawn-inf-GOAL-now-TOP)
'along toward dawn'
lasdoosi-na (noon-now) '12:00 noon'
pullan paqas-na-qa (half night-now-TOP) 'now at midnight'
naqa-na (long ago-now) 'a long time ago'

An expression giving a length of time (e.g., a number of some unit of time) with *-na* means that that length of time has passed:

1613 Kanan kasaadu tiya-: Llakun-chaw kimsa wata-na.
now married live-1 Llakun-LOC three year-now

'I have lived three years now in Llacon, married.'

19.3.3. *-na* Meaning 'right at that time'

In some cases *-na* 'now' indicates the precise moment that something happened (thus indicating roughly 'right at that time'); e.g.:

1614 ...kaasi oosu-ta bensi-yka-pti-n-na-shi gaallu
almost bear-OBJ conquer-impfv-adv-3P-now-IND rooster

kanta-rku-ra-n.
crow-asp-past-3

'...right when he was about to beat the bear, a rooster crowed.'

1615 Ni-y-chaw-na *...* ni-shka-:
say-inf-LOC-now say-perf-1

'Right upon encountering myself in that circumstance, I said *...*'

In the bit of text given in example 1616, the *-na* on *awkin* indicates that 'at this (point)' the old man (who has been extremely loath to believe that his wife is having an affair) finally gets angry at seeing his wife and her lover together:

- 1616 a. ...ishka-n qaqa-sha.
two-3P be:parallel-prtc
- b. Awkin-na-shi ollqo-yka-n ruri-lla-pa-qa.
old:man-now-IND be:angry-impact-3 inside-just-GEN-TOP
- c. Chay-raq-shi awkin ollqo-yka-n.
that-yet-IND old:man be:angry-impfv-3
- a. '...the two of them are together (the old man's wife and her lover).'
- b. 'At that, the old man becomes angry, but just inside.'
- c. 'Finally, only then did the old man become angry.'

In example 1617, after the frog and the condor agree to meet in the provincial capital (far off), the condor is pleased, assuming that he can beat the frog:

- 1617 Chawra-qa kondor kushi-sha-na "Noqa aywa-:..."
so-TOP condor be:happy-prtc-now I go-1
- 'Then the condor was happy at this, thinking "I go ..."'

19.3.4. *-na* Meaning 'now--in contrast to before'

-na 'now' may indicate one time in contrast to another, aforementioned time. For example, consider 1618. The text from which it is taken describes the roles of various village administrators. Just preceding 1618, it tells what happens if a shepherd is disrespectful to (or disobeys) the one who is responsible for the well-being of the crops. (The child is denounced and his parents are brought in to pay a fine.) The occurrences of *-na* indicated that this time, in contrast to the prior time, the child respects him, and does not talk back:

- 1618 Yapay tuma-pti-n rispita-n-na.
again go:about-adv-3P respect-3-now
- Mana-na ima-ta-pis rima-pa-n-na-chu.
not-now what-OBJ-indef speak-ben-3-now-NEG
- 'The next time he (the official) comes around, he obeys him.
He no longer talks back.'

Sometimes the contrast is with respect to a former condition that no longer holds. This is the case with negatives:

- 1619 ...chaya-mu-na-n-paq mana-na ka-sha-na-chu.
arrive-afar-sub-3P-PUR not-now be-3PERF-now-NEG
- ...by the time he₁ arrived, he₂ was no longer there.'
- 1620 Huk buurru-shi ka-ra-n awkis mana karga-ta apa-y-ta
one donkey-IND be-past-3 old not cargo-OBJ take-inf-OBJ
- puydi-q-na.
be:able-sub-now
- 'There was an old donkey, who was no longer able to carry cargo
(as he had previously been able to do).'

Sometimes the contrast is 'from this time on' (in contrast to before); e.g.:

- 1621 Chawra kuura-na-shi uywa-ku-sha oosu-mallwa-ta.
So priest-now-IND raise-refl-3PERF bear-young-OBJ
- 'From this time on, the priest raised the young bear.'

1622 Chawra alma-lla-na-shi keeda-ku-n.
so spirit-just-now-prtc remain-refl-3

'From this time on, only his spirit remained.'
(Previously he was a condemned spirit, a "condenado.")

A text on bathing (see example 1716) describes the frequency of bathing children until they are two years old, then contrasts how much they bathe them after this; note how *-na* occurs in the sense of 'thereafter, now in contrast to the former case':

1623 From that time on, they no longer bathe (arma-n-na-chu bathe-3-now-NEG) them continually. Each week or so thereafter (kara semaana ima-lla-na each week what-just-now) they bathe them... Some worthless-like people no longer bathe them at all (mana-na arma-n-na-pis-chu not-now bathe-3-now-indef-NEG).

19.3.5. *-na* Meaning 'already, previously'

-na 'now' is frequent with participles and perfects. This is perhaps because these indicate a previous event resulting in a state; the effect of *-na* with these is to indicate that the state now exists, that the event which brought about that state had occurred earlier. Examples follow:

1624 Aywa-ku-sha-na ka-sha.
go-refl-prtc-now be-3PERF

'He had already gone.'

1625 Aywa-shka-:kuna-na.
go-perf-11-now

'We(excl) have already gone.'

1626 ...payla-chaw-na-shi wamra-qa pishta-sha-na.
pot-LOC-now-IND child-TOP slaughter-prtc-now

'...the child is already in the pot, slaughtered.'

-na often occurs with participles borrowed from Spanish:¹²

1627 ...wamra-: "bawtisa-:ru-na ka-:" ni-r yuri-mu-shqa.
child-1P baptize-prtc-now be-1 say-adv appear-afar-3PERF

'...my son appeared, saying "I've been baptized"'

See also the first line of example 364, p.111.

The adverbial clause of example 1628 refers to a discussion with whoever has agreed to become the new *eskirbaanu* 'scrivener' about who should be the major-domo:

1628 Chay parla-lla-r-na fiihu parla-n...
that speak-just-adv-now definite speak-3

'Having now discussed it, they agree definitely...'

Example 1629 is from a text on engagement practice. It is a clear case where *-na* means 'already/previously'; it describes one possible reaction a woman may have when a man proposes marriage:

¹²This is good evidence that the high frequency of co-occurrence of *-na* and the participles is due to semantic factors (we might say "due to a harmony of meaning") rather than resulting from some morpho-syntactic requirements.

1629 Waki-n-pa-qa ka-n-na parla-sha-n runa pay-ta
 other-3P-GEN-TOP be-3-now speak-sub-3P man her-OBJ

ashi-na-n-paq. Chawra-qa chay hipash mana-na muna-n-na-chu...
 seek-sub-3P-PUR then-TOP that woman not-now want-3-now-NEG

'Others already have a man with whom they have agreed, for him to seek her. So that young woman doesn't want him to seek her...'

19.3.6. *-na* in Procedural Text

-na 'now' occurs with high frequency in some (not all) procedural texts. For example, a brief description (only about 165 words) of the construction of a house contains the following (which are not contiguous):

1630 a. ...sumaq kama-ka-rkU-chi-r-na ...hana-n-pa ... tapy-a-nchi.

b. ...chay-wan-na tapy-a-nchi.

c. ...tapy-a-rku-r-na-qa chura-nchi tiranti-ta. Altus-ta
 awa-na-n-paq-na tiranti.

d. ...altus punku-paq-na lumismo chura-nchi numral-kuna-ta.

e. ...largo qeru wasi-ta qata-na-paq-na pinku...

f. ...awa-nchi chaqlla-wan teeha-wan qata-na-paq-na.

g. Nerkur chay teeha-wan-na qata-nchi...

h. Nirkur ruri-n-ta-na reboka-nchi.

i. Chay numral chura-sha-nchi:-na oqti-rku-r...

a. '...having prepared it well,...on top of it...we pack earth.'

b. '...we pack earth with that.'

c. '...having packed the earth, we place beams. The beams are for laying the second floor.'

d. '...in the same way we put in lintels for the second floor doors.'

e. '...the ridgepole is a long pole for roofing the house...'

f. '...we lay the roofing sticks in order to roof with tiles.'

g. 'Then we roof with those tiles...'

h. 'Then we surface the interior.'

i. 'Where we have previously placed the lintels, we dig out...'

What can explain this very high frequency of *-na* in procedural text? In example 1630 above, *-na* seems to be used at the following points:

- at the completion of an activity, see 1630a and i (where it could be glossed 'already/previously')
- at the acquisition of some material or tool (i.e., having something at/in hand to use); see 1630b and g
- at the next thing to be done; see 1630c, d, e, f, and h (where a gloss 'now' is entirely appropriate)

A brief description (only about 135 words) of the agricultural cycle contains the following (which are not contiguous):

- 1631 a. Chakma-rku-r-na nerkur hulyu agostu-na urya-nchi.
 b. ...wata-nnin muru-na-paq-na.
 c. Nerkur chura-nchi wata-nnin-paq-na.
 d. Y chay-qa hara-wan iwal-lla-na poqo-n urya-:ni-lla-na
 kaasi. Hara-ta urya-lla-na urya-nchi pushpu-ta-qa.
 e. 'Eera-chaw-na eera-nchi kawallu-wan.'
 f. 'Y shunta-nchi graanu-lla-n-ta-na.'
 a. 'Having broken the ground, then in July or August we plow.'
 b. '...in order to seed the next year.'
 c. 'Then we store them for the next year.'
 d. 'And (the beans) mature along with the corn almost without
 cultivation. In the corn cultivation we cultivate the beans.'
 e. 'On the threshing floor we thresh it with horses.'
 f. 'And we gather up just the kernels.'

The following example, while not from a procedural text, further illustrates *-na* 'now' to mark a series of events. The story from which it comes contains very few occurrences of *-na*.¹³ At the climax of the text (at which point the thief is scratched by the cat, bit by the dog, kicked by the donkey, and frightened by the rooster) *-na* occurs on each reference to the animals except the first (which bears *-ga*). Not only does the repeated use of *-na* mark the series of events, it also serves to highlight the changing actors ('...the cat ...and then the dog ...and then the donkey, ...and then the rooster').

- 1632 a. ... mishi-qa ... raska-r usha-yku-n ...
 cat-TOP scratch-adv finish-impact-3
 b. ... allqu-na-shi ... amu-ku-rku-n.
 dog-now-IND bite-refl-asp-3
 c. ... buurru-na-shi ... hayta-yku-n ...
 donkey-now-IND kick-impact-3
 d. Gaallu-na-shi ... ni-yka:-mu-n ...
 rooster-now-IND say-impfv-afar-3
 a. '... the cat ... scratches him severely ...'
 b. '... then the dog ... bites him.'
 c. '... then the dog ... kicks him ...'
 d. 'Then the rooster ... is saying ...'

(In the gloss, then is intended to reflect *-na*'s meaning 'and then the next thing that happened'.)

¹³There are three large quotations that are rich in *-na*'s, each dealing with the present fate of one of the animals. There are also the following, which are instances of resetting narrative time:

Mas mas aywa-yka-sha-n-chaw-na-shi tari-n...
 more more go-impfv-sub-3P-LOC-now-IND find-3
 'As they are now going on (and on), they find...'

Munti-man-na-shi chaya-n. Allqu y mishi
 forest-GOAL-now-ind arrive-3 dog and cat

yarqa-y-pita-na-shi.
 be:hungry-inf-ABL-now-IND

'They arrive at the forest. The dog and the cat are now hungry.'

(From "Burro, Allqo, Mishi, y Gallo" in Cayco Villar [4].)

19.3.7. *-na* as an Episode Boundary

In a sequence of events, *-na* 'now' may mark the most important events. For example, a description of burial practice has extremely few *-na*'s in sections describing the legal aspects (registering the death, how the deceased's goods are distributed to his heirs, etc.), and in sections describing the preparation of the body, and preparations for the wake. There are, however, three occurrences of *-na* near the end of the text, the first in the sentence indicating that the body is taken from the house to be buried (1633a), the second in the sentence indicating that it is taken to the cemetery (1633b), and the third in the sentence indicating that it is taken to the grave (1633c). *-na* marks the principle events in advancing the body from the site of the wake to the grave:

1633 a. ...aya-ta wasi-n-pita hurqu-n-na pampa-q
corpse-OBJ house-3P-ABL remove-3-now bury-sub

apa-na-n-paq.
take-sub-3P-PUR

b. ...apa-n pantiyun-man-na.
take-3 cemetery-GOAL-now

c. Chay-pita apa-n uchku-man-na pampa-na-n-paq.
that-ABL take-3 hole-GOAL-now bury-sub-3-PUR

a. '...they remove the body from the house in order to take it to bury it'

b. '...they take it to the cemetery.'

c. 'After that (the singing at the cemetery chapel), they take it to the grave in order to bury it.'

In the race of the fox and the frog, there are three parallel episodes in which the fox calls to the frog, and the frog answers from farther up the hill. In examples 1634a, b, and d, the locative phrases indicating the frog's position have *-na*, signaling a contrast between where the frog *is* when he replies and where the frog *was* at the time of his previous reply. (1634c indicates the fox's calling from the foot of the peak.¹⁴)

1634 a. ..."toq" ni-mu-n mas hanash-chaw-na-shi.
toq say-afar-3 more high-LOC-now-IND

b. Yapay "toq" ni-n hanash-chaw-na-shi.
again toq say-3 high-LOC-now-IND

c. Chay-pita punta chaki-n-chaw-na-shi yapay qaya-ku-n...
that-ABL peak foot-3P-LOC-now-IND again yell-refl-3

¹⁴The fox's arriving behind the frog is reported with:

Qepa-n-ta-raq-shi chaya-n atoq.
back-3P-OBJ-yet-IND arrive-3P fox

'The fox arrives behind him (yet some time after him).'

I suspect that this use of *-raq* is intended to contrast sharply with the repeated occurrences of *-na* in the preceding sentences.

- d. Chawra-qa punta-chaw-na-shi kontesta-mu-n...
 so-TOP peak-LOC-now-IND answer-afar-3
- a. '...he answers "toq" from farther up the hill.'
 b. 'Again he says "toq" farther up now.'
 c. 'After that, when he is at the base of the peak,
 again he yells.'
 d. 'Then being now at the peak he answers...'

19.3.8. -na and Background Material

Lodged in a description of engagement practice between (a) the description of a young man gathering his relatives and getting their approval of his intention to seek the hand of a particular young woman and (b) the description of the relatives sending a delegation to represent the suitor to the father of the woman, there is a description of a *balumintu*, a sort of liaison person. It begins with 'There are some older respected men'; within this interruption is the following case of *-na*:

1635 Chay runa musya-n-na ima-naw+pa warmi-pa tayta-n-man
 that man know-3-now what-MAN woman-GEN father-3P-GOAL

chaya-na ka-sha-n-ta...
 arrive-sub be-sub-3P-OBJ

'That man knows how one should approach the woman's father...'

Example 1635 is a surprising in that it is not a portion of a text with strong temporal orientation.¹⁵ The text returns to the sequence of events in the engagement procedure with 1636, beginning with the entry of the delegation to the woman's parents:

1636 Chay-pita yayku-n balumintu-kuna-lla-na warmi-pa
 that-ABL enter-3 representative-plur-just-now woman-GEN

tayta-n-man mama-n-man.
 father-3P-GOAL mother-3P-GOAL

'After that, just the representatives go in to the woman's parents.'

This use of *-na* seems very natural: returning to the sequence of events of the engagement procedure.

In example 1637, *-na* is used to mark off background material: 1637a is background (which interrupts the sequence of activities); 1637b is the return to that sequence:¹⁶

¹⁵Perhaps *-na* is simply used as a marker that this is an event, to make it contrast with the explanatory material which surrounds it?

¹⁶The phrase *chay unayqa eskirbaanu* 'that past scrivener' seems to be a counter-example to the claim in section 20.1.2 that *-qa* is used only on main clause constituents.

- 1637 a. Chay unay-qa eskirbaanu ashi-n-na alkaldeesa-ta rihidoora-ta
 that ago-TOP scrivener seek-3-now mayoress-OBJ rigidora-OBJ
 ruka-na-n-paq wata-n chay ka-q-na rura-na-n-paq.
 change-sub-3P-PUR year-3 that be-sub-now do-sub-3-PUR
- b. Mas tardin-na-qa yapay kumun yoorata saqta-chi-n.
 more evening-now-TOP again community tree-OBJ topple-cause-3
- a. 'The past scrivener seeks (prior to this point in time) a
 mayoress and a rigidora to do it, in order to replace them,
 in order that they do it the next year.'
- b. 'Later in the evening, the community again topples a tree.'

In a description of a fiesta, those people who assume special roles and responsibilities are the principal participants. In example 1638a, which contains *-na*, we learn that the women who have roles (the named ones) are brought together. There then follows a long passage describing the women, who they answer to, how they are dressed, what their privileges are, etc. Then in 1638b, which contains the next *-na*, we return to the narration of the events in the fiesta. Clearly *-na* in 1638b helps re-establish the time frame which was left suspended after 1638a:¹⁷

- 1638 a. ...kuti-r shunta-n mas huk numraaru-kuna-ta-na.
 return-adv gather-3 more one named:ones-plur-OBJ-now
 (At this point, there are 110 words explaining
 who the named personages are.)
- b. Chay-naw llapan shunta-ka-rku-r iwal-lla-na
 that-SIM all gather-pass-asp-adv together-just-now
 puri-n asta fista usha-na-n-kama.
 walk-3 until fiesta finish-sub-3P-LIM
- a. '...returning they gather together the named ones
 (i.e., women who have titles in the fiesta).'
- b. 'Having all congregated like that, they go about together
 (from then on) until the end of the fiesta.'

19.3.9. A Residue Case

-na 'now' occurs three times in the stretch of text given in example 1639. In 1639a, it may be used to heighten the contrast between 'just his children' and all the relatives who have been involved up to this point. Similarly, in 1639c it may occur on *fis* 'judge', to contrast the judge with the just-mentioned executor. I do not know why *-na* should occur again on *fis* in 1639d; perhaps it is used to mark the next in a sequence of events, much as described in section 19.3.6 (p.381).

- 1639 a. Llapan kasta-n-kuna-wan parla-ku-yku-r
 all clan-3P-plur-COM speak-refl-impact-adv
 wamra-n-kuna-lla-na albasya-ta chura-ku-n.
 child-3P-plur-just-now executor-OBJ place-refl-3
- b. Imayka-n-ta-pis albasya-pa Nawpa-n-man hurqa-mu-n.
 belongings-3P-OBJ-indef executor-GEN front-3P-now remove-afar-3

¹⁷In 1638b, *-na* may also contrast their continually being together from that point on with their prior separateness.

c. Chay-ta fis-na raki-pa-n llapa-n-ta iwal kama.
 that-OBJ judge-now divide-ben-3 all-3P-OBJ together respective

d. Fis-na kiki-n-naw mayqa-n misa-n-ta
 judge-now self-3P-SIM which-3P mass-3P-OBJ

rura-chi-na-n-paq-pis numra-n.
 do-cause-sub-3P-PUR-indef name-3

'Having spoken with all the relatives (and having achieved a consensus), just his (the deceased's) children now put in an executor. They remove all his (the deceased's) belongings (and place them) in front of the executor. The judge now distributes these things to all respectively. The judge now names which of them are to have a mass said as himself(??).'

19.4. -raq 'yet, still'

The basic meaning of *-raq* is roughly 'persisting until'. For instance, example 1640 could be roughly paraphrased as 'our obligation to work on the road is persisting until this moment':

1640 Aru-na-nchi:-raq ka-yka-n karretera-ta-pis.
 work-sub-12P-yet be-impfv-3 road-OBJ-indef

'We still have to work the road.'

An alternative form of *-raq* 'yet' is *-ran*, but the latter is very rare in HgQ. (In some other central dialects, *-ran* is quite common.) When *-ran* occurs, it usually follows a third person suffix *-n*; e.g.:

1641 Puñu-yka-n-raq ~ puñu-yka-n-ran.
 sleep-impfv-3-yet

'He is still sleeping.'

Other examples are 1599 (p.376), 1648 (p.387), and 1655 (p.388).¹⁸

The various uses of *-raq* 'yet' are discussed under the following headings:

- with time expressions (section 19.4.1)
- with negatives (section 19.4.2)
- with adverbial clauses (section 19.4.1)
- to indicate an extreme (section 19.4.3)
- with future verbs (section 19.4.4)
- in frozen expressions (section 19.4.5)

See also section 16.1 about *-chu+raq* 'dubitive'.

19.4.1. -raq with Time Expressions

When *-raq* occurs in a time phrase, it indicates that the action/event referred to by that clause happened after the time denoted by the time phrase; e.g., in example 1642 two months pass before "I" step on my ankle:

¹⁸Note that in example 1655, *-ran* follows *-shun* '12FUT'; perhaps for some speakers *-ran* is used in preference to *-raq* following suffixes ending in /n/.

1642 *Ishkay killa-raq haru-shka-:.*
two month-yet step-perf-1

'It was two months before I stepped on it (a disjointed ankle).'

1643 *Allcha-ka-sha killa-ta-raq.*
fix-pass-3PERF month-OBJ-yes

'He got well after a month (and not before).'

1644 *Pacha wara-sh-raq lloqshi-shka-: Llakun-pita.*
firmament dawn-prtc-yes leave-perf-1 Llacón-ABL

'I left Llacón when it had fully dawned (and not before).'

1645 *Y hunaq-raq chaya-mu-shka-: llapa-:.*
and day-yes arrive-afar-perf-1 all-1P

'And all of us arrived when it was day (and not before)
(i.e., we should have arrived much earlier, but...).'

The temporal expression may be a relative clause modifying a time word; such is the case in example 1599, p.376.

If X is an expression for a length of time, then *X-pita-raq* (X-ABL-yes) indicates that X amount of time elapsed between two events; e.g.:

1646 *Adan-ta rura-sha-n-pita looku tanya tanya-ra-n*
Adam-OBJ make-sub-3P-ABL loco rain rain-past-3

waranqa soqta pachak wata-pita-raq.
thousand six hundred year-ABL-yes

'The torrential rain came 1600 years after he made Adam
(and not before).'

Another class of time expressions with which *-raq* occurs are temporal adverbial clauses. As with the phrases which directly refer to a particular time or a period of time, *-raq* with an adverbial clause indicates that the action/event described by the superordinate clause does not happen until after the time of the event described by the adverbial clause. For example, 1647 indicates that the addressee is to bring it (the event referred to by the superordinate clause) only after it has dried (the event referred to by the adverbial clause):

1647 *Chaki-rku-pti-n-raq apa-mu-nki.*
dry-asp-adv-3P-yes take-afar-2

'Bring it when it dries (and not any sooner).'

1648 *Kay-man sha-mu-r-ran tari-nchi:-qa arrus o hwidys.*
here-GOAL come-afar-adv-yes find-12-TOP rice or pasta

'Not until we come here do we find rice or pasta.'

1649 *...dansa-n arpista bigulista tuka-pa-pti-n-raq.*
dance-3 harpist violinist play-ben-adv-3P-yes

Mana tuka-pti-n-qa mana dansa-n-chu.
not play-adv-3P-TOP not dance-3-NEG

'...they dance when (and not until) the harpist and violinist
play for them (and not before). If they do not play, they do
not dance.'

1650 *...wakin-qa kasara-n achka wamra-n-kuna ka-pti-n-raq.*
others-TOP marry-3 many child-3P-plur be-adv-3P-yes

'...others get married only after there are several children.'

1651 Chay usha-ka-pti-n-raq kara+uunu-n wasi-n-man kama
 that finish-pass-adv-3P-yet each+one-3P house-3P-GOAL resp
 aywa-ku-n.
 go-refl-3

'Only when that (fiesta) is finished (and not before)
 each one returns home.'

Consider the structure in 1652:

1652 [Mana-raq X]_{ADVERBIAL CLAUSE} Y_{MAIN CLAUSE}

In 1652, *mana-raq* (not-yet) indicates that Y happened (happens or should happen) before X, i.e., when X has *not yet* happened. Thus example 1653 might be paraphrased 'At some time when you have not yet come, bathe.'

1653 Mana-raq sha-mu-r arma-ku-y.
 not-yet come-afar-adv bathe-refl-2IMP

'Bathe before you come.' (lit. 'Not yet coming, bathe.')

Example 1654a is unusual because the main clause bears *-raq* 'yet' rather than the adverbial clause. Nonetheless, it is consistent with the temporal effect of *-raq* 'yet': *-raq* occurs on the superordinate clause because the action it describes happens before the action described by the adverbial clause. This is made explicit in 1654b.

1654 a. Ese nuwal-wan tini-rku-r atapa-nchi:-raq.
 that walnut-COM dye-asp-adv form:skein-12-yet

b. Nuwal tini-na-paq-qa atapa-ta rura-nchi.
 walnut dye-sub-pur-TOP skein-OBJ make-12

a. 'Dying it with that walnut, we first form a skein.'

b. 'In order to dye it, we make a skein.'

Example 1655, which has a time phrase rather than an adverbial clause, is similar to 1654 in having *-raq* 'yet' in the main clause rather than the time expression:¹⁹

1655 Hina ka-shun-ran ish kay kimsa killa-kama.
 like:that be-12IMP-yet two three month-LIM

'Let's be like that until two or three months have passed
 (and then we can go back to doing it).'

19.4.2. Negative and *-raq*

-raq occurs in negative expressions to indicate 'not yet'. (These were discussed briefly in section 17.4.) For example,

1656 Kay-chaw mana ka-shka:-raq-chu noqa.
 here-LOC not be-perf-1-yet-NEG I

'I was not here yet (at that time).'

1657 Ama(-raq) aywa-y-raq-chu. Ka-ku-yka:-shun-raq.
 not(-yet) go-2IMP-yet-NEG be-refl-impfv-12FUT-yet

'Don't go yet. Let's be yet (awhile here together).'

See also example 1416, p.343.

¹⁹In example 1655, if *-raq* had occurred in the time phrase rather than the main clause, the sentence would mean 'After two or three months, we should be that way.'

It is often immaterial whether *-raq* 'yet' occurs on *mana* 'not' or on the verb, or on both; e.g., compare example 1658a, where *-raq* follows *mana* 'not', with 1658b, where it follows the verb:

- 1658 a. Qam-kuna mana-raq-chu musya-nki?
 you-plur not-yet-NEG know-2
- b. Qam-kuna mana -chu musya-nki-raq?
 you-plur not neg know-2-yet
- a,b. 'Don't you know yet?'

19.4.3. *-raq* to Indicate an Extreme

-raq 'yet' may indicate that the action/event of the clause was an extreme measure, i.e., not carried out to an ordinary degree or applied to the ordinary objects. Examples follow:

- 1659 Hatun awturidaa-chaw-raq-mi musya-ka:-shun kapital-chaw-raq-mi.
 big authority-LOC-yet-DIR know-pass-12FUT capital-LOC-yet-DIR
 'We will find out only at the higher authority, in the capital (and we will not find out any sooner).'
- 1660 Llulla-ku-nki-chari. Kiki-:-raq-mi warmi-:-ta watqa-yku-shaq.
 lie-refl-2-surely self-:-yet-DIR wife-1P-OBJ spy-impact-1FUT
 'You must be lying! I myself now will spy on my wife.'
 (*kikiraqmi* implies that nothing will determine the truth short of the speaker's spying on his wife.)
- 1661 Sasa-ta-raq-shi hichqa-yku-n awkin-qa.
 difficult-OBJ-yet-IND strike-impact-3 old:man-TOP
 'With difficulty, the old man strikes the match.' (*sasataraqshi* implies that it was only with considerable difficulty that the old man was able to manage striking a match.)
- 1662 ...wayu-chi-na-yki-paq naka-r-raq-mi aru-nki...
 produce-caus-sub-2P-PUR suffer-adv-yet-DIR work-2
 '...in order to cause it to produce you will have to work even to the point of suffering (i.e., you will not be able to make it produce without working to the point of suffering)...'

See also examples 123 (p.46), 163 (p.53), and 896 (p.224).

19.4.4. *-raq* with Future Verbs

-raq in a clause with a first person future verb indicates the speaker's intention/wish to do what is indicated by the clause. This is usually accompanied by a strong sense that the hearer expects the contrary. Examples follow:

- 1663 Rura-shaq-raq.
 do-1FUT-yet
 'I will yet do it' or 'I still intend to do it.'
 (despite your thinking that I won't)
- 1664 Ichan-qa yapya-:-ta-raq usha-ku-ri-shaq.
 perhaps-TOP field-1P-OBJ-yet finish-refl-asp-1FUT
 'Perhaps I will finish (plowing) my field (before you take one of my oxen).'

- 1665 Ma: pay-ta-raq tapu-y.
 challenge he-OBJ-yet ask-2IMP
 'Ask him first (before you ask me/do it).'

19.4.5. Frozen Expressions with -raq

In the following cases, -raq is frozen with *chay* 'that' into an expression the meaning of which is not straightforwardly derived from the parts:

chay-lla-raq (that-just-yet) is a temporal adverb which means 'just a moment ago' or 'very very recently'

chay-raq-shi (that-yet-IND) is a link which means (roughly) 'right then' 'still'
chaychawraq is used to mean 'not until that point in time'; e.g.:

- 1666 Chay-chaw-raq musya-shka-:...
 that-LOC-yet know-perf-1
 'It wasn't until that/there, that I knew...'

Other cases in which -raq seems to be frozen are:

hinallaraq 'just like that'; see example 226, p.67

qepa-n-ta-raq (back-3P-OBJ-yet) is an adverb meaning (roughly) 'yet some time after'

19.5. Contrast between -na and -raq

-na 'now' and -raq 'yet' have much in common: they have the same morpho-syntax distribution and their meanings are both basically temporal. However, these meanings are in opposition. One evidence of this is that -na and -raq do not co-occur in the same clause:²⁰

- 1667 *Ama-na aywa-y-raq-chu. (not-now go-2IMP-yet-NEG)
 *Ama-raq aywa-y-na-chu. (not-yet go-2IMP-now-NEG)

The difference in meaning between -na and -raq is evident in pairs such as those in example 1668:

- 1668 a. Kanan ama-raq aywa-y-chu.
 now not-yet go-2IMP-NEG
 b. Kanan ama-na aywa-y-chu.
 now not-now go-2IMP-NEG
 a. 'Don't go yet (i.e., go later).'

b. 'Don't go now (i.e., give up the trip).'

While it is easy to recognize that there is a difference between -na and -raq, it is not easy to state exactly what that difference is. I offer the following as an attempt to do so: -na 'now' and -raq 'yet' differ in that -na 'now' strongly implies a con-

²⁰There are cases like the following, in which -na and -raq co-occur in the same sentence (but not in the same clause):

- Awkin-na, peru mana-raq allaapa awkin-chu.
 old-now but not-yet too old-NEG
 'He is old now, but not yet real old.'

trast to a prior state, whereas *-raq* 'yet' implies persistence in a state up to some time, possibly contrasting with a subsequent state after that time.²¹

For example, consider the development of living things from a state of 'immaturity' to a state of 'old'. In HgQ, *mallwa* 'immature, young' represents an initial period in this development, and *awkis* 'old', the final stages. The interaction of these with *-na* and *-raq* shows the asymmetry in what *-na* and *-raq* imply. In example 1669a, *-na* implies that the subject has finally become immature from some former state; but since there is no state prior to immaturity, 1669a is anomalous. Example 1669b is acceptable because something can continue to persist in the state of being immature:

- 1669 a. **Mallwa-na-mi ka-yka-n.*
immature-now-DIR be-impfv-3
- b. *Mallwa-raq-mi ka-yka-n.*
immature-yet-DIR be-impfv-3
- a. *'It is finally immature.'
b. 'It is still immature.'

Example 1670a is acceptable because one can finally become old from the prior condition of being immature. In example 1670b, *-raq* implies that the subject persists in being old up to some time, in contrast to the state it will have subsequent to that time. But since there is no subsequent state to being old, 1670b is anomalous:

- 1670 a. *Awkis-na-mi ka-yka-n.*
old-now-DIR be-impfv-3
- b. **Awkis-raq-mi ka-yka-n.*
old-yet-DIR be-impfv-3
- a. 'It is now old.'

Consider the question in example 1671, and the response to it in 1672. In 1671b, *-raq* is acceptable because the existence of potatoes is a state in which they may persist. In 1671a, *-na* is not acceptable because it implies that potatoes once persisted in not being; but they have to "be" in order to be in a state in which they can continue, i.e., non-existence is not a state in which they can be said to persist.

- 1671 a. **Papa-ta ka-yka:-chi-nki-na-chu?*
potatoes-OBJ be-impfv-caus-2-now-YN?
- b. *Papa-ta ka-yka:-chi-nki-raq-chu?*
potatoes-OBJ be-impfv-caus-2-yet-YN?
- b. 'Do you still have potatoes?'

In example 1672a, *-na* is acceptable; the implication of a former state of existence is natural. In 1672b, *-raq* is not acceptable because potatoes cannot be said to continue in the state of nonexistence.

²¹Peter Landerman (personal communication) suggests that this might reduce to an even more fundamental opposition, where *-na* indicates 'change' and *-raq* indicates 'lack of change'.

1672 a. Mana ka-chi-:-na-chu.
not be-caus-1-now-NEG

b. *Mana ka-chi-:-raq-chu.
not be-caus-1-yet-NEG

b. 'I don't have any now (I had some, but...).'

Chapter 20

THE SUFFIX *-qa* 'TOP'

The suffix *-qa* is generally referred to as the "topic" marker, and will be glossed *-qa* 'TOP'. I will not seek a definitive solution to the very complex problem of specifying the use and distribution of *-qa*, but rather will seek to advance the study of *-qa* by exemplifying the range of cases in which it is used and making some (admittedly very speculative) remarks about what these uses have in common--presumably the reason for which *-qa* occurs. The primary goal is to make explicit various facts about *-qa*; this discussion is broken into two parts: syntactic facts (section 20.1) and pragmatic/semantic facts (section 20.2.3).

20.1. Syntactic Aspects of *-qa*

We will first discuss the syntactic categories with which *-qa* occurs (20.1.1); second, the restriction of *-qa* to main clause constituents (20.1.2); third, cases where more than one *-qa* per sentence occurs (20.1.3); and finally, how *-qa* and the evidential suffixes tend to bracket the initial constituents of a sentence (20.1.4).

20.1.1. Syntactic Categories with Which *-qa* Occurs

There is little or no restriction on the occurrence of *-qa* in terms of the syntactic category to which it is suffixed; it occurs with elements of all the major syntactic categories.

Most frequent are occurrences on substantives: noun phrases, nouns, pronouns, nominalized clauses, adjectives, etc. Many examples of these appear throughout this chapter; for example, in 1676, *-qa* occurs on an adjective. A case not otherwise illustrated here is the following, in which *-qa* occurs on an infinitive complement:

1673

Noqapis munaa rigiku-y-ta-ga.
I:too I:want believe-INF-OBJ-TOP

'I also want to believe.'

Very rarely, *-qa* occurs on the main verb of a sentence, i.e., on a finite verb. The conditions under which this occurs are probably quite special (section 20.2.3.8): the occurrence of *-qa* on the main verb of a sentence may be restricted to second references to the action suggested by that verb.

-qa occurs on adverbs, frequently on adverbial clauses (20.2.3.7), and occasionally on lexical adverbs. Examples with lexical adverbs are seen in 1716h (p.412) and in the following:

1674 Washalaaman kaylaaman chutanchi chankankunapita
to:that:side to:this:side we:pull:it by:its:feet

mana allaapa-ga.
not much-TOP

'We stretch it between the two sides, pulling it by the feet,
but not pulling too hard.'

-qa occurs on "links", the sentential conjunctions such as *chawra* 'then', *chaypita* 'thereafter', *nirkur* 'thereupon', etc. (section 20.2.3.5).

-qa does not occur on the negative words (*mana* and *ama*), nor on the conjunctions *y* 'and' and *o* 'or' which are borrowed from Spanish. Nor does it occur on interjections or on ideophones.

20.1.2. *-qa* is Restricted to Main Clause Constituents

-qa occurs only on "major" constituents, i.e., the main constituents of the sentence, as well as on the arguments of the main verb.¹ *-qa* does not occur within a sub-

¹By this definition, "major constituent" includes objects of main verbs and complements to *ka-* 'be' when it is a main verb. The following sentences, bracketed into major constituents, illustrate this definition:

[Hwanpa wamran] [ollqo] [karan].
John's child male he:was

'John's child was a male (child).'

[Chawra] [wasita] [qomasha] [alli tiyanaapaq].
So house:OBJ he:gave:me good that:I:live

'So he gave me a house, that I might live comfortably.'

[Wallka wamran kaptinpis] [wasin] [sumaq hatun].
few his:child although:there:were his:house very big

'Although his children are few, his house is very big.'

See also example 12 (p.15), which is displayed by major constituent.

ordinate clause, within a NP, etc.² For example, consider the following:

- 1675 a. Hatun wasi-ta muna-:.
big house-OBJ want-1
- b. Hatun wasi-ta-qa muna-:.
big house-OBJ-TOP want
- c. *Hatun-qa wasi-ta munaa.
big-TOP house-OBJ want-1
- a, b. 'I want a big house.'

As seen in 1675b, *-qa* can be added to the entire object. It cannot be added to *hatun* 'big' in 1675c, because *hatun* is not a main clause constituent.

However, there are mechanisms for making elements that would otherwise not be constituents of the main clause into constituents of the main clause. For example, the modifier of 1674a might be moved outside of the NP in which it occurs--in which case it receives a copy of the case marker of the NP, in this case *-ta* 'OBJ'--and then it can receive a *-qa*:

- 1676 Wasi-ta munaa hatun-ta-qa.
house-OBJ I:want big-OBJ-TOP
- 'I want a big house.'

Example 1677, from a folk tale, is like 1676; *huknayllataqa* 'just one' is a displaced modifier of *kawallu* 'horse':³

- 1677 Mana munasha-chu kawallu-ta muntaku-y-ta huknaylla-ta-qa.
not he:wanted-NEG horse-OBJ mount-INF-OBJ only:one-OBJ-TOP
- 'He didn't want to mount just one horse.'

20.1.3. There May Be More Than One *-qa* per Sentence

More than one *-qa* may occur per sentence. For example, consider 1678b, in which there are three occurrences of *-qa*:⁴

²This is fairly true across all Quechua languages. Inga (of Colombia) and San Martín Quechua are exceptional: they allow *-qa* to occur within subordinate clauses. There are exceedingly rare exceptions in HgQ; see the noun phrase in example 1637a, p.384.

³The text after example 1677 continues: 'So he made two horses stand side by side and got on. One horse went up the hill and the other went down the hill, breaking his legs.'

⁴I have given 1678a as context for 1678b because I think that the multiple occurrences of *-qa* in 1678b are due to the rather special context in which it occurs and the special role it plays in that context. It climaxes the search for a man who is willing to assume the heavy responsibility of sponsoring the next year's fiesta. This involves plying potential candidates with considerable cane liquor to get their commitment.

- 1678 a. Karguta yaykunanpaq awni-q-naw kaptin-qa masta
 position to:enter agree-sub-SIM if:he:be-TOP more
 awrindita kunbiran yaparir yaparir awninankama.
 fire:water he:served adding adding until:he:agrees
- b. Runa-qa achkata awrindita upur-qa
 man-TOP much fire:water having:drunk-TOP
 awnin machar-na-qa.
 he:agrees being:drunk-NOW-TOP
- a. 'When the man is about to (as though to) agree to enter
 the position, they serve him firewater again and again.'
- b. 'The man, having drunk much firewater, agrees, now
 (being) drunk.'

Other cases in which there are multiple occurrences of *-qa* will be seen below.

20.1.4. Blocking and the Interaction with the Evidential Suffixes

-qa interacts (somehow!!) with the evidential suffixes *-mi* 'direct/firsthand information', *-shi* 'indirect/secondhand information', and *-chi* 'conjectural' (discussed in chapter 21). For example, only rarely do an evidential suffix and *-qa* co-occur on the same word. One of these rare exceptions is the following,⁵ from Levengood [22] (p. 19):

- 1679 Rason faltan-mi-qa.
 really he:lacks-DIR-TOP
 'He really has need of one (a wife).'

Another indication of the interaction of *-qa* and the evidential suffixes is that *-qa* occurs much less frequently and with more specific functions in discourse types in which there are no evidential suffixes. (More about that later.)

Peter Landerman (personal communication) has observed a strong tendency--that seems to obtain in a surprisingly wide range of dialects--toward the following possible patterns (where P, Q, R, S,... are constituents of the main clause and *-mi* 'DIR' is taken to represent an evidential suffix);

- 1680 P-mi Q R S ...
 or
 P-qa Q-mi R S ...
 or
 P-qa Q-qa R-mi S...
 etc.

That is, *-qa* occurs on all the constituents of the main clause before the one bearing the evidential suffix; we might say that *-qa* "bumps" the evidential suffix over to the next constituent.⁶ Examples follow:

⁵Another such example is 1690. Note that the order of occurrence of *-qa* and the evidential suffix differ in these two examples.

⁶*-qa* also does not co-occur with *-pis* ~ *-si* 'even, also'; some of the "blocking" and "bumping" effect described for *-qa* may also be exhibited by these suffixes.

- 1681 [Chawra] [oosumallwa]-qa [runata]-qa
 then young:bear-TOP men-TOP
 [pampa inlisyá punku-man]-shi hitaraykamun hanaq
 ground church door-GOAL-IND he:throws:them high
 toorripita wañuqpaq...
 tower:from that:they:die
 'Then the young bear throws the men to the ground at the
 door of the church from the high tower, with the result
 that they die...'
- 1682 Chayshi [warmin]-qa [chayamur]-qa ["Ima..imata
 then his:wife-TOP arriving-TOP what what
 apamushkanki? Imata apamushkanki?" niq]-shi
 you:brought What you:brought she:said-IND
 [runanta]-qa.
 to:her:husband-TOP
 'Then his wife, upon arriving, would ask her husband,
 "What did you bring (me)? What did you bring (me)?"'

The patterns of 1680 are more general than one might, at first, be led to believe. Three apparent exceptions can be accounted for:

First, there are discourse types in which no evidential suffixes occur; in these, *-qa* often occurs on the initial constituents before the one on which an evidential suffix would occur if the sentence were in a discourse type which required evidential suffixes. For example, if the following sentence had occurred in such a discourse type, an evidential suffix would occur very naturally following *parabin*:

- 1683 [Chawra]-qa [llapan minisrukuna runakuna chaychaw kaq]-qa
 then-TOP all ministers men there who:are-TOP
 parabin nipaakun.
 for:good they:say:to:him
 'Then all the ministers and men who are there shake his
 hand (lit., 'say "good"').'

Similarly, in the following example the evidential suffix would occur naturally on *quyaakun*:

- 1684 [Wakin runakuna]-qa [warmi-ta ashishan kaqchaw]-qa
 other men-TOP woman-OBJ search being:at-TOP
 quyaakun upyarkaykar...
 they:remain drinking
 'Other men remain at the place where they are proposing
 to the woman drinking...'

In example 1685, from Pantoja et al. [28] (p. 14, sec. 2:70), the evidential suffix would occur on *hinallanllachoona*:⁷

⁷This would result in *hinanllachoonam* ending in *-nam* = /-na-mi/ 'now-DIR', which is a very frequent combination in Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua text structured on temporal progression.

1685 [Wamrakuna awkiskuna manana ayqiyta pwedeq kaq]-ga
 children old:people not:now run:INF who:are:able: who:are-TOP

hinallanllachoona qoncurikuykuyaanaq...
 right:there:now they:were:crawling

'The children and old people who were no longer able to
 run were crawling right there...'

Second, even in discourse types which generally require an evidential suffix, it may be absent for entirely unrelated reasons.⁸ One discourse type which uses evidential suffixes in Huallaga Quechua is the folk tale. However, many sentences lack the appropriate evidential suffix (-*shi* 'IND'). This is due in part to the fact that these are told in the perfect tense (except when they switch to the historical present), the third person form of which is -*sha*. Seldom is -*sha-shi* '3PERF-IND' attested, despite the fact that evidential suffixes occur on verbs in other tenses. The -*shi* is presumably lost following -*sha* because of apocope.⁹

Third, cases in which some post-verbal constituent bears -*ga* should not be taken as evidence against the "bumping hypothesis." Post-verbal subject and object NP's almost always bear -*ga*, a fact reported in Coombs et al. [12] (pg. 147) for San Martín Quechua, but true also in Huallaga Quechua and probably a wide range of other dialects. For Inga (a Quechua language spoken in Colombia), Levinsohn [23] (p. 30) suggests that *ca*, which is cognate with HgQ -*ga* 'TOP', occurs on post-verbal (rhematic) elements because the evidential suffixes do not occur on any post-verbal element (which also holds true for Huallaga Quechua, with a few straightforward exceptions).

The pattern of 1680 has a good deal of utility in blocking a sentence into its main constituents; indeed, in some cases one wonders if this isn't the primary reason for the occurrence of -*ga*. In examples like 1683-1685 as well as the following, the parts of the sentence might not be clear to the hearer if he had not been given the explicit signals that he had reached the end of a constituent of the main clause. This is probably also true for cases like 1687, in which the pattern is not complete: 1687 lacks -*ga* on the third constituent of the main clause. (It is of no particular concern that the link *chawra* is without -*ga* in many of these cases.)

1686 Chawra [runa]-ga [busburupa huk umanta hurquykur]-shi
 so man-TOP match's one its:head taking:out-IND

toopaykachin chay achikyaraykaqman.
 he:touches:it that what:is:shining

'Then the man, having taken out a match, touches it to where
 that was shining.'

⁸For example, in example 1800 (p.460) -*shi* occurs on *buurru* 'donkey', *allqu* 'dog', and *gaallu* 'rooster', and yet fails to occur on *mishi* 'cat' even though it is completely parallel to the others. The reason is simply that this dialect of Quechua frequently omits like syllables at the ends of words.

⁹I hypothesize that for Junín Quechua, where folk tales are told in the simple past, the "bumping pattern" would be more regular.

- 1687 Chawra [huk diya]-qa [awkis oosu ashipakoq
 then one day-TOP old bear to:search
 aywakushankama] [wamran]-qa [laahata horqoriykur]-shi
 while:he:was:gone his:son-TOP stone removing-IND
 pushakun mamanta maman tiyashan markapa.
 he:leads his:mother his:mother lived town
 'Then one day while the old bear had gone to scavenge, his son,
 having removed the stone, leads his mother to the town in which
 she had lived.'

The utility of *-qa* in conjunction with the evidential suffixes to block a sentence into constituents is not merely a "processing convenience". In some cases the occurrence of *-qa* has semantic consequences. For example, in 1688, it limits the scope of *mana* 'not' to *llapan* 'all' or *llapan warmi* 'all women'; without *-qa* this sentence would--I suspect--be ambiguous between 'Not all women know how (to sing) that' and 'All women do not know how (to sing) that.' The disambiguation results if one takes *-qa* to be the right boundary marker for the first constituent. Because this includes *mana*, the scope of negation must be within that constituent, either *llapan warmi* or just *llapan*. In either case, this constituent will mean 'not all women'.

- 1688 Chay rusta apaptin birsupan. [Mana llapan warmi]-qa
 that cross taking they:sing not all women-TOP
 yachan-chu chay-ta.
 they:know-NEG that-OBJ
 'As they take the cross, they sing. Not all women know how
 (to sing) that.'

In example 1689, the *-qa* following *kutiptin* blocks the preceding material as the first major constituent. This is consistent with the same subject switch reference marking on *hitariykur*, the verb of the embedded clause; it cannot be directly superordinate to the main clause, because the respective subjects are not co-referential. But the clause whose verb is *kutiptin*, with different subject marking, may be directly subordinate to the main clause, as the respective subjects are different. Thus, taking the *-qa* following *kutiptin* as the right boundary of the first major constituent leads to exactly the structure dictated by the switch reference facts.¹⁰

- 1689 Y [[chay mayurnin hitariyku-r] kuti-pti-n]-qa
 and that older:brother throwing-adv(ss) return-adv(ds)-3P-TOP
 [chay sonso]-qa baaya wasinchawna uyshanwan
 that stooge-TOP (exclamation) in:his:house:now with:his:sheep
 waakanwan puriykasha.
 with:his:cows he:walked:about
 'And after that, his older brother returned (from) having thrown
 him over, that stooge (exclamation) was going about his house
 with his sheep and his cows.'

Example 1719b is another case where the function of *-qa* has direct semantic sig-

¹⁰A similar but more elaborate argument can be constructed for example 1721.

nificance as a result of constraining the constituent relations; its temporal clause *tumaykashanchaw* 'as he is going about' is not a constituent of the main clause, because if it were, it would mean that the *rigidur* whips the animal's owners as he is going about. Rather, it is a constituent of the conditional adverbial clause: 'If--as he is going around--he finds animals eating the crops...'

In conclusion, it has been shown that there is a tendency for some occurrences of *-qa* and one occurrence of an evidential suffix to block a sentence into its main clause constituents. This may be a processing convenience which in some cases has semantic implications because of the restrictions placed on the grouping of the words into syntactic constituents. Let me hasten to add that this is only a tendency; many sentences have no *-qa*'s, even some which seem ideal candidates for blocking. I believe that dialects, speakers, and discourse types vary considerably in the extent to which the patterns of 1680 have become norms. Where there is a strong set of norms, this undoubtedly deprives *-qa* of some of its pragmatic force. It is to these pragmatic uses of *-qa* that we will now turn our attention.

20.2. Pragmatic Facts About *-qa*

This section treats various pragmatic facts about *-qa*. As with many such "facts," they are often no more than tendencies, seldom capturable by formal rules. Nevertheless, any adequate treatment of *-qa* should account for them.

20.2.1. General Comments

-qa has sometimes been associated with "focus", and more often with "topic."¹¹ I have chosen to stick with common practice, using "topic"; however, I wish to emphasize that it is intended as an arbitrary label. (Better labels might have been "relevance" or "theme.") "Topic" has been used both to establish a (new) topic and to continue a topic. *-qa* is never used to establish a new topic. It is used on elements which are highly topical (or "thematic"); but note that generally the most topical elements are simply unstated. (We might say that they are referred to by a null pronoun.) Some uses of *-qa* actually increase the salience of the constituent to which it is attached, i.e., brings it into focus; e.g., see example 1677. This seems inconsistent with the idea that *-qa* marks topics. The discussion below will not center on the appropriateness of one label or another. Rather, our purpose will be to document that *-qa* is a fundamental part of the system by which a speaker guides the attention of his hearer, and to explore how it does so.

-qa tends to occur on constituents that have been previously mentioned or alluded to, or are part of "general knowledge." As with definite articles in English, reference in Quechua to some object "brings along" its parts and associates. For ex-

¹¹Phelps [32] and Wolck [49] deal with *-qa* in terms of focus. There has been a tendency to use "focus" and "topic" without explicit definitions. Others subsequently take the label for whatever it means to them. To some extent, "topic" is still poorly defined. Chafe [7] (p. 55) suggests that it may mean something somewhat different from language to language.

ample, after referring to a bicycle, we can speak of 'the handlebars'. Similarly, in the following example the anti-hero's mother has not been previously mentioned; nevertheless, *maman* 'his mother' may receive *-qa* because reference to the anti-hero has "brought along" his associates.

1690 Chawra-qa *Kanan-qa-chi kanan-lla
 then-TOP now-TOP-probably just:now
 maman-qa rimamanqa, awkin..."
 his:mother-TOP she:will:criticize:me old:man

'Then, "Now, just now, his mother will criticize me, old man..."'

In examples 1691 and 1692, *runakuna* 'men, people' receives *-qa* even though there is no previous mention of the people; this is because *runakuna* does not refer to a particular group of people, but rather to people in general, and (generic) "people" does not need previous mention to be part of the context:

1691 Chawra 'Chay hukwan. Chay warmikita yanqami
 then that with:another that your:wife in:vain
 sirbinki; nisha nisha huk
 you:serve they:said they:said other
 runakuna-qa rikaqninkuna-qa.
 men-TOP those:who:had:seen:them-TOP

'Then "That (your wife is) with another (man). In vain do you serve your wife," said various people who had seen them.'

1692 '...Wankaman pituy karaa' ninshi runakuna-qa.
 at:a:distance tie:it (expletive) they:say men-TOP

'"...Tie it with plenty of rope (expletive)" people tell him.'

One might think that an evidential suffix occurs on the new information in a sentence, whereas *-qa* occurs on the old. But while it is true that *-qa* tends to occur on old information (with "old information" suitably defined to include things alluded to, generics, etc.), it is not true that the evidentials are restricted to new information. For example, in the following piece of text, the evidential *-shi* 'IND' occurs on *uchu aqasha* 'ground pepper' in the second sentence, despite the fact that it is the subject of the immediately preceding sentence:

1693 a. Y uchu aqasha listuna-shi kaykan.
 and hot:pepper ground ready:now-IND it:is
 b. Wanchaq-qa uchu aqasha-wan-shi atoqpa qaran
 (bird)-TOP hot:pepper ground-COM-IND fox's skin
 kuchushanman laqtapaykun.
 to:where:cut he:smears:it
 a. 'And the ground hot pepper is now ready.'
 b. 'The *wanchaq* smears the hot pepper into where they had cut the fox's skin.'

While there is a tendency for *-qa* to occur on old information, it would be too strong to say that *-qa* is restricted to old information. (This was demonstrated by Levinsohn [23] for Inga of Colombia.)

20.2.2. Variation in the Use of *-qa*

There are three sorts of variation in the use of *-qa* which--on the one hand--complicate making significant generalizations about this suffix, and--on the other hand--themselves demand explanation.

First, there is variation in the use of *-qa* from dialect to dialect. This is, of course, not surprising. What *is* surprising is the extent to which *-qa* seems to be used in the same way across dialects, dialects which differ at least as much as Spanish and French. For example, the list of uses described in Coombs et al. [12] for San Martín Quechua (a Quechua A dialect) and that described below for Huallaga Quechua (a Quechua B dialect) are remarkably similar. And much of what Levinsohn [23] describes for Inga (a Quechua A dialect) also holds for Huallaga Quechua. Of course, the actual similarities across dialects cannot be completely assessed at the present, because there are not yet adequate descriptions of the uses of *-qa* for many dialects; but my impression from the literature and from scanning texts in various dialects is that there are remarkable similarities. Such similarities across dialects leads me to believe that the function(s) of *-qa* are very coherent, that possibly there is but a single basic function (or "meaning") at the heart of its various uses. If this is not the case, i.e., if *-qa* were merely assigned as the marker of a rather arbitrary set of functions, then one would expect much more variation among the dialects.

Second, there is variation in the use of *-qa* from speaker to speaker within a single dialect. In some cases this might be attributable to different styles; for example, a style with a high frequency of post-verbal subjects and objects will have a high frequency of *-qa*'s because postverbal subjects and objects almost always bear *-qa*. There is reason to suspect that a high frequency of *-qa* can be associated with "more animated" speech, i.e., speech which strives more vigorously to keep the hearer's attention; and that the frequency of *-qa* may be higher in the speech of women than in that of men (a suggestion for which I presently have only impressionistic data). Evidence (admittedly anecdotal) for the former claim is a situation reported to me by David Coombs (personal communication); it seems that one of the dialects of Cajamarca has both a higher frequency of *-qa*'s and greater overall pitch variation in typical speech; this is pronounced enough that the speakers of this dialect are often characterized as "singing" their Quechua. But, of course, greater pitch variation is characteristic of more animated speech. So correlation of the frequency of *-qa* with the degree of animation is indirectly supported by their mutual correlation with greater pitch variation. If the frequency of *-qa* does correlate with animatedness, then the second claim may in part be due to the greater degree of animation with which Quechua women speak, as compared with men. (That is my impression, at least.)

Some speaker-to-speaker variation is due to differing degrees of competence in the use of *-qa*. This becomes more plausible if we consider what sort of competence is involved. My feeling is that it involves "discourse competence" (or maybe "pragmatic competence") and I assume that it is acquired at a much later stage than, say, syntactic competence. It could be that some speakers never, in fact,

become fully "discourse competent." The following experience led me rather strongly to the idea that there are speakers who possess full syntactic competence and yet have less than full discourse competence. In one dialect I checked a particular (computer-adapted) text with both a young and an old man, both of whom were bilingual and for whom Quechua was their native language. The young man had recently returned from Lima, where he had been studying--in Spanish--for many years. In correcting the texts, this young man made more corrections of a discourse nature than did the old man. His corrections were almost always toward the basic patterns prescribed by the "bumping hypothesis" (the patterns of (1680)). My guess is that this young man was discourse competent to the extent of knowing the basic patterns, but lacked the competence to know how that pattern should/could be violated, much like the child who says "goed" rather than "went" because he knows the regularities of the English past tense but does not know its exceptions.

Third, there is variation in the use of *-qa* from discourse type to discourse type within the speech of a single speaker. For example, both Phelps [32], for Ayacucho, and the present author, for Huallaga Quechua, have noticed that there are far fewer *-qa*'s per sentence in descriptive material than in folk tales. It is surprising that the variation from one type of discourse to another should be so similar for two dialects differing as much as Ayacucho and Huallaga Quechua. This further reinforces the conviction that *-qa* is not arbitrarily associated with some set of uses, but rather that there is some basic, coherent function for which it is the marker.

What might account for the different frequencies of *-qa* in different discourse types? In Huallaga Quechua, folk tales have an extremely high frequency of *-qa*. By contrast, personal narratives have a very low frequency. This is somewhat surprising since both discourse types share many characteristics: in both, the order in which events are told is the order of occurrence; in both, various participants may be involved, with the action shifting from one to another. However, there is an essential difference between folk tales and personal narratives to which the differences might be attributed; namely, that personal narratives have a "built-in" perspective, whereas folk tales do not. Folk tales have more the character of theatre, where the spotlight must be focused on the various participants to bring the attention of the viewer first to one, then to another.

An interesting fact about variations in the frequency and use of *-qa* from one discourse type to another has emerged from the study of two texts, one explaining the various roles of administrators of fiestas, the other a description of engagement practices. Both are basically expository texts, but in both there are embedded portions of other discourse types, such as procedural text within the expository text. (See Longacre [26] for a definition of these terms.) In the embedded portions, *-qa* has roughly the frequency and range of uses that it has in the corresponding non-embedded text of this type. For example, non-embedded procedural text has virtually no occurrences of *-qa*; this is also true of procedural text which is embedded in some other type of text. So clearly the use of *-qa* is determined by fairly local considerations and not as a feature of the discourse as a whole.

A final observation: *-qa* occurs in all discourse types in which evidential suffixes occur; i.e., if evidential suffixes occur, then *-qa*'s also occur. (Some texts such as procedural texts, have *-qa*'s, but no evidentials.)

20.2.3. The Uses of *-qa*

This section treats various uses of *-qa*. The taxonomy used to present these uses is primarily an expository convenience; no one should be led by it to think that *-qa* is simply arbitrarily associated with this set of distinct functions, or to conclude that the examples presented are strictly of one type and not of another. Like perhaps all functional taxonomies, there is considerable overlap from one use to another, and a given example might reasonably fit in more than one category. This is not unreasonable if, as seems likely, there is a single, basic function associated with *-qa* and the apparent differences (i.e., from a non-native perspective) are merely different contextualizations of that basic function.

What exactly this basic function might be is unclear at present. I propose the following, which I believe is a step toward an adequate characterization, though I readily admit that this proposal does not resolve all the issues raised here: *-qa* occurs on those constituents of a sentence the speaker wishes to indicate as most responsible for the sentence's relevance to its context. (By "context" I mean here the set of propositions that the speaker assumes the hearer to know at the point at which he says the sentence.)

The advantage of such a definition--some would see it as a disadvantage--is that it is not inappropriately precise; a constituent can be responsible for the contextual relevance of the sentence in which it occurs for various reasons, such as pursuing the same topic, contrasting with something in the context, presenting alternatives in the same role, bearing out some temporal or logical relationship, etc. Some of these relations of relevance may become conventionally associated with *-qa*, but which relations, and to what extent this has happened for even one dialect, are open questions. It may be that in some highly specific contexts a speaker can use *-qa* because he perceives a highly specialized, unconventional, or novel relationship of relevance, one which he assumes would be correctly interpreted by his hearer in that context.

The following uses of *-qa* will be discussed:

- to indicate relevance to context (section 20.2.3.1)
- to indicate contrast (section 20.2.3.2)
- with negative assertions and yes/no questions (section 20.2.3.3)
- to frame alternatives (section 20.2.3.4)
- with sentential connectives (section 20.2.3.5)
- to resume a topic (section 20.2.3.6)
- on adverbial clauses, (section 20.2.3.7)
- on main verbs (section 20.2.3.8)

20.2.3.1. *-qa* Indicating Relevance to Context

In the examples of this section, an element bears *-qa* simply because it makes its sentence relevant to the context. The first three examples involve reported dialogue (embedded in folk tales). In each case the first speaker initiates a topic which in the second speaker's reply is tagged with *-qa*. The second speaker indicates by the use of *-qa* the constituent he regards as making his response most appropriate in the context of the first speaker's lead. This exchange can naturally result in establishment of this constituent (or better said, its referent) as the "topic of conversation."

- 1694 a. Chawra ninshi wanchaq, "Noqa peechoota pukayaachishkaa
then he:says wanchaq I my:breast I:made:it red
uchuan."
with:pepper
- b. Chawra atqshi nin, "Imanawpataq qam uchuwan-qa
then fox he:says how you with:pepper-TOP
pukayaachishkanki?"
you:made:your:breast:red
- a. 'Then the *wanchaq* (type of bird) says, "I made my
breast red with hot pepper."'
- b. 'Then the fox says, "How did you make your breast red with
pepper?'"
- 1695 a. Allqushi chawra nin, "Aywakur maychawtaq mikuyta
dog then he:says if:I:go where? food
tarishaq noqa?"
I:will:find I
- b. Buurru nin, "Ama mikuy-pita-qa llakikuychu..."
donkey he:says, Don't because:of:food-TOP don't:be:discouraged
- a. 'The dog then says, "If I go, where will I find food?'"
- b. 'The donkey says, "Don't be discouraged because of food..."'
- 1696 a. "...Tiyu, mukuykita chunkashun." Mishu ninshi chawra,
...Uncle your:lamb lets:do:it:in cat says then,
- b. Mana mukoota-qa. Mukoo-qa utikar muntasha
not my:lamb-TOP my:lamb-TOP when:I:tire mounted
purikunaapaqmi.
for:me:to:travel
- a. "...Uncle, let's do in your lamb." So the cat replies,
- b. "Not my lamb. My lamb is for me to go mounted when I tire."

The following examples were recorded from a woman who regularly brought medicinal herbs to the city of Huánuco to sell. The text was in answer to the question 'What do you cure with in the *chakra* (rural areas)?' At four points in her reply we find *chakra-chaw-qa* (rural:area-LOC-TOP); this is because the *chakra* is what makes her reply relevant to the context established by the question she was asked. (One could also--less plausibly, though--explain these as relevant because she is contrasting what is taken as remedy in the *chakra* with what is taken in the city, where the text was recorded; see 20.2.3.2.)

- 1697 a. Chayllami chakra-chaw-qa rimidyu kurupaq...
just:that chakra-LOC-TOP remedy for:worms...
- b. Chayllami chakra-chaw-qa. Mihur pastiilla y mihur ...toonika.
just:that chakra:LOC:TOP better pills and better tonic
- c. Chaytami upunchi chakra-chaw-qa.
just:that we:drink chakra-LOC-TOP
- d. Chaykunallawanmi noqakuna chakra-chaw-qa hampikoo.
just:with:that we chakra:LOC:TOP we:cure
- Manam pastiillata ni rantichu...
not pills nor we:do:not:buy
- a. 'That is the only remedy we have in the *chakra* for worms...'
b. 'We have just that in the *chakra*. Pills and tonics are better.'
c. 'In the *chakra* we take that.'
d. 'We cure ourselves with just those (herbs) in the *chakra*.
We don't buy pills...'

Here is a final example where *-qa* occurs for no apparent reason other than to flag an element as that which makes the sentence relevant to its context:

- 1698 a. Mayuyaqshi chayaykun.
to:the:river he:arrived
- b. Y mayu-qa chayashashi aywakuykaanaq.
and river-TOP full it:was:going
- a. '(The fox) arrived at the river.'
b. 'And the river was swollen.'

20.2.3.2. *-qa* Indicating Contrast

A constituent may make a sentence relevant to its context because its referent contrasts with some other element in its context, either something explicitly referred to in the discourse or not explicit but which the speaker can safely assume is in the context.¹² For instance, in example 1699, the price of hiring an orchestra (to provide music for a fiesta) is contrasted with the price of hiring someone to play music on his record player:

- 1699 a. Pikapayoqkuna mas baraatulla kubran.
record:player:owners more cheap they:charge
- b. Orkistakuna-qa mas chaninta
bands-TOP more expense
- a. 'Record player owners charge less (to provide the music for the fiesta).'
b. 'Orchestras (charge) more.'

In example 1700, the speaker contrasts the ultimate outcomes for the frog (in 1700a) and the condor (in 1700b):

¹²I intend this in the technical sense of "context" defined on page 404, namely, as the set of propositions the speaker assumes the hearer to know at the point of speaking.

- 1700 a. ...allichaw keedaykun saapo.
 in:good he:remained frog
- b. Y kondor-qa perdiykun leetuta.
 and condor-TOP he:lost the:litigation.
- a. '...it turned out well for the frog.'
 b. 'The condor (by contrast) lost the litigation.'

In example 1701, the amount of money that the treasurer must spend is contrasted with the amount the majordomo must spend:

- 1701 Tesureeru karguta paasanapaq qellayta mas achkata
 treasurer position to:fulfill money more lots
- gastan mayordoomu gastashanpita-qa.
 he:spends majordomo from:his:spending-TOP
- 'In order for the treasurer to fulfill his position, he spends
 much more than the majordomo spends.'

Example 1701 indicates what the *-qa*-bearing constituent contrasts with, in this case, how much the treasurer spends. In example 1702, the element with which something is contrasted is not explicitly stated in the (preceding) context, but is nonetheless in the context. The frog is speaking to the authority in the capital, who has just told him that his document is good (and that thus the frog has won the case). In speaking to the authority, the frog contrasts the treatment he has received in the capital with that he received in the province; "in the capital" is in the context because the frog has just received a favorable disposition from the authority (his hearer) in the capital:

- 1702 Manakaq papelllanwanmi gaanamasha asendaado
 worthless with:his:paper he:beat:me hacienda:owner
- probinsyachaw-qa.
 in the:province-TOP
- 'With nothing but his worthless document the hacienda owner
 beat me in the province.'

In example 1703, *-qa* occurs in the first sentence because "the table" is the topic discussed in the immediately preceding discourse, and thus reference to it makes the sentence relevant to the context. In the second sentence, *-qa* occurs on the subordinate clause ('to feed those who are seated on the ground') because this contrasts with the purpose of the servant who is "at" the table (whose role it is to feed those seated at the table).

- 1703 a. Chay meesachaw-qa huk sirbinti.
 that at:table-TOP one servant
- b. Mas huk sirbinti ka-n pampa-chaw hamaraqta
 more one servant be-3 ground-LOC sit-stat-sub-OBJ
- qaranan-paq-qa.
 serve-sub3P-PUR-TOP
- a. '(There is) one servant at that table.'
 b. 'There is another servant to feed those who are seated
 on the ground.'

In some cases in which it seems that two elements are contrasted, *-qa* is attached to the first rather than the second; in example 1704, past and present size are compared:

1704 Takshalla kasha-qa; kanan hatun-na.
just:small it:was-TOP now big-NOW

'It was small; now it is big.'

One is tempted to say that cases like example 1704 are instances of "anticipatory" contrast. Such a claim differs from that made above, namely, that *-qa* indicates contrast as one way to show relevance to context, because the element with which there is contrast (*hatun* 'big') is not in the context when *-qa* is spoken. Many cases like this (perhaps not all) can be explained as marking relevance to the context preceding the sentence in which *-qa* occurs.

In example 1705, after stating the amazing infrequency with which people bathe at 13,000 feet above sea level, the author contrasts the frequency with which they wash their heads:

1705 a. Kapas watachaw huk kuti armakun inteeru kwerpun-ta-qa...
maybe in:a:year one time they:bathe entire their:body-OBJ-TOP

b. Uman-ta kaaran-ta awikun semaanachaw
his:head-OBJ his:face-OBJ he:rinses in:a:week

ishkay kuti kimsa kuti...
two times three times

a. 'Maybe they bathe their entire bodies once a year...'

b. 'They rinse their heads and faces two or three times each week...'

In example 1706, what is eaten in the *chakra* 'rural areas' (where--it is claimed by the speaker--the people are poor and the diet unvaried) is contrasted with what is eaten when they get to the city. (Note that rice and macaroni are esteemed foods, whereas potatoes and corn are not.) This example also contains two cases of *-qa* on a constituent expressing a reason (*pobre-qa* in 1706a and *waqchakuna-qa* in 1706b); I have no explanation for these except to say that the poverty of the people is a thematic thread running through the text of which 1706 is a part.

1706 a. Chakrachaw-qa chay huk mikushallanchiita-mi mikunchi
in:rural:area-TOP that one that:that:we:eat-DIR we:eat

pobre-qa.
poor-TOP

b. Chayllata waqchakuna-qa mikunchi.
just:that orphans-TOP we:eat

c. Kayman shamurran tarinchii-qa arrus o fidyus.
to:here only:when:we:come we:find-TOP rice or macaroni

a. 'In the *chakra* (rural areas) we eat just that one food,
because we are poor.'

b. 'We just eat that (being) orphans.' (hyperbole)

c. 'Only when we come here (to the city), do we find rice or
macaroni.'

Example 1707 is of a slightly different sort. In this stretch of text, a group is established and then various subsets of that group are contrasted: a group of three is established in 1707a; one member is singled out in 1707b; in 1707c the other two members are contrasted with the first. Similarly, a group of five is established in 1707d; one member is singled out in 1707e and another in 1707f; finally in 1707g, the other three are considered. (The syntax of *ichan-qa* 'perhaps' in 1707g is

somewhat of a mystery; I do not know why it occurs in 1707g, nor what effect it brings to that sentence.)

- 1707 a. Dansayta yachaq warmikunallata ashin kimsata.
to:dance who:know:how just:women he:seeks three
- b. Huk warmi mas yachaq kanan.
one woman more one:who:knows:how there:should:be
- c. Ishkay kaq-ga pooku yachaqllapis kakun.
two who:be-TOP little ones:who:know:how there:may:be
- d. Ollqota ashin pichqata, llapanta dansayta yacha-q-lla-ta.
man he:sends five, all to:dance know-sub-just-OBJ
- e. Chaychawpis huk kanan ligiyta yachaq
there:in:too one there:should:be to:read one:who:knows:how
wakin kaqpita-ga.
other from:those:that:are-TOP
- f. Hukpis kanan mas dansayta yachaq
one:also there:should:be more to:dance one:who:knows
wakin kaqpita-ga.
other from:those:that:are-TOP
- g. Kimsa kaq ichan-ga pooku yachaqllapis kakun.
three who:be perhaps-TOP little ones:who:know:even there:may:be
- a. 'He looks for three women who know how to dance.'
b. 'There should be one woman who really knows how (to dance).'
- c. 'The other two may not know so well.'
d. 'He looks for five men, all of whom know how to dance.'
e. 'Among them there should be one who knows how to read better than the others (in contrast to the others).'
- f. 'There should also be one who knows how to dance better than all the others.'
g. 'The other three don't have to know so well.'

20.2.3.3. *-qa* with Negative Assertions and Yes/No Questions

In a negative sentence there may be one constituent which is focal, i.e., which the speaker assumes is primarily responsible for the negativity of that sentence. Similarly, there may be a focal constituent in a yes/no question, the constituent that the speaker does not assume to be correct, for which he is requesting verification. One possibility available to the Quechua speaker for indicating the focal constituent of a negative sentence or yes/no question (a possibility widely reported in the literature) is to put *-chu* 'negative, yes/no' on the focal constituent.¹³ This is illustrated in example 1708a below. Another possibility, one that is favored in Huallaga Quechua, is to put *-qa* on the focal element and *-chu* on the main verb of the sentence. This possibility is illustrated in 1708b, which--as far as I have been able to determine--is completely synonymous to 1708a.

¹³A single gloss for *-chu* might be preferable, but I will gloss it 'NEG' when it is used as a negative and 'YN?' when it is used in a yes/no question.

- 1708 a. Umayki-chaw-chu chayachishkashunki?
 your:head-LOC-YN? he:caused:it:to:arrive:to:you
- b. Umayki-chaw-qa chayachishkashunki-chu?
 your:head-LOC-TOP he:causes:it:to:arrive:to:you-YN?
- a,b. 'Did he land (the blow) on your head?'

(Examples 30 and 31, p.19, further illustrate the contrast between these two ways to form focal negations.)

Other examples of the latter way of indicating which element is focal in negative sentences are given below. Note that in many of them the focal constituent is in contrast with some other element in the context. Thus the use of *-qa* to effect focus and the use to contrast elements cannot be said to be distinct; in fact, it may be that whenever negation is indicated by *-qa* on the focal element it is because it is being contrasted with some other element.

- 1709 Mana ishkaa-qa rurashkaa-chu. Huknillaa rurashkaa.
 not two:of:us-TOP we:did-NEG one:of:us I:did:it
- 'We did not both do it. I did it by myself.' (This would be appropriate if two persons were assigned a task, and only the speaker did it.)
- 1710 Mana hatipan-chu yana-ta-qa. Hatipan
 not they:put:on:him-NEG black-OBJ-TOP they:put:on:him
- paykuna kabritillu-ta.
 they linen-OBJ
- (On the burial of a child, in contrast to that of an adult):
 'They don't dress him in black. They dress him in linen.'
- 1711 Mayordoomu mas pooku gastan. Mana gastan-chu
 majordomo more less he:spends not he:spends-NEG
- tesureeru-naw-qa.
 treasurer-SIM-TOP
- 'The majordomo spends less. He does not spend like the treasurer does.'
- 1712 Ama chay-naw-qa rura-ma-y-chu. Mihur apusti-ta apustishun...
 not that-SIM-TOP do=>1-IMP-NEG. better bet-OBJ let's:bet...
- 'Don't do like that to me. Better, let's make a bet...'
- 1713 Hwan-pa-ta-qa mana-mi ima-n-ta-pis apashaq-chu.
 John-GEN-OBJ-TOP not-IND what-3p-OBJ-INDEF I:will:take-NEG
- 'I will not take anything that belongs to John.'

See also example 1415, p.343.

In example 1714, it could be that the first occurrence of *-qa* is "resurrecting" an old topic (as discussed in 20.2.3.6), since the treasurer has been previously discussed, or it could be a contrastive use (as discussed in 20.2.3.2), contrasting the treasurer's responsibilities with those of the majordomo. The second and third occurrences of *-qa* are both instances of focal negation and also of contrast, contrasting what the official does and what he pays money for, respectively. The fourth occurrence (1714c) is somewhat of a mystery; I suspect that *-qa* is employed on *paypaq* 'for him' to firmly establish that the thematic (or topical) thread of the discourse has shifted from the majordomo and his responsibilities to the treasurer and *his* responsibilities.

- 1714 a. Tesureeru-qa mana chaynaw-qa qaran-chu.
treasurer-TOP not like:that-TOP he:does-NEG
- b. Nii qellaytapis mana churan-chu santupaq-qa.
nor money:even not he:puts-NEG for:the:image-TOP
- c. Paypaq-qa mas huknaw kustumrin.
for:him-TOP more another:way his:custom
- 'a. The treasurer doesn't feed them like that.
b. Nor does he even pay money for the saint.
c. For him there is another custom.'

20.2.3.4. -qa Indicating Alternates

-qa is attached to constituents which refer to alternates in the same (or "parallel") roles.¹⁴ The following piece of text describes the various reactions of fathers when approached by the representative of a young man who wishes to marry a daughter; -qa is attached to *wakin runa(kuna)* 'some men' in 1715a, c, and e. (The second -qa in 1715a is a case of focal negation, as discussed in section 20.2.3.3. The occurrence in 1715f is one of contrast, as discussed in 20.2.3.2; that in 1715d is as described in 20.2.3.5 below.)

- 1715 a. Chaynaw yaykuptinpis wakin runa-qa fiyu: mana allipaq-qa
like:that though:he:enter some men-TOP bad not for:good
parlapan-chu.
they:speak-NEG
- b. Punkunman hamaykachir wasin rurinman
at:the:door having:seated:him house-3P to:inside
yaykukuykur mana lloqshipaamun-chu.
having:entered not he:comes:out:for:him-NEG
- c. Wakin runa-qa huklaapa qeshpipaykun.
other men-TOP to:some:other:place they:escape:on:them
- d. Chawra-qa amatar nakan warmi ashikuna.
so-TOP really they:suffer woman seekers
- d. Wakin runakuna-qa alli.
other men-TOP good
- f. Chay kaq-qa hamachin; alli parlan.
that which:is-TOP they:seat:them good they:converse
- a. 'Even though he enters like that (in the proper way),
some men are bad; they don't speak with him for good.'
- b. 'Seating them at the door, entering into his house, he doesn't
come out (to the other's detriment).'
- c. 'Some men escape to some other place.'
- d. 'So the woman-seekers suffer greatly.'
- e. 'Some men are good.'
- f. 'Those (in contrast to the others) seat him and speak
nicely with him.'

¹⁴Perhaps the contrastive uses discussed in 20.2.3.2 are simply a special case of the alternative use discussed here. The difference (a fuzzy one) seems to lie in the degree of polarity asserted of the alternates. In contrastive uses, the alternates are asserted to be polar opposites (true/false, more/less, big/small, etc.). In non-contrastive alternates there is much weaker opposition or none at all, as for example when the same thing is predicated for various referents.

Example 1716 describes--for various parents--the frequency with which they bathe their children; *-qa* occurs on *wakin* in 1716c and d because it refers to alternate sets of parents in their role as bathers of the children. The occurrence of *-qa* in 1716e is like the negatives of section 20.2.3.3, but in which *pooku* 'little' is the negative element rather than *mana* 'not'. The occurrence of *-qa* in 1716h is an instance of focal negation, but again, one which involves contrast: after discussing the frequency of bathing children until they are two years old, the speaker says that "thereafter they no longer bathe then *continually*." (Of course, this is not to say that they cease to bathe them altogether!)

- 1716 a. Chaynaw ití wamrankunatapis arma-n sigiiru.
like:that infant children:also bathe-3P continually
- b. Wakin arman waran waran.
some they:bathe:them tomorrow tomorrow
- c. Wakin-qa arman kara ish kay hunaq.
others-TOP they:bathe:them every two days
- d. Wakin-qa arman chusku hunaq pichqa hunaq.
others-TOP they:bathe:them four day five day
- e. Pooku arman waran waran-qa.
little they:bathe:them tomorrow tomorrow-TOP
- f. Mas arman karu karu.
more they:bathe:them far far
- g. Chaynaw arman ití kashanpita asta
like:that they:bathe:them infant from:his:being until
ish kay watayoq kananyaq.
two years:having until:his:being
- h. Chaypita mana arman-na-chu sigiiru-qa.
thereafter not they:bathe:them continually-TOP
- i. Kara semaana imalla-na arman kikillan armakuyta
every week somewhat-NOW they:bathe:them himself to:bathe
yachakunanyaq.
until:he:knows:how
- 'a. They bathe their infant children continually.
b. Some bathe them daily.
c. Others bathe them every other day.
d. Others bathe them every four or five days.
e. Rarely do they bathe them daily.
f. More commonly they bathe them occasionally.
g. They bathe them like that, from the time they are infants until they are two years old.
h. Thereafter, they no longer bathe them continually.
i. Every week they bathe them, something like that, until they know how to bathe themselves.'

20.2.3.5. *-qa* with Sentential Connectives

There is a small set of words--among them *chawra* 'so, then', *nirkur* 'immediately thereupon', *chaypita* 'thereafter, for that reason'--which "link" a sentence to the preceding discourse. These words frequently bear *-qa*. This is consistent with the notion that *-qa* occurs on the constituent(s) most responsible for a sentence's relevance to its context, for it is the function of these words to express the logical or temporal relationship of the sentence to what precedes it in the discourse.

I conjecture that connectives that express an extremely close relationship between a sentence and the preceding discourse bear *-qa* more frequently than do connectives that express only a loose relationship. (I intend 'loose' and 'tight' roughly as used in Longacre [25].) For example, *chaypita* 'thereafter' expresses a loose relationship (as evidenced by the fact that it often occurs on the first sentence of a new paragraph), and the frequency of *-qa* with *chaypita* is low; by contrast, *manachaq* 'if not then' (used, e.g., as in 'Let's tie it up. *Manachaq-qa* it will get away') expresses a very close relationship between the two sentences and virtually always occurs with *-qa*. I further conjecture that when *-qa* is used with a connective, the relationship indicated is somewhat tighter than when that connective is used without *-qa*. If this is true, one would expect to find *chaypita* followed by *-qa* more frequently within a paragraph than at the beginning of a paragraph.

Examples of *-qa* occurring on sentential connectives are 1683, 1690, and 1715.

20.2.3.6. *-qa* to Resume a Topic

-qa is used to resume a discourse topic that has been temporarily set aside; *-qa* occurs on the NP that refers to that topic after the interruption. For example, the cantor is the topic of 1717a, where *kantur* is the overt subject, and of 1717b, where he is again the subject, but so topical that he does not have to be explicitly referenced. The cantor is also the topic of 1717d, where again *kantur* is the overt subject, and of 1717e, where there is no explicit reference to him beyond verbal inflection. 1717c interrupts this topic chain; its understood subject (and topic) is the set of pallbearers. The important point is that when the cantor is resumed as topic in 1717d, *kantur* bears *-qa*.

- 1717 a. Apaptin kantur aywan kantaparaykar asta
 when:they:take:it cantor he:goes singing until
 pantiyun rurin kapillaman chaya-chi-na-n-yaq.
 cemetery inside chapel arrive-caus-sub-3P-LIM
- b. Chay kapilla-chaw yapay kantapan may oora.
 that chapel-LOC again he:sings:for:him long time
- c. Chaypita apan uchku-man-na pampananpaq.
 then they:take:him hole-GOAL-NOW to:bury
- d. Chayman apa-pti-n-pis kantur-qa aywan kantaraykar.
 to:there take-adv-3P-indef cantor-TOP he:goes singing
- e. Uchku kantun-man chura-yku-r-pis yapay kanta-pa-n.
 hole side:GOAL places-impact-adv-indef again sing-ben-3
- a. 'When they take it (the corpse), the cantor goes singing
 until they have caused it to arrive inside the cemetery.'
- b. 'In that chapel (in the cemetery), again he sings for a long
 time.'
- c. 'Then they take it to the hole (now) to bury it.'
- d. 'Also, as they take it the cantor goes singing.'
- e. 'Also, placing it in the hole, he again sings.'

Consider example 1718. The light (*achki*) is the topic of 1718a and 1718b. Then in 1718c and 1718d there is no reference to the light. When the light is resumed as discourse topic in 1718e, it bears *-qa*.

- 1718 a. Chawra aywapaakun chay chakay achki rikashan-man.
so they:go that night light which:they:had:seen-GOAL
- b. Mas mas aywaptin mas hatun-na-shi rikakaamun achki.
more more as:they:go more big-NOW-IND it:is:seen light
- c. Aywaykaallar-shi chayan wasi-man.
just:as:they:are:going-IND they:arrive house-GOAL
- d. Achkaq suwakuna-shi tiyasha kasha chay wasin-chaw.
many thieves-IND lived where that house-LOC
- e. Achki-qa rikaraamusha kasha bintaanapa-shi.
light-TOP seen was through:the>window-IND
- a. 'So they all went that night toward where they had seen the light.'
- b. 'The farther on they went, the bigger the light was seen (to be).'
- c. 'As they were going along they arrived at a house.'
- d. 'Many thieves had lived in that house.'
- e. 'The light had been seen through the window.'

Lest it be thought that every interruption of topic involves *-qa*, we present the following example. The *rigidur* is the topic of 1719a and b (the latter being implicitly referenced). The topic of 1719c and d is the *eskirbaanu*. The *rigidur* is resumed as topic in 1719e, being implicitly referenced in that sentence.¹⁵

- 1719 a. Rigidur-na tuman hinan marka sirka-lla-n-pa.
rigidur-NOW goes:about that:very town vicinity-just-3P-GEN
- b. Tumaykashan-chaw uywa mikuy-ta mikuykaq-ta tari-r-qa
going:about-LOC animals food-OBJ eating-OBJ find-adv-TOP
- uywapa duynun-ta astan alwasirnin charipaptin.
animal's owner-OBJ he:whips:him his:alwasir as:he:holds:him
- c. Chaykuna tumananpaq eskirbaanu mandan.
those to:go:about eskirbaanu he:orders:them
- d. Eskirbaanu urdin-ta horqun agenti-pita chay urdin-wan
eskirbaanu order-OBJ he:gets agenti-ABL that order-COM
- tumananpaq.
that:they:go:about
- e. Danukoqkuna mana respitananta purichin chay urdinta.
those:who:damage not respect take:about that order-OBJ
- a. 'The *rigidur* circulates right in the vicinity of the town.'
- b. 'If, as he is going about, he finds animals eating the crops, he whips the animal's owner, as his *alwasir* grabs him.'
- c. 'The *eskirbaanu* orders them to go about (like that).'
- d. 'The *eskirbaanu* gets an order from the *agenti* with which they are to go about.'
- e. 'Lest those who damage crops not respect them, they take that order with them.'
- (Text continues with the set composed of the *rigidur* and *kampu* as the topic, referring to them implicitly.)

¹⁵I have a hypothesis as to why it is possible to resume the *rigidur* as topic in 1719e without so much as a pronoun: namely, that the *eskirbaanu* is *not* established as a topic in 1719d. I suspect that if the reference to the *eskirbaanu* had been left implicit in 1719d (i.e., without a pronoun or a substantive phrase) --as well might be the case since there is reference to him in the immediately preceding sentence--it would have established the *eskirbaanu* as a topic, and that then more drastic measures would have been required in 1719e to restore the *rigidur* to topic; probably it would be necessary to refer to him by *rigidur-qa* rather than, as in 1719e, with no overt expression.

20.2.3.7. *-qa* on Adverbial Clauses

As described in section 14.6.1, adverbial clauses may be used to "recapitulate" the content of a previous sentence, thereby adding cohesion to a discourse. Many adverbial clauses used this way bear *-qa*; e.g., see examples 1678b, 1682, and 1689.

This is not too surprising; one function of such clauses is to provide a site for elaborating the relationship of a clause to its context beyond the minimal signals provided by the sentential connectives.¹⁶ In many cases, such a recapitulative adverbial clause provides the only explicit material that can be said to demonstrate the relevance of the following, main clause to the context.

-qa occurs much more frequently on conditional adverbial clauses than on adverbial clauses in general. In fact, conditional adverbial clauses almost always bear *-qa*. This is natural, considering that the notion of "topic" has a close relationship to that of "conditionals"; this is argued by Haiman [17].

How does this seeming relationship between conditionals, topics, and *-qa* relate to the proposal made here that *-qa* has to do with relevance? Presumably a conditional clause expresses those aspects of the context that are relevant (in the eye of the speaker) to what is said in the main clause; e.g.:

1720 Karaaho, mana wanuchinaata munar-qa kayman
 (expletive) not that::kill:you if:you:want-TOP to:here

 obidinti yaykuy kustalman.
 obediently you:enter to:sack

 '(Expletive), if you don't want me to kill you, get into this sack obediently.'

In example 1721, the conditional adverbial clause has an adverbial clause embedded within it, which in turn has an adverbial clause embedded within it. (Of course, the embedded adverbial clauses cannot bear *-qa* because they are not major constituents.)

1721 [[[Chaynaw willaptin] llapan parlakarkaarir]
 like:that when:he:tells all when:they:discuss

 "rurashun" nir]-qa ruran;
 let's:do:it if:they:say-TOP they:do:it

 "mana" nir-qa mana.
 not if:they:say-TOP not

 'If, after he has told them that and they have discussed it, they say "Let's do it," they do it; if they say "No," then they don't (do it).'

In example 1722, the conditional adverbial clause which bears *-qa* is sentence final (whereas in the other example it is sentence initial):

¹⁶Such elaboration is accomplished by means of pre- and post-transition suffixes on the verb of the adverbial.

- 1722 Kay kuru aycha-ta ushakurkun churaraachi-pti-n-qa.
 this worm meat-OBJ he:finishes:it cause:to:be:stored-adv-3PTOP
 'This (type of) worm finishes up the meat if it is stored long.'

-qa occurs on conditional adverbial clauses in 1723c and h. The occurrence in 1723e and the first in 1723g are on sentential connectives. That in 1723f is on an alternate, as discussed in section 20.2.3.4. The second -qa in 1723g is presumably because the girl being proposed to is herself the element most responsible for her statement that "Another man seeks me" is a relevant response to his proposal; she is the "topic of conversation.")

- 1723 a. Chakra runakuna warmi-ta ashin huknaw.
 field men woman-OBJ they:search another:way
- b. Moosu runa hipash warmi-ta parlapa-r nin
 adolescent man young woman-OBJ speak-ADV he:says
 ashinanpaq nirkur kasarananpaq.
 to:search:for:her thereupon to:marry:her
- c. Chaynaw ni-ptin hipash warmi mana muna-r-qa
 like:that say-ADV young woman not want-ADV-TOP
 "Manami qamwan tiyaamanchu" nin.
 not with:you I:would:not:live" she:says
- d. Wakin warmikuna hapallan quyaakuy-ta munan mas unay-yaq.
 some women alone to:abide-OBJ they:want more later-LIM
- e. Chawra-qa mana munan-chu runa ashinanpaq
 so-TOP not they:want-NEG man to:search:for:them
 parlaptinpis.
 even:though:he:asks
- f. Wakin-pa-qa kan-na parla-shan runa pay-ta ashinanpaq.
 other-GEN-TOP there:is-NOW speak-rel man her-OBJ to:seek:for
- g. Chawra-qa chay hipash mana-na munan-na-chu
 so-TOP that young:woman not:now she:want-NOW-NEG
 "Noqa-ta-qa huk runami ashiman" nir.
 I-OBJ-TOP other man he:searches:for:me" saying
- h. Hapallan kaykar-qa awnin.
 alone being-TOP she:agrees
- a. 'Rural men seek a wife differently.'
- b. 'The young man, having spoken to the young woman, tells her that he will seek her, thereupon to marry her.'
- c. 'When he tells her that, if the young woman doesn't want it she says, "I will not live with you."'
- d. 'Some women wish to remain single until later on.'
- e. 'So they do not want (to marry), even though the man speaks with her about seeking her.'
- f. 'Some women already have a man who has proposed to seek her.'
- g. 'So that young woman refuses saying "Another man seeks me."'
- h. 'If she is single, she agrees.'

20.2.3.8. -qa on Main Verbs

-qa may occur on the main verb of a sentence, but such cases are quite rare and probably have rather special conditions. Coombs et al. [12] (p. 147) suggest that when -qa occurs on a verb, the action of that verb has been mentioned previously

in the discourse. An adequate account of *-qa* would have to account for this very strong tendency. We will now present several examples in which *-qa* follows a verb.

The verb of 1724c is old information, directly following the previous mention of that verb:

- 1724 a. ...papa-ta murunchi abril killa.
 potatoes-OBJ we:plant April month
- b. Nirkur chakmanchi.
 then we:cultivate:them
- c. Chakmanchii-qa maayu.
 we:cultivate:them-TOP May
- a. '...we plant potatoes in the month of April.'
 b. 'Then we cultivate them.'
 c. 'We cultivate them in May.'

Again, in the reported conversation in example 1725, *yaykushun* 'we will enter, let's enter' is old information in 1725b, having been introduced in 1725a:

- 1725 a. 'Apuray yaykushun' ninshi mishiwan allqu.
 hurry let's:enter he:says cat:with dog
- b. Chawra buurru ninshi, 'Noqa markakunachaw rikashaanaw
 so donkey he:says I in:the:towns as:I:saw
- yaykushun-qa tukaraykar.
 lets:enter-TOP playing
- a. '"Hurry, let's enter" say the cat and dog.'
 b. 'So the donkey says, "Let's enter like I saw in the
 towns, playing (music)."'

Example 1726b seeks to correct a faulty presupposition of 1726a, namely that some criticism was addressed directly to the addressee. (Actually, it was addressed to the addressee's son.)¹⁷

- 1726 a. Imatataq nishkanki qam payta?
 what you:said you to:him
- b. Chawra noqata-chu mana nimasha-qa
 well to:me-NEG not he:said:to:me-TOP
- a. 'What did you reply to him?'
 b. 'Well, he didn't say it (directly) to me.'

Example 1727 is also consistent with the hypothesis that the action of the verb to which *-qa* is attached has previously been mentioned, because the previous context deals with the hero's coming to be rich:

¹⁷Note that the occurrence of *-qa* and *chu* 'NEG' are precisely the opposite of that demonstrated extensively in section 20.2.3.3, where *-chu* occurs on the verb and *-qa* on the "focal" constituent; I have no explanation for the situation in 1726b.

1727 Imanawpataq riikuyan-qa pay?
 how? he:becomes:rich-TOP he

Noqasi riikuyaashaq.
 I:too I:will:become:rich

'How does he become rich? I too will become rich.'

One further example is 1706c. Although its immediate context would not suggest so, it is also a case in which the action of the verb to which *-qa* is attached has previously been mentioned.

With this, we conclude our survey of the various uses of *-qa*.

20.3. Conclusion

This chapter has exhibited a wide range of data involving *-qa*, the so-called "topic marker," demonstrating many facts which an adequate account of *-qa* would have to explain. No such account has been attempted here, but it has been suggested that some very general pragmatic function underlies the various uses of *-qa* and that this function is roughly that *-qa* marks those constituents of a sentence which--in the speaker's eye--are most responsible for that sentence's relevance to its context. Hopefully, future work will further evaluate and refine this proposal.

Chapter 21

EVIDENTIAL SUFFIXES

There are three main evidential suffixes in HgQ: *-mi*, *-shi*, and *-chi*; these will be glossed 'DIR' (direct), 'IND' (indirect), and 'CNJ' (conjecture), respectively. These are sometimes combined with other suffixes or post-positions to yield variants (e.g., *-mari* from *-mi+ari*).

Three major points will be made in this chapter:¹

1. *-mi/shi/chi* give a *perspective* on the information of a sentence.² By perspective, I mean such things as how the speaker came by the information (*evidential*; i.e., firsthand or secondhand), what the speaker's attitude is toward the information (*validational*; i.e., does he regard it as fact, as fiction, as conjecture, etc.), what the speaker intends the hearer to do with the information (believe it, act on it, doubt it, etc.). The question of whether *-mi/shi/chi* are basically evidential or validational is addressed.
2. The relative positions of the so-called "topic" marker *-qa*, *-mi/shi/chi*, and the verb define a pattern. This pattern gives a profile to the information of the sentence, roughly characterizing the sentence's progression from theme (topic, old information) to rheme (comment, focus, new information).
3. Deviating from the normal pattern is a rhetorical device.

I conclude with a suggestion for how a system of this type has developed. To anticipate, I suggest that *-mi/shi/chi* occur more naturally on new information, because they indicate something about its source and status; thus they tend to occur on the rhematic part of a sentence. In conjunction with *-qa*, which occurs on

¹This chapter includes data from other Huánuco dialects closely related to HgQ. It is based primarily on written material from the following: Amador Tucto Ramírez (*ATR*) of Marías (province of Dos de Mayo), Lorenzo Albino Moreno (*LAM*) of Matihuaca (province of Ambo), and Teodoro Cayco Villar (*TCV*) and Anastacia Nasario de Figueredo (*ANF*) of Llacón (province of Huánuco).

²An assumption made here is that the primary unit into which information (to be communicated by speech) is packaged is the *sentence*, defined as in section 2.3.

highly thematic/topical material, this gives rise to a profile along theme-rheme lines. Deviations from this pattern unsettle the listener, making him take note, and thus serve as a rhetorical device. So information profiling and pattern deviations for rhetorical effect are natural outgrowths of *-mi/shi/chi*'s status as indicators of information perspective.

The evidential suffixes are testimony to the caution a Quechua speaker exercises with respect to information. The following are--I believe--true of Quechua culture (and perhaps they are to some extent culturally universal):

1. (Only) one's own experience is reliable.
2. Avoid unnecessary risk, such as by assuming responsibility for information of which one is not absolutely certain.
3. Don't be gullible. (Witness the many Quechua folk tales in which the villain is foiled because of his gullibility.)
4. Assume responsibility only if it is safe to do so. (Doing so builds stature in the community.)

The utility of *-mi/shi/chi* is in allowing the Quechua speaker to handily assume or defer responsibility for the information he conveys, thus minimizing his risks while building his stature in the community. With *-mi*, the speaker assumes responsibility; with *-shi*, he diverts it (to someone else); and with *-chi*, he indicates that it is not the sort of information for which anyone should be held responsible.

21.1. The Meaning of *-mi*, *-shi*, and *-chi*

Section 21.1.1 presents one analysis of *-mi/shi/chi* that fits a wide range of facts for many dialects. A more complete discussion follows: section 21.1.2 deals further with *-mi* and *-shi*, and section 21.1.3 with *-chi*.

21.1.1. A First Characterization

For Tarma Quechua, Adelaar [1] (p. 79) says that *-mi/shi/chi* "indicate the validity of the information supplied by the speaker" and that *-mi* "indicates that the speaker is convinced about what he is saying," *-shi* "indicates that the speaker has obtained the information that he is supplying through hearsay," and *-chi* "indicates that the speaker's statement is a conjecture." This characterization is consonant with the majority of cases found in a wide range of dialects. Examples follow that are from Huánuco Quechua. Where the gloss includes "ST:" or "RF:," what follows characterize the situation (ST) in which the example would be appropriate and the rhetorical force (RF) it would have in that situation.

1728

Wanu-nqa-paq- { a. -mi
die-3FUT-FUT { b. -shi
c. -chi

'It will die.'

ST: A diviner has chewed coca and predicts death:

a. Said by the diviner:

RF: (I assert that) it will die.

b. Said by someone who brings the diviner's prediction:

RF: (I was told that) it will die.

c. Said in response to the diviner or to the messenger:

RF: (Perhaps) it will die.

1729

Noqa- { a. -mi
I { b. -shi } chaya:-man aywa-r-qa.
c. -chi } arrive-1-COND go-adv-TOP

'I would/could/might arrive, if I were to go.'

a. ST: In response to person(s) who have expressed doubt as to the speaker's ability to make it (e.g., to the top of a mountain):

RF: (I assert that) I would make it if I were to go.

b. ST: If the speaker knows that someone has said he should be able to make it:

RF: (It is said that) I should make it if I were to go.

c. ST: In response to person(s) who have expressed that the speaker *can* make it and the speaker wants to hedge:

RF: I *might* make it.

1730

Qam-pis maqa-ma-shka-nki- { a. -mi
you-also hit=>1-perf-2 { b. -shi.
c. -chi

'You also hit me.'

a. ST: I saw/felt you hit me (and was conscious).

b. ST: I was drunk when you hit me, and someone has informed me that you hit me.

c. ST: A group of people beat me up, and I think you might have been one of them.

These examples are consistent with the characterization of *-mi* as information about which the speaker is convinced, *-shi* as information gained by hearsay, and *-chi* as conjecture. We will now consider an alternative analysis.

21.1.2. *-mi* and *-shi* Are Evidentials

The characterization given in 21.1.1 has the peculiar property that *-mi* and *-chi* are *validational* (indicating commitment to the truth of the proposition), while *-shi* is *evidential* (indicating the source of the information). This gives rise to certain problems; e.g., what about information one learns by hearsay, but about which he is convinced; would *-mi* or *-shi* be used? If *-mi* and *-shi* were both of the same type (i.e., either both evidential or both validational), such problems would not arise. I will argue that *-mi* and *-shi* are basically evidential: *-mi* means 'learned by direct experience' and *-shi* means 'learned by indirect experience (hearsay)'. A validational interpretation for *-mi* is often appropriate because of the axiom that direct experience is reliable (and thus one is convinced about it). Table 21-1 summarizes these relationships (where the arrow indicates the force of the just-mentioned axiom):

	EVIDENTIAL	VALIDATIONAL	RESPONSIBILITY
-mi	direct	====> convinced	speaker
-shi	indirect	unconvinced	other than speaker

Table 21-1: Evidential and Validational Interpretations.

Various data are now given in support of this view:

Datum 1: *-shi* where direct experience is unlikely. According to TCV, 'My mother's grandfather's name was John' is natural with *-shi* but not with *-mi*, despite the speaker's conviction that it is true. This is because with *-mi* it implies that the speaker has met his great-grandfather (extraordinary!). What is basic for *-mi* is the source of the information (direct experience), not commitment to the truth of what the referent's name was.

The same obtains for a sentence that the speaker does not believe; e.g., 'The moon is made of cheese.' According to TCV this is natural with *-shi*, indicating that the speaker has been informed that the moon is made of cheese. With *-mi*, says TCV, it implies that the speaker has been to the moon.

Datum 2: *-shi* to escape the implication of direct experience. A speaker may use *-shi* when he wishes to escape the implication that he has had direct experience. For example, descriptions of cultural practices and institutions are generally told either with *-mi* or with no validational, but *-shi* is used if the author wishes to make explicit that he has not had direct experience. This *-shi* has nothing to do with whether the author really believes the information. For example, TCV believes the following, but since he has not experienced it (he seldom chews coca) he uses *-shi*:³

1731 TCV (From a description he wrote of coca use):

...mana kuka-ta chaqcha-r punu-y-lla-ta-shi muna-n.
 not coca-OBJ chew-ADV sleep-inf-just-OBJ-IND want-3
 ...chaqcha-rku-pti-n balur-nin-pis sumaq-shi yuri-rku-n.
 chew-asp-adv-3P strength-3P-indef well-IND arise-asp-3
 '...if they don't chew coca, they just want to sleep.'
 '...having chewed coca, their strength comes to them.'

The same obtains for cases where the information is not believed; for example, TCV has not witnessed nor does he believe the following:

³In Pantoja Ramos et al. [28] for Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua, Pantoja gives a similar example in his text on coca chewing (p. 254). In his text on avoiding conception and abortion (number 25), he uses *-shi* throughout except in statements like 'They told me that about them' (line 26) in which *-mi* is used. In his eighth text (pg. 132) he uses *-mi* for the descriptive parts, but *-shi* in cases where he wants to disclaim responsibility for the information; e.g., (line 60-61): '...they say that those who sponsor the fiestas are really good. It takes away their guilt...'

1732 (From a description of burial practice):
 Kiki-n kasta arma-pti-n-qa fiyu ni-n.
 self-3P clan bathe-adv-3P-TOP bad say-3

Llapan-shi chay kasta ka-q-qa wañu-n.
 all-IND that family be-sub-TOP die-3

'They say it is bad for a relative to bathe it (corpse).
 All of that family dies (if they do so).'

Datum 3: *-shi* when scope of information is too large. In some cases where *-mi* would be expected, *-shi* occurs if what would have to be experienced is impossibly large. For example, in Cayco Villar [5] (a booklet on Peruvian history), 'Their tools and things are found throughout Peru' has *-shi* because the author could not possibly have seen all those things found in all those places.

Datum 4: *-shi* is inappropriate as a direct response. *-shi* is never appropriate when repeating some information back to the speaker. If *-shi* were basically validational (meaning 'unconvinced'), one might expect it as a way to indicate that the speaker doubts it; this unacceptability is a strike against the validational analysis. In the evidential view, one would not expect it to be used this way, since there is no reason to inform one's hearer that what he has just said was heard secondhand.⁴

Datum 5: where *-mi* may be absent. Whereas many speakers use *-mi* in telling personal narratives, describing procedures, institutions, and such, TCV does not. He uses *-mi* only where there is some question about the source of the information. When he reports events in which he was obviously a participant (e.g., a trip to Lima, an amusing mishap that occurred to him and a cousin, etc.), he regards it as unnecessary to indicate (by *-mi*) his direct experience.⁵

Other speakers demonstrate this tendency to varying degrees. For example, ATR, in telling of going to see a football game, did not use *-mi* in the parts describing his getting to and from the game (told in the first person), but he did use *-mi* in describing the doings of other people (companions, players, referees, etc.).

Further, TCV does not use *-mi* for "non-events," i.e., happenings not somehow embedded in time. (This is not to be taken as "irrealis," because he does use *-mi* with the future tense.) He does not use *-mi* in "how-to-make" texts (how to make a basket, weave a poncho, build a house, butcher a sheep, etc.), in descriptions of static objects (buildings, pictures, etc.), in descriptions of culture (coca chewing, bathing, curing, fiesta administration, etc.), or in more narrative descriptions (Holy

⁴Note that *-chi* may be used to repeat information back to one's hearer (see section 21.1.3).

⁵The only exception is a description of a trip that concludes with the following, which contains the only *-mi* in the entire text:

Chaynawlla-mi Limata aywar imatapis rikashkaakuna.
 in:that:way-DIR to:Lima going whatever we:saw

'In that way-DIR, having gone to Lima, we saw whatever.'

Week happenings, engagement practice, etc.). These have in common that they do not concern actual events (either past, present, or future), but rather prototypical instances of events. He is speaking/writing on these matters from direct experience (and would defend the accuracy of his descriptions); his non-use of *-mi* in these cases is not due to a lack of commitment to the truth of his claims, but because these are not actual events, but hypothetical ones.

Datum 6: *-shi* may also be interpreted validationally. *-mi* is often interpreted validationally, to mean 'convinced', because one is generally convinced of one's own (direct) experience. *-shi* may also be interpreted validationally; and when it is, the implication is that the speaker is unconvinced of what he is saying. (*-shi* is interpreted validationally much less frequently than *-mi*, perhaps because one is actually convinced of much of what one hears secondhand.) For example, a speaker (from a dialect in northern Junín) wrote a pamphlet on cultivating pastures. His source of information was an agricultural engineer with whom he had talked at length; consequently, the author used *-shi* throughout his pamphlet. Readers apparently interpreted this as the author's lack of commitment to the idea: no one was moved by it to plant a pasture. Such evidence is insufficient justification for analyzing *-shi* validationally. In the same way, one should not, just on the basis of some cases in which *-mi* is interpreted validationally, analyze it in this way, since these can be explained from an evidential analysis in terms of the axiom that one's own experience is reliable.

These cases support the claim that the fundamental distinction is evidential: what is at issue is not whether the author is convinced that what he is communicating is true, but whether or not he learned it by direct or indirect experience.

A word must be said in defense of Adelaar's claim for Tarma Quechua that *-mi* means 'convinced.' In all Ignacio Zarate Mayma's texts, both those in Adelaar [1] (pp. 308-407) as well as those in Puente Baldoceda [33], I have not found a single case of *-shi*. Even though much of the material is far beyond the realm of Zarate's experience (including folk tales about the fox and the condor), he uses *-mi* throughout. This is because he believes the stories he is telling; for example, he says, 'Even the fox, being very powerful and very clever, died eventually. In the same way, today we are very clever and powerful,... (p. 319).' These facts justify Adelaar's claims for Tarma.⁶

⁶To the Huánuco Quechua ear, Zarate's use of *-mi* seems exceedingly incautious with respect to the information he conveys. This suggested that perhaps he is not a member of a Quechua speaking community in which he values his stature. This was confirmed for me by Willem Adelaar, personal communication.

Another case has come to my attention, of a person violating community norms in the use of the evidentials: TCV reports (personal communication) that there is a man, referred to by his neighbors as 'loko,' who constantly uses *-mi*. TCV reports that no one believes what he says because he 'always speaks as though he had witnessed what he is telling about.' (At best he is an argumentative braggart and, from TCV's description, I would guess that he is mentally ill.)

21.1.3. The Uses of *-chi*

Given 'conjecture' as the meaning of *-chi*, one would expect it to be an appropriate way to say 'Perhaps it needs to be wound' in response to, for example, 'Why is your clock not working?' Such is not the case. One could respond as in example 1733a, but not as in 1733b:

1733	Mana musya-:-chu. not know-1-NEG	{	a. Kapas pishi-n millu-na-n. perhaps lack-3 wind-SUB-3 b. *Pishi-n- <u>chi</u> millu-na-n. lack-3-CNJ wind-SUB-3
------	-------------------------------------	---	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

a. 'I don't know. Perhaps it needs to be wound.'

Why is 1733b not acceptable? It is grammatical; e.g., in response to *Relohuyki pishin millunan* 'Your clock needs to be wound', one could respond:

1734	Pishi-n- <u>chi</u> millu-na-n. Millu-y ari! lack-3-CNJ wind-SUB-3 wind-IMP emphatic
------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

'It needs winding (you say; well go ahead and) wind it!'

At present, I am unable to explain why 1733b is not acceptable. The best I can do is to illustrate some of the the rhetorical effects of *-chi*, and hope that they lead ultimately to a better understanding of its meaning and use.

In conversation, *-chi* is useful as a way to respond to a statement without committing to its truth--a way to avoid being taken as gullible. We will now see that *-chi* achieves a wide range of rhetorical effects. I will not attempt a tight explanation of them, but I suspect they have a basis in *-chi*'s use as a way to avoid committing to the truth of a statement, a consequence of its marking information for which no one should be held responsible.

-chi cannot initiate conversation. One may not initiate a conversation as in 1728c above; it must be said in response to a statement like 1728a or b. To say 'Perhaps it will die' *not* following a statement such as 1728a or b, one uses the Spanish loan *kapas* 'perhaps'.⁷

21.1.3.1. *-chi* as a Query

In some cases, *-chi* results in a query, a sort of challenge to answer. For example, if someone's boss is reading a list of those who are to go, and he is not sure whether his name was called, he could say to his boss as in example 1735. It has the force of the question 'Am I to go?'

1735	Noqa- <u>chi</u> aywa-shaq-paq. I-CNJ go-1FUT-fut
------	------------------------------------------------------

'I will go.'

⁷For example, one could say:

Kapas	wañu-nqa.
perhaps	die-3FUT

'Perhaps it will die.'

In response to 'John killed his son', example 1736 would be a challenge to respond roughly like 'If you could give an adequate reason why he would do such a thing, then I might believe what you say.'

1736 Wamra-n-ta-chi wañuchi-ra-n ima-pita-(taq)?
 child-3p-ACC-CNJ kill-PAST-3 what-ABL-(?)

'He killed his son because of what?'

In Cayco Villar [4] (p. 18), the cat says, 'You are going to play (music)' with *-chi* 'CNJ', to which the dog and the donkey answer 'Yes, yes!' The fact that it is answered shows that the rhetorical force of the sentence is a query.

-chi as a negative. In some cases the rhetorical force is equivalent to a negative. For example, the following sentence conveys something like 'So you think I know? I don't know a thing about it!'

1737 Chay-ta musya-yka-:-chi.
 that-ACC know-impfv-1-CNJ

'I know that.'

Suppose two peoples' paths converge, and after walking a ways together they take a rest. One gets up and, on the assumption that the other is continuing in the same direction, says, 'Let's go.' The other, who was not planning to go farther, might reply:

1738 Noqa aywa-yka-:-chi qam-paq-qa.
 I go-impfv-1-CNJ you-PUR-TOP

'I am going (on your behalf).'

The rhetorical force is roughly 'You might have thought I was going (there), but I'm not.' It is a curt/abrupt way to respond, definitely not polite. It could be comfortably followed by an emphatic denial like *noqa aywa-yka-:-taq+chu* (I go-impfv-1-NEG) 'I'm not going!'

21.1.3.2. *-chi* as Flippant, Sarcastic, or Haughty

For example, in Cayco Villar [3] the fox, while prancing about showing off, accidentally steps on a frog, and says:⁸

1739 Sapu-ta-chi ima-chi haru-riyku-: hahaa hahahaha!
 frog-ACC-CNJ what-CNJ step-ASP-: (laughs)

'It seems I've stepped on a frog, haha hahahaha!'

To conclude, *-chi* has surprising restrictions and rhetorical effects (question, negation, sarcasm, etc.). Hopefully, further research will yield refined explanations for these.

⁸In example 1739, either *ima-chi* has become frozen or *ima* 'what' is present simply to support an added *-chi* (?).

21.2. Information Profile

What determines where *-mi/shi/chi* occur in a sentence? Perhaps in some dialects they are simply associated with a pragmatic function. For Tarma Quechua, both Creider [13] (p. 16f) and Adelaar [1] (p. 80) identify the element to which *-mi/shi/chi* is attached as "focus."⁹ This may sometimes be the case in HgQ, but certainly not always. For example, in 1740, the second sentence 'having tied me' is not the focus--being highly thematic--and yet bears *-mi*:¹⁰

1740 Hatra-truu-mi wata-ra-yka-:. Wata-ykU-ma-r-mi aywa-sha.
bush-LOC-DIR tie-stat-impfv-1 tying-impact=>1-adv-DIR go-3PERF

'I am tied on a bush. Having tied me (here), she went.'

We will now see that *-mi/shi/chi* occur in a certain pattern (21.2.1) and that this pattern roughly characterizes the sentence's progression from thematic to rhematic information (21.2.2).

21.2.1. The Pattern

The evidentials, *-qa* 'TOP', and the verb generally pattern in Huánuco Quechua as in 1741.¹¹

1741 (X-*qa*)₀ⁿ < (Y-EVD)₀¹ <= VERB ({OBJ-*qa*, SUBJ-*qa*)₀²

This means that there may be any number of elements bearing *-qa*, followed by the element bearing the *-mi/shi/chi*, which must either precede the main verb or be the main verb itself; this may be followed by one or two *-qa*-bearing elements, which must be the subject or object.

The practical limit on the number of occurrences of *-qa* is probably 5. For example, 1742, an extreme case, has five *-qa*'s.¹²

⁹For yes/no questions, the focused element is the one being verified; for content questions, it is the element that has the question word (who, what, etc.); for negatives, it is the element that is responsible for the sentence being false. I am not sure how to define "focus" for other sentences; but perhaps, as a rough characterization, it is the least presupposed element.

¹⁰This example is from Ambo (Huánuco) Quechua, a dialect closely related to HgQ.

¹¹(X)_i^j means "no fewer than i and no more than j cases of X," < means "precedes but not necessarily contiguously," and <= means "precedes or coincides with."

¹²The alert reader will notice that example 1742 violates the pattern of 1741 in that the evidential-bearing element follows the verb, and further, in that there are two cases of *-shi* 'IND'. This example is again from Ambo (Huánuco) Quechua.

1742 Chawra-na-qa punta-truu-qa traya-ru-pti-n-qa wamra-ta-qa
 So-now-TOP peak-LOC-TOP arrive-asp-adv-3P-TOP child-OBJ-TOP

mayna-shi Dyos-ninchi-qa heqa-rkU-ykU-chi-sha
 already-IND God-12P-TOP go:up-up-impact-caus-3PERF

syelu-ta-na-shi.
 heaven-OBJ-now-IND

'When she (the witch) reached the peak, God had already taken
 the child up into heaven.'

To what extent is 1741 followed? Counts made on written folk tales by three Huánuco authors (from the three different dialects considered) yielded the following results:¹³

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
LAM	.67	.57	12%	5%	293
ATR	.30	.27	6%	3%	387
TCV	.13	.54	5%	1%	575

Table 21-2: Evidentials and *-qa* in Three Huánuco Dialects.

- (1) number of *-qa* per sentence.
- (2) number of evidential suffix per sentence.
- (3) percentage of sentences not conforming to 1741.
- (4) percentage of sentences having a post-verbal subject or object.
- (5) approximate number of sentences counted.

Note that the percentage of pattern-deviating sentences (column 3) and the percentage of post-verbal subjects and objects bearing *-qa* (column 4) are very closely proportional to the frequency of *-qa* (column 1). That is, the more frequently *-qa* occurs, the more frequent are (1) sentences deviating from 1741 and (2) sentences having a postverbal subject or object which bears *-qa*.

The counts tabulated in table 21-2 amply demonstrate that there is a pattern, with deviations (for various authors) running from 5% to 12%.

21.2.2. The Pattern as Information Profile

The image of *sentence* in terms of which this discussion is framed is roughly that which has evolved in the Prague school (Firbas [15]): a sentence is seen as a crescendo of communication-advancing material. It builds *from* elements that relate it to the context (theme, old information, topical material) and material that sets the stage for the communication-advancing material, *to* the material that advances the communication (rheme, new information). A few disclaimers are in order. Admittedly, the notions of theme, rheme, old information, new information, topic,

¹³Sentence-initial *chayshi* or *chaymi* was not counted as *chay* 'that' followed by an evidential, because it has become a single word (a sentence-initial conjunction meaning 'then' or 'because of that'). Evidence for this is that an evidential suffix may occur elsewhere in the sentence. The actual number of sentences counted was slightly larger than the counts given, since sentences without finite verbs were generally not counted.

focus, etc., are very difficult ones to define or to convincingly impose on text. And the boundary between thematic and rhematic material is not a discrete one. Despite these problems, the theme-rheme distinction captures--in my opinion--something real (though fuzzy) about sentences.

I propose that the pattern of 1741 serves to roughly characterize a sentence's progression from thematic to rhematic material (what I call an "information profile"). That is, with fair accuracy one can tell what parts are thematic and what parts are rhematic simply from the pattern of *-qa(s)*, the evidential and the verb. This should not be construed as identifying the evidential suffix with any particular element, i.e., the first rhematic or the last thematic one. Perhaps the following is the strongest that can be said: in "ordinary" sentences, the thematic material occurs to the left of the evidential suffix and the rhematic material follows the last pre-verbal *-qa*.

As a first justification for "information profile" consider the conclusion to chapter 20: *-qa* marks those constituents of a sentence which--in the speaker's eye--are most responsible for that sentence's relevance to its context. If this is correct, then the initial *-qa*-bearing elements contain material that is thematic, while the rhematic material follows.

The text which begins as in example 1743 further support the "information profile" claim. In 1743a, the rhematic information is that there was a famine. This becomes thematic in 1743b; the rhematic information is that the famine was long ago. In 1743c, the thematic part sums up 1743a and b 'so there being a famine.' Note how in 1743b and c the pattern of *-qa*'s and *-shi*'s relates to the progression from thematic to rhematic material:

1743

- a. Chayshi ka-ra-n muchuy.
so be-past-3 famine
- b. Muchuy-shi ka-ra-n unay.
famine-IND be-past-3 long:ago
- c. Chawra-qa muchuy ka-pti-n-qa pasaypa mana-shi ima-pis
So-TOP famine be-adv-3P-TOP really not-IND what-indef
- ka-ra-n-chu miku-na-n-paq.
to:eat eat-sub-3P-PUR
- a. 'There was a famine.'
- b. 'The famine was long ago.'
- c. 'So there being a famine, there really was not anything to eat.'

Again, note that the thematic material in 1744b is a repetition of the rhematic material of 1744a:

1744

- a. Machka papa-ta-shi qara-n wamra-ta-qa.
mealy potato-OBJ-IND give-3 child-OBJ-TOP
- b. Chawra machka papa-ta qara-pti-n-qa wamra-qa
so mealy potato-OBJ feed-adv-3P-TOP child-TOP
- apta-rku-n-shi.
grasp-asp-3-IND
- a. 'She (the witch) gives the child mealy potatoes.'
b. 'So when she gives her a mealy potato, the child grasps it.'

In example 1745, note the repetition concerning the many children--too many to feed. It is much more thematic when repeated in the last sentence than on its first mention (in the second sentence), and thus it bears the *-qa* and *-shi*. Also note the thematic clause of the third sentence repeating the rhematic material of the first:

- 1745 a. Chawra utku-pa muru-lla-n-ta-shi tari-mu-n.
So cotton-GEN seed-just-3P-OBJ-IND find-afar-3
- b. Wamra achka ka-sha.
child many be-3PERF
- c. Chayshi utku-pa muru-lla-n-ta tari-rkU-mu-r-qa
so cotton-GEN seed-just-3P-OBJ find-asp-afar-adv-TOP
- anka-q-shi.
fry-narpst-IND
- d. Wamra-qa achka-shi kasha.
child-TOP many-IND there:were
- a. 'So she found only some cotton seeds.'
b. 'There were many children.'
c. 'So finding just some cotton seeds, she fried them.'
d. 'There were many children.'

Example 1746 (from Albino Mendoza [2], from Ambo (Huánuco) Quechua) shows that the thematic element may "reach back across" background material. The second and third sentences (with verbs in the past perfect) are not on the event line. The thematic adverbial clause in the last sentence picks up from the first sentence.¹⁴

1746

- a. Y traya-chi-n marka-man [may-man-mi hipash qeshpi-sha]
And arrive-caus-3 town-GOAL where-GOAL-DIR girl escape-3PERF
- chay-man. b. Hipash-qa willa-ku-sha-na ka-sha kay-nuy
there-GOAL girl-TOP tell-refl-prtc-now be-3PERF this-SIM
- paasa-nqa-n-ta. c. Chay-nuy willa-ku-pti-n iglesya-man
happen-sub-3P-OBJ that-SIM tell-refl-adv-3P church-GOAL
- witra-paaku-sha ka-sha. d. Chawra-qa iglesya punku-man
close-modal-prtc be-3PERF. so-TOP church door-GOAL
- traya-ru-r-qa kondenadu-qa nin-shi...
arrive-asp-adv-TOP condemned-TOP says-IND

¹⁴The braces mark off a correlative relative clause, as mentioned in section 21.4 (see example 1752, p.437) and Weber [45], sec. 3.3.).

- a. 'And it brings him to the town, to the place where the girl had fled.'
- b. 'The girl had been told what had happened.'
- c. 'When she had been told that, she was shut into the church.'
- d. 'So arriving to the door of the church, the condemned one says...'

To conclude, these examples show that the pattern in which the *-qa*'s, the evidential, and the verb occur characterize (in a very loose way) a sentence's progression from thematic to rhematic material.

21.3. Pattern Deviations as a Rhetorical Device

As shown in section 21.2.1, there is a basic pattern for the occurrence of *-qa*, the evidential, and the verb, with few deviations from this pattern (5-15%). These deviations are not simply randomly distributed in a text, but constitute a rhetorical device for marking crucial points in a narrative. Not all deviations are crucial points; and conversely, not all crucial points involve a deviation from the pattern. Perhaps not all speakers use this device. Nevertheless, I find the examples given below reasonably convincing. By no means do I consider the rhetorical uses given here as exhaustive; there are perhaps a host of different (and novel) uses various speakers make of pattern violation.

21.3.1. Pattern Deviation at Textual Boundaries

Pattern deviations occur at textual boundaries,¹⁵ e.g., sentences like 'So the three of them go on their way', which concludes an episode, or like 'And then there appears a hawk', which begins an episode. Of the sentences that deviate from the pattern in Cayco Villar [4], five of them involve a post-verbal goal; they are given in 1747. Example 1747a deviates from the pattern of 1686 in that *-qa* occurs after the evidential and before the verb, and 1747b-e deviate in that the evidential follows the verb; these examples are found on pp. 2, 4, 9, 12, and 24, respectively, of Cayco Villar [4].

- 1747 a. Y chayshi runaqa aywasha yaya kampuan.
'And then the man went to the respected *kampu*.'
- b. Chaypita atoq chayan runamanshi.
'After that the fox arrives to the man's place.'
- c. Atoq chayan liyunmanshi.
'The fox arrives to the lions' place.'
- d. Chaypita osoqa chayan yunka muntimanshi yantakoq.
'After that, the bear arrives to the jungle to cut firewood.'
- e. Chaypita runa chayaykun mayur suwamanshi "ayi ayi" nishpanshi.
'After that, the man arrives to the head thief, saying "ayi ayi."'

Each of these sentences implies a change of scene. For some linguists, this would

¹⁵I hesitate to say whether the deviation serves to mark those boundaries or whether their occurrence is for some special effect such as discussed in section 21.3.

perforce mean the beginning of a new paragraph. And this accords well with the observation that *chaypita* 'thereafter, then' is a very "loose" connective, the sort that initiates paragraphs.

Consider example 1748 (from Tucto Ramirez [35], which has been reorganized to make clear the parallelism from episode to episode. The written order was 1a-c, 2a-c, 3a-c, 4a-c, and 5a-c. There are three pattern deviations in this section of text: 1a, 3a, and the first sentence in 5a. Each of these initiates a new episode. (I do not know why 2a and 4a, which also initiate episodes, do not deviate from the pattern.) Considering the infrequency of deviations from the pattern in Tucto's folk tale (about 6%), it could hardly be considered coincidental that these occur precisely at the point of initiating a new episode.

Note that 1a, 3a, and 5a do not deviate from the pattern in the same way. 1a deviates in that *-shi* precedes *-qa*, while 3a and 5a deviate in that the element with *-shi* follows the verb. (Incidentally, all the *a* sentences give the first mention of the bird of that episode; perhaps that is why the subjects are post-verbal; i.e., these are "existential-presentative" sentences. The five birds are all birds of prey or carrion, and play parallel roles in the five episodes.)

1748 1a. Saychaw qaparaykaptinshi waqerashan puntapaqa anka tumaskamun.

2a. Yapay wamrakuna waqaykaayaptinshi tumaramun kiliksa.

3a. Tumaramun alqaynashi

4a. Nikaalaptinshi yuriskamun wiskul.

5a. Wamrakunaga qaparaykan saynawlashi. Say ooraqa
aanirshi huk hatun kondor yuriskin. Tumar tumar qaqa
hananpashi heqarpamun.

1b. Y wamrakunaga ruwakuyan: "Tiyay anka, horqaykalaamay!"

2b. Saytana niyan wamrakuna: "Tiyay kiliksa, horqaykayaamay!"

3b. Ruwayan saytana: "Tiyay alqay, horqaykayaamay!"

4b. Saytana ruwakuyan: "Tiyuy wiskul horqaykayaamay!"

5b. Saytana ruwakuyan kaynaw nir: "Tiyuy kondor, horqaykayaamay!"

1c. Anka kaynawpa kontistan: "Imapaqtaq 'walpa suwa anka'
nimarqayki?" Nirshi paasakun.

2c. Niptin kiliksa nin: "Imapaqtaq 'pisqu apaq kiliksa'
nimarqayki?"

3c. Paasakunshi kaynaw nir: "Imapaqtaq 'aqish baaraq alqay'
nimarqayki?"

4c. Saypis paasakunshi: "Imapaqtaq 'wanush alqu mikuq
wiskul' nir ashlimarqayki? Hoodikuy!" nirshi paasakun.

5c. Niptin aanir tumar tumar laadunman niraq witin.

1a. 'As they are yelling there, an *anka* comes around the point
where they were hung up.'

2a. 'Again, as the children are crying, a *kiliksa* comes around.'

3a. 'There comes around an *alqay*.'

4a. 'When it has said that, there appears a *wiskul*.'

5a. 'The children are yelling just like that. At that moment,
agreeing, a large condor appears. Circling about, it comes
down toward the top of the boulder.'

1b. 'And the children beg: "Aunt *anka*, please take us out!"'

2b. 'To that one now the children say: "Aunt *kiliksa*, take us out!"',

3b. 'They beg that one now: "Aunt *alqay*, take us out!"'

4b. 'That one now they beg: "Uncle *wiskul*, take us out!"'

5b. 'That one now they beg saying like this: "Uncle *kondor*,
take us out!"'

- 1c. 'The *anka* answers like this: "Why did you call me 'chicken thief *anka*'?" Saying (thus) she went on.'
- 2c. 'When they said that, the *kiliksa* says: "Why did you call me 'bird snatcher *kiliksa*'?"'
- 3c. 'She goes on, saying like this: "Why did you call me 'tripe *baareq alqay*'?"'
- 4c. 'That one too goes on. "Why did you insult me, saying 'dead dog eater *wiskul*'? Be damned!" So saying, he went on.'
- 5c. 'When they say that, agreeing, circling, he comes right down next to them.'

A similar example from Cayco Villar [4] (p. 15ff.) is given in example 1749. The only pattern deviations in this section of text are in 2f and 3f; they deviate in that the evidential-bearing element follows the verb. They conclude their respective episodes. Again, pattern deviations being fewer than 5% in TCV's folk tales, their occurrence on these episode-final sentences cannot be considered coincidental.

- 1749 1a. Warannin hunaq kaminunpashi aywakuykan.
 2a. Warannin lo mismo ishkallanshi aywakurkaykan.
 3a. (absent)
- 1b. Kasi las duusinashi tarin kaminu kantunchaw lataraykaqta huk awkis allquta haqayashta.
 2b. Aywaykashanchawshi tarin kaminuchaw mishi lataraykaqta.
 3b. Mas mas aywaykashanchawnashi tarin huk gaallu hatun sawan hananchaw ushaypa ushar kantaykaqta.
- 1c. Chawra buurrushi tapun: "Imanirtaq qam haqayash kaykanki amiigu?" ninshi.
 2c. Chawra buurrushi tapun: "Imanirtaq qam kaminunchaw lataraq shakamushkanki?"
 3c. Chawra buurrushi tapun gaalluta. Ninshi: "Imanirtaq qam ushaypa ushar kantanki, gaallu, llakishalla kunkaykipis qasmananyaq?"
- 1d. Allqushi kuntistan
 2d. Chawra mishi kuntistan... (Here follow negotiations between
 3d. Chawra gaallu kontestan... the donkey and the dog/cat/rooster.)
- 1e. Chawra allqu ninshi: "Chaynaw qoyananchi kaptin aywakushun chawra."
 2e. Chawra mishipis ninshi: "Chawra noqawanpis aywakushun tukapakoq."
 3e. Chawra gaallu nin: "Chawra baamu aywakushun."
- 1f. Chawra buurru ishkanshi aywakun kaminunpa.
 2f. Chawra aywakun kimsanshi kaminunpa.
 3f. Niptin aywakun chuskunshi kaminunpa.
- 1a. 'The next day they are going on their way.'
 2a. 'The next day in the same way, the two of them are going.'
 3a. (absent)
- 1b. 'Just before noon they find an old, unhappy dog laying in the middle of the road.'
 2b. 'As they are going along, they find a cat lying in the road.'
 3b. 'As they are going on farther and farther, they find a rooster on top of a gate, crowing his heart out.'
- 1c. 'So the donkey asks, "Why are you unhappy, friend?"'
 2c. 'So the donkey asks, "Why have you come to lie in the road?"'
 3c. 'So the donkey asks the rooster, "Why do you sing your heart out, rooster, until your throat gets raw?"'

- 1d. 'The dog answers,....'
 2d. 'So the cat answers,....'
 3d. 'So the rooster answers,....'
- 1e. 'So the dog says, "If that's the way we'll live, let's go!"'
 2e. 'So the cat, too, says, "So I'll go along to play (music)."'
 3e. 'So the rooster says, "So let's go!"'
- 1f. 'So both of them go on their way, the donkey (and the dog).'
 2f. 'So the three of them go on their way.'
 3f. 'When he said that, the four of them went on their way.'

These examples show that the pattern deviations occur at textual boundaries.

21.3.2. Pattern Deviations to Build (and Resolve) Tensions

Pattern deviations sometimes flag a theme on which tension is built in the narrative. For example, a tension running through one text is a girl's ignorance of what the witch has done with her brother (particularly since her ignorance puts her in considerable danger). The girl asks about her brother and does not get a satisfactory answer. She asks a second time, and her question is set by 'Again the girl asks...' where the pattern is $X\text{-shi} < Y\text{-qa} < \text{verb}$. Her danger is brought home by a sentence saying that the witch *had cut up* her brother and put him into a pot to boil, in which the pattern is $X\text{-shi} < Y\text{-qa} < \text{verb}$. After some intervening events, the tension is built with 'And she asks the witch about her brother', in which the pattern is $\text{verb}\text{-shi} < Y\text{-qa}$. The girl's preoccupation about her brother--and the reader's concern that she realize her dangerous situation--are resolved when the bird (*yukish*) and the frog inform her, where the pattern is $W\text{-qa} < X\text{-qa} < Y\text{-qa} < \text{verb} < Z\text{-shi}$. This illustrates a tension woven into the narrative that is flagged by pattern deviations.

21.3.3. Pattern Deviation to Distinguish Two Themes

When intertwined in text, two themes may be kept distinct by making the sentences of one theme conform to the pattern while making those of the other strand deviate from it. For example, in Cayco Villar [5], a sketch of Peruvian history, two themes are interwoven: (1) that which used to be (that which happened historically), and (2) the basis on which we know such things. Very consistently, the 1-sentences have past verbs (tense marker $\text{-ra} \sim \text{rqa}$) and -shi on some constituent *following* the verb--thus deviating from the pattern of 1741. Equally consistent, the 2-sentences have present tense verbs, have -na 'now' somewhere in the sentence, and do not violate the pattern of 1741. Generally the 2-sentences do not have an evidential suffix. (Exceptional are the cases in which the domain of what would have to be witnessed is too large, as discussed in section 21.1.2, p.423.) However, when evidentials and -qa do occur in the 2-sentences, they conform to the pattern of 1741.

1750 1-SENTENCES

|2-SENTENCES

1. Mas mas unay achka marka-shi karan kay Peruuninchiichaw.
2. Tiyarqan achka runakuna-shi.
3. Pero noqanchi mana reqsishkanchiichu chay runakuna imanaw-shi qoyashapis imanaw-shi arushapis chay runakuna-qa.
 - |4. Noqanchi kanan musyanchi unay perqakunata rikallarna | o wasinkunata puntakunachaw tarillarna.
 - |5. Y tullunkunata rikanchi machaykunachaw.
 - |6. Mas pis kan....
7. Chay kushankunata rurarqan paykuna llapan rumipita-shi.
8. Wakin-qa karqan allpapita-shi y shoqoshpita-shi.
9. Rurarqan hanankuna dibuhuyoqta-shi bonito kuyayllapaq achka kastatashi.
 - |10. Pero chaykunata rikallarna noqanchi musyanchi | unay runakuna imanaw rurashantapis imanaw | tiyashantapis.
11. Chavín hatun marka.
12. Chay marka karqan kanan departamento Ancash probinsya Huari kaykashanchaw-shi.
 - |13. Kanan chayta musyanchi dibuhunkunata rikallarna | imanawpis kashanta.
 - |14. Unay Chavín markachaw dibuho kaq naw chay kasta-qa | inteeru Peru markachaw-shi kan.
15. Pero dibuhunpa kolornin karqan reqipalla-shi
16. Llapan yanalla-shi chay Chavín markapa-qa.
 1. 'Long ago there were many towns/peoples in Perú.'
 2. 'There lived many people.'
 3. 'But we did not know those people, how they lived or how they worked.'
 - |4. 'Now we know, seeing the walls of long ago, or finding | their houses on the peaks.'
 - |5. 'And we see their bones in caves.'
 - |6. 'There are also ...'
 7. 'They made those things from stone.'
 8. 'Some were of earth or of cane.'
 9. 'They made all sorts of beautiful drawings on their surface.'
 - |10. 'But seeing those we know how the people of long ago | made them and how they lived.'
11. 'Chavín (was) a large town.'
12. 'That town was in the department of Ancash where the province of Huari now is.'
 - |13. 'We know that now seeing their drawings, how they were.'
 - |14. 'Ancient drawings like those of Chavín are throughout | Perú.'
15. 'The colors of the drawings were distinctive.'
16. 'Those of Chavín were all simply black (and white).'

21.3.4. Summary

It has been shown that deviating from the pattern (1741) is a rhetorical device that

can be used for various purposes:¹⁶

- to mark boundaries
- to signal a theme of concern
- to interweave two themes in such a way that the reader/listener can easily keep track of them

I doubt that this exhausts the possibilities; there are perhaps many different (and novel) uses various speakers make of this rhetorical device.

21.4. Other Uses of *-mi* and *-shi*

This section mentions some non-evidential uses of *-mi* and *-shi*.¹⁷

21.4.1. *-mi* as a Question Marker

-mi is sometimes used in the formation of content questions.¹⁸ Far more common for this is *-taq*;¹⁹ e.g.:

¹⁶It is reasonable to ask if deviating from the pattern serves as a rhetorical device in other dialects. I conjecture that it does. For example, the following sentence (from Adelaar [1], p. 316, sentence 51) departs from the Tarma pattern in that the evidential *precedes* the *-qa*-bearing element. (I think that in the basic pattern for Tarma, the evidential is the first constituent, and *-qa*-bearing elements follow.) This example follows text describing the fox's attempts to climb down from heaven on a rope that was too short; it expresses the fox's predicament, which leads shortly to his fall and death.

Chaypita ali yarparkutpin-qa mana-mi ni imay
then well when:he:thought-TOP not-DIR nor ever

traamunansi kaqchu.
his:arrival it:was:not

'Then, when he really thought about it, he realized that he would never reach the ground.'

This is, of course, merely suggestive, and I leave as a conjecture that pattern deviations of the sort discussed here serve as a rhetorical device in dialects other than those of Huánuco.

¹⁷Another is *-chush*, used to form yes/no questions in the same way as *-chu*, with perhaps slightly different semantic/rhetorical effect (which I am not able to make precise). I believe it to be (at least historically) *-chu* 'YN?' followed by *-shi* 'IND'. I do not have a good example from HgQ, although I know that this suffix is indeed used there. An example follows from Tarma Quechua (from Adelaar [1], p. 83):

Maa tupayuy, kuyurinaq-chush.
lets:see push:it! it:turns:out:to:move-CHUSH

'Why don't you give it a push, to find out whether it moves or not!'

¹⁸Cerrón Palomino [6] (pg. 108) states that a question with *-mi* is less polite than a question with *-taq* or *-raq*, and indicates that the speaker has much confidence in his hearer.

¹⁹*-raq* is also used, to make it explicit that the speaker does not presuppose that the hearer knows the answer; see section 16.2 for a brief discussion or Diana Weber [47] for a fuller discussion.

1751	P1 who	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a. } \underline{-mi} \\ \text{DIR} \\ \text{b. } \underline{-taq} \\ \text{??} \end{array} \right\}$	chaya-mu-sha. arrive-afar-3PERF
'Who arrived?'			

21.4.2. -mi in Correlatives

-mi is a structural feature of correlative relative clauses. In this case, it is not really an evidential, in that it co-occurs with other evidentials and is *-mi* regardless of whether the co-occurring evidential is *-mi*, *-shi*, or *-chi*. Examples follow, where the correlative is enclosed in braces:

1752	...rus-kuna-ta	[may-pita- <u>mi</u>	apa-mu-ra-n]	chay-man
	cross-plur-OBJ	where-ABL-DIR	take-afar-past-3	there-GOAL
	kuti-chi-n.			
	return-caus-3			
	'...they return the crosses to (the places) from which they have brought them.'			

21.4.3. -shi with Finite Embedded Questions

There is a rather restricted sort of complement, one which forms embedded questions with finite verbs.²⁰ Its properties are as follows:

1. The superordinate verb is a verb of perception (e.g., *rika-* 'see') or of cognition (*reqsi-* 'be acquainted with').
2. The verb of the complement is finite (all other complements have a non-finite verb).
3. The complement contains a WH word with *-shi*.

Examples follow, with the complement bracketed:

1753	Chay-naw+pa	musya-shun	[mayqa-nchi:- <u>shi</u>	mas	kalpa-yoq
	that-adv	know-12	which-12P-IND	more	strength-have
	ka-nchi].				
	be-12				
	'In that way we'll know which of us is the stronger.'				

See also example 1372, p.332.

21.5. Conclusions

1. *-mi/shi/chi* allow the Quechua speaker to exercise caution in the amount of responsibility he assumes for information. With *-mi*, the speaker assumes responsibility; with *-shi*, he diverts it to someone else; and with *-chi*, he indicates that it is not the sort of information for which anyone should be held responsible.
2. *-mi* and *-shi* are evidential, but due to pragmatic axioms like "one's own

²⁰Weber [45], sec. 4.2.4.3.

- (direct) experience is reliable," a validational interpretation is sometimes appropriate for *-mi*.
3. *-chi* has (seemingly curious) rhetorical effects, which undoubtedly have a basis in its use as a way to avoid committing to the truth of a proposition.
 4. The relative positions of one or more *-qa*'s, the evidential suffix, and the main verb form a pattern which grossly characterizes the sentence's progression from thematic to rhematic material. In "ordinary" sentences, the thematic material occurs to the left of the evidential suffix and the rhematic material follows the last pre-verbal *-qa*.
 5. Deviations from this pattern serve as a rhetorical device. Three uses of this device were identified: occurrence at textual boundaries; for flagging "high tension" themes in the narrative; and for intertwining two sorts of information.

I wish to conclude by suggesting that information profiling and the use of pattern deviations as a rhetorical device naturally follow from *-mi/shi/chi*'s status as indicators of information perspective. How so? First--I suggest--a marker of information perspective (be it evidential or validational) accompanies the new information more naturally than material which simply "paves the way" for it; thus, evidentials naturally occur with the rhematic part of a sentence (provided they are free to do so). In conjunction with a marker of thematic material like *-qa* 'relevance to context', this naturally gives rise to a profile along theme-rheme lines. Second--I suggest--it is natural that the speaker/author should tamper with the information profile for rhetorical effect, since that goes to the very heart of rhetorical "punches": unsettling the listener to make him take note. So information profiling and pattern deviations for rhetorical effect are natural outgrowths of *-mi/shi/chi*'s status as indicators of information perspective.

Chapter 22

FORMULAIC EXPRESSIONS

This chapter lists some expressions whose meaning or use does not result straightforwardly from a combination of their parts. Some should simply be listed in the lexicon; others involve some syntax of limited productivity. A particular concern of this chapter is to provide a list of expressions with which one can interact politely in a Quechua situation.

22.1. Polite Expressions

The most important factor to successful interactions with Quechua people is to make a sincere effort at being polite *in their terms*. This makes a terrific difference in the way they react--particularly to outsiders. Unfortunately, what counts as politeness to members of other cultures (e.g., the culture of Spanish-speaking, Peruvian city-dwellers, or that of North Americans) often misses the point in interactions with Quechua people.

While it is not the purpose of this section to explain what politeness is to a Quechua person, the expressions below would serve a person who interacts with Quechua people until, by personal experience, he learned how to be polite.

22.1.1. Mechanisms for Politeness

One way to indicate politeness is to liberally use *-lla* 'just' and *-lla:* 'polite'. These suffixes are seen in many of the polite expressions listed below.

With imperatives, *-ykU* 'impact' is used to indicate politeness; see section 9.1.4.4. Some requests are made more polite by phrasing them in the future:

1754

Paala-yki-ta maña-ku-shayki.
shovel-2P-OBJ ask-refl-1=>2FUT

'Could I borrow your shovel?'
(lit. 'I will ask you for your shovel')

Commands are made more polite by avoiding the second person imperative. They may be rephrased in the first person plural inclusive, as in example 1755, or in the third person imperative, as in 1756:

1755 Noqa-wan aywa-ku-shun.
me-COM go-refl-12IMP

'Come with us.' (lit. 'With me, let's go.')

1756 Chay-lla-chaw ka-ku-yku-chun.
there-just-LOC be-refl-impact-3IMP

'Leave it there!' (lit. 'May it just be there.')

Another mechanism for showing politeness (one so obvious it hardly need be mentioned) is to use the correct forms of address. Men are addressed generally with *tayta* 'sir' and women with *mami(:)ta*. If one has some relationship with a person, it is appropriate (and polite) to use the corresponding term; e.g., *kompá*: (from Sp. *compadre*) 'co-father'. It is generally regarded as an abuse to use kinship (and extended kinship) terms when they are not appropriate.¹ One exception is that the children of a community generally address all adults as *tiyu* 'uncle' or *tiya* 'aunt'. (It would not surprise me that this varies from town to town.)

22.1.2. Greetings

The greetings have been adapted from Spanish:

bwenus diyas 'good morning' (from Sp. *buenos días*)
bwenas tardes 'good afternoon' (from Sp. *buenas tardes*)
bwenas noochis 'good night' (from Sp. *buenas noches*)

To some extent, the first of these is used at any time of the day, and I have occasionally heard *bwenas tardes* used in the morning. But generally, their use follows Spanish in being restricted to the morning, afternoon and evening, and night, respectively.

There are various ways to inquire about the addressee's well-being. Example 1757 would be used upon first seeing someone in the morning, to ask if the addressee passed a good night:

1757 Alli-chu wara-shka-nki?
good-YN? dawn-perf-2

'How did you come into the new day?'

If the addressee slept at some distance from where the question is asked, *-mu* may be added to the verb: *waraa-mu-shka-nki* (dawn-afar-perf-2); the meaning is then

¹I once heard a bitter denunciation of *bankichu*'s (evangelicals), because they use terms for brother and sister where there is no such relationship.

roughly 'How did you come into the new day over there?'. Other ways of inquiring after someone's health are 1758 and 1759:

1758 Alli-lla-chu ka-yka-nki?
good-just-YN? be-impfv-2

'How are you?'

1759 Ima-naw-lla-taq ka-yka-nki?
what-SIM-just-?? be-impfv-2

'How are you?'

If you have not seen the person whom you are asking for a considerable while (say several weeks), it is appropriate to say *Hawkallachu?* 'How are you?'² The appropriate response to such inquiries is:

1760 Aw, alli-lla-mi ka-yka-:. Qam-qa?
yes, good-just-DIR be-impfv-1. you-TOP

'I'm fine. And you?'

To inquire about someone's place of origin (nationality, place of birth), one says:

1761 May-taq ka-nki?
where-?? be-2

'Where are you from?'

The answer is of the same form; e.g.:

1762 Qasaqmarka ka-:.
be-1

'I am from (native to) Qasaqmarka.'

It is proper upon approaching a house to announce your visit by yelling out *Wasi-lla-yki?* (house-just-2P) 'Anyone home?' (said as you approach a house). If you are welcome, someone in the house will respond with something like *Wasi ka-lla-n* (house be-pol-3) 'The house is' (response to the above).³

To inquire who is at the door (e.g., if someone knocks), either of the following may be used, where the second is more polite: *Pi-taq ka-nki?* (who-?? be-2) 'Who are you?' or *Pi-lla-mi?* (who-just-DIR) 'Who?' The appropriate response is: *Noqa-lla-:* (I-just-1P) 'Just me' or *Noqa-lla-:-mi* (I-just-1P-DIR) 'Just me (DIR).'

To take one's leave, it is polite to say *Aywa-lla-:* (go-pol-1) 'I'm going now.' The proper response is *Aywa-lla-y-raq* (go-pol-2IMP-yet) 'Go then.'

²*hawka-* means 'be happy, contented'. It is also be used in, e.g., *Hawka kanki?* 'Are you contented?' and *hawkaykamay* 'until later' (for leavetaking).

³The most common exchange after this is to discuss whether the dog(s) of the house bite, initiated by the visitor's saying something like the following:

Allqo-yki kani-ma-n-man-chu?
dog-2P bite=>1-3-COND-YN?

'Might your dog bite me?'

22.1.3. Giving and Receiving

The following expressions are necessary to successful interactions, particularly in contexts where one is giving or receiving things (e.g., at meals):

Aw(mi) 'Yes' and *Awmillaa* 'Yes thank you.' *Awmillaa* is used to accept invitations or in return for services; it is not used when accepting a gift (where *pakillaa* is the appropriate response).

Kayllaa 'Here, thank you!' (as when returning something).

Kaa 'Here, take it!' (less polite than the above).

Katay 'Here, take it! (abrupt)' (probably derived from Sp. *acá está*).

Pakillaa 'Thank you' (derived from Sp. *Que Dios se lo pague*).

Wallka-lla-ta-pis (little-just-OBJ-indef) 'Although (it was) just a little bit' (in response to thanks for a meal or some refreshment).

Mana ima-pita-pis. (not what-ABL-indef) 'You are welcome, it was nothing'.

Chay-lla-paq-na. (that-just-PUR-now) 'That's enough, I've had enough' (as when being offered a second helping).

Haa 'Huh?' (to get someone to repeat what he said).

Hama-pa:-ri-shun! (sit-ben-sud-12IMP) 'Let's rest a bit.'

Mana ima+na-n-pis-chu. (not what+do-3-indef-NEG) 'It doesn't matter.'

Kay-raq-mi mishki-lla-qa (this-yet-DIR tasty-just-TOP) 'This sure is good!'

To ask that something be handed to you (e.g., the bread), one could say:

1763 *Tanta-ta makya-ykU-lla:-ma-y.*
bread-OBJ hand-impact-pol=>1-2IMP

'Please pass me the bread.'

Both *-lla:* and *-ykU* contribute to making example 1763 polite. Another possibility is simply to add *-lla-yki*; e.g.:

1764 *Kachi-lla-yki.*
salt-just-2P

'Just your salt.' (Implying, 'Pass me the salt.')

To ask a question, it is polite to pave the way with *Tapu-ku-shayki* (ask-refl-1->2FUT) 'I will ask you.' To ask for other things (e.g., to borrow something) it is polite to pave the way with *maña-ku-shayki* (ask-refl-1=>2FUT) 'I will ask (of) you'.

22.2. Expressions Reflecting Different Perspectives

The examples in this section show that HgQ speakers express some matters from a different perspective than we who are of a different culture. (They also seem to involve a different way of perceiving or conceiving matters.) For example, to indicate how many siblings someone has, he is included in the count:

1765 *Pay qanchis wawqe.*
he seven brother

'He has six brothers.' (lit. 'He is seven brothers.')

1766 Kimsa wawqe ka-:.
three brother be-1

'I have two brothers.' (lit. 'I am three brother.')

Of course, this is no more remarkable than it is to say "He has six brothers"; it simply follows a different convention.

To speak of "blowing" a light means to blow on coals to get a flame, thereby lighting rather than extinguishing it:

1767 achki-ta puuka-
light-OBJ blow

'to blow a light, i.e., to cause to burst into flame by blowing on'

Anger is spoken of in the same way as an illness; i.e., one recovers from it; see example 957, p.238.

Whereas an English speaker talks of "getting" some malady, in HgQ illness (broadly conceived) "grabs" one;⁴ e.g., *nana-y chari-* (pain-inf grab-) 'to begin labor pains'.

1768 Mana-na chari-q-na-chu killa qeshya-n-pis.
not-now grab-NRP-now-NEG month sickness-3P-indef

'Monthly sickness had not yet grabbed her.'
(i.e., 'She had not yet begun to menstruate.')

Authority is spoken of as a characteristic that someone has *with* respect to another: *muna-y-niyog ka-... [X]-wan* (want-inf-have be-... [X]-COM) 'to have X in one's authority'. Or one can speak of being *in* someone's authority: *muna-y-nin-chaw ka-* (want-inf-3P-LOC be-) 'to be under his authority'.

22.3. Idioms

HgQ has very few idiomatic expressions. This discussion will begin with idioms that are semi-productive, and then turn to those that are not.

Semi-productive idioms allow some latitude in their formation; in those mentioned here, it is possible to substitute different phrases within the expression, provided these phrases are of the appropriate type. (Certainly the distinction between productive and non-productive idioms is not a clearcut one.) The following are semi-productive idiomatic expressions:

to become:

Examples 1769-1773 show that *rika-kU-* (see-refl-) can be used to mean 'to become x' where x is some complementing substantive (a substantive phrase, a participle):

⁴This correlates nicely with the way many dialects (HgQ not among them) express "to get well," i.e., "to be released" by/from the illness.

- 1769 saanu rika-kU-
health see-refl-
'to become well'
- 1770 mas hatun rachi-sha rika-kU-
more big tear-prtc see-refl-
'to become more torn'
- 1771 fiyu+pa almira-sha rika-kU-
very admire-prtc see-refl-
'to be amazed'
- 1772 qeshyaq /chichu rika-kU-
sick-sub/pregnant see-refl-
'become pregnant'
- 1773 mancha-kaaku-q niraq rika-kU-
fear-compl-sub just:like see-refl-
'he became extremely frightened'

without fail:

mana WH-*pis* *pishi-q* (not WH-indef lack-sub) means 'without fail';
e.g., *mana pi-pis pishi-q* (not who-indef lack-sub) 'everyone without fail'.

around the edge:

inteeru NP-*pa tuma+ri-q* (entire NP-GEN go:about-sub) means 'all around'; e.g., *inteeru kantu-n-pa tuma+ri-q* (entire edge-3P-GEN go:about-sub) 'all around the edge'.

it doesn't matter:

The third person imperative is used, as illustrated in 1774, to form the complement to the idiomatic expression *imata qokaman* 'it doesn't matter to me':

- 1774 Kuchpa:-ku-chun-pis ima-ta qo-kU-ma-n.
roll-refl-3IMP-even what-OBJ give-refl=>1-3

'May it roll (down the hill)--it doesn't matter to me!'

professionally dedicated to:

To express ones profession, one can use the frame [X]-*y-lla-chaw kakU-*, where X is either a substantive referring to a profession or an infinitive, such as in the following example:

- 1775 chakra aru-y-lla-chaw ka-kU-
field work-inf-just-LOC be-refl-

'to be professionally dedicated to farming'

We now turn to non-productive idioms, i.e., those that are frozen and allow no syntactic manipulation.

I have only seen one HgQ idiom that refers to an internal organ as the center of consciousness, emotion, feeling, etc.; *shonqo* 'heart/lung' used as the center of personality or character. For example, *shinchi shonqo* (hard heart) 'uncompassionate'. Further, in example 1776 *tukuy shonqoopa* 'with all my heart' refers to emotion or will:

1776 *tukuy shonqo-:-pa maña-kU-*
all heart-1P-GEN ask-refl-

'to ask with all my heart'

These cases are rare and little used, leading me to suspect that they are borrowed from Spanish.⁵

Unpleasant/uncouth subjects may be referred to euphemistically; e.g., *paharo* --literally 'bird' from Sp. *pájaro* 'bird'--is a euphemism for penis. (This euphemism is found throughout the Spanish speaking world.) To speak of someone's death, one may euphemistically speak of his being lost:

1777 *Tayta-:-ta oqra-shka-:*
father-1P-OBJ lose-perf-1

'My father died.'
(lit. 'I lost my father.')

Examples 1778 and 1779 show "displaced reference," i.e., the predication is really about one thing (e.g., in 1778 about one's mental state), but this is stated in terms of some other object (e.g., the eyes):

1778 *Nawi-: punu-na-yka-n.*
eye-1P sleep-desid-impfv-3

'I am sleepy.' (lit. 'My eye wants to sleep.')

In example 1779, it is of course the contents of the pot which boil, and not the pot itself:

1779 *Payla timpu-yka-q-ta talli-ri+yku-r...*
pot boil-impfv-sub-OBJ tip-sud-adv

'Quickly tipping over the boiling pot...'

The following is a list of non-productive idioms:

adoobi-ta chuta- (adobe-OBJ pull-) 'to make adobes (putting mud into a mold, etc.)'

rupaypa rupaykan 'to spread like wildfire'; e.g.:

1780 *Chay-lla-mi alburu:ta rupa-y+pa rupa-yka-n.*
that-just-GEN word burn-adv burn-impfv-3

'Everyone is learning about it (i.e., word is spreading like wildfire).'

busburu-pa huk uma-n (match-GEN one head-3P) 'a single match'

asi-y binsi-rI- (laugh-inf conquer-pnct-) 'to be unable to suppress a laugh'

Qampis ni noqapis gustu kashunchu:

1781 *Qam-pis ni noqa-pis gustu ka-shun-chu.*
you-indef nor I-indef pleasure be-12FUT-NEG

'Neither of us will be the same.'

alli goya:-... [X]-wan 'to live compatibly with X'

mana sumaq tantiya-q-naw-chu ka-: 'I don't fully understand' (lit. 'I am as one who does not understand well')

⁵One might suspect that at least the brain would be viewed as the center of thought. As far as I have been able to tell, it is not.

adyus-ta qo- (greeting-OBJ give-) 'to greet'
kichki ka- (narrow be-) 'to be packed tightly together', e.g., in a
 vehicle/theatre where there is not really enough room
kargu-ta yayku- (office-OBJ enter-) 'enter office'
waqa-y-man chura-ka:- (cry-inf-GOAL place-pass-) 'to begin to cry'
huk-nirraq-ya:- (one-just:like-become-) 'countenance falls'
ruka-y-ta apa-ku- (replace-inf-OBJ take-refl) 'to become the replacement'
 (e.g., to take over a fiesta cargo for the next year)
kwinta-ta apa-kU- (account-OBJ take-refl-) 'to become aware that'
huti-n-pa willa- (name-3P-GEN tell-) 'to identify by name'
-pa huti-POS_x-chaw 'in X's name'; e.g.:

1782 *Mana-ku-n santu-pa huti-n-chaw.*
 ask-refl-3 saint-GEN name-3P-LOC

'They pray in the saint's name.'

direechun-ta qo- (right-OBJ give-) 'to give the right (e.g., to drink liquor)'
chacha 'old person' is related to the verb *chacha-* 'bend over, be inclined (of
 something with an upward orientation)';⁶ compare *chachanirraq* 'like an
 old person' with *chachashnirraq* 'person/post which is inclined'

22.4. Emotional Expressions

The following might be called "emotives"; they are expressions of emotional reaction:

Achachaw! 'Oh no! (from fear or surprise)'

Achallaw! 'How beautiful! How tasty!'

Ananaw! 'Ouch!'

Akachaw! 'How hot (ambient)!'

Wawiita (for a female) or *Wawiitu* (for a male) 'Poor thing!'

There are various constructions for expressing emotion:

a strong attitude toward some condition:⁷

Chay-raq [X]-lla-qa! (that-yet [X]-just-TOP) 'It sure is X!' If X is a substantive, it enters into this construction without any additional suffixes; e.g., *Chayraq pukallaqa!* 'It sure is red!', from the substantive *puka* 'red'. But if X is a verb, it must first be substantivized with *-y* 'INF'; e.g., *Chayraq akayllaqa!* 'It sure is hot!', from *aka-* 'to be hot (ambient)'. One must use this construction with caution, because it can be taken as sarcastic as well as sincere.

desperation:

Kanan-raq-chi kanan-lla-qa! (now-yet-CNJ now-just-TOP) means

⁶ *chacha* 'old person' may have derived from the verb, or it may have given rise to it, I am not sure which.

⁷ I am indebted to Mark and Patti Bean for bringing this construction to my attention. I have verified for HgQ the facts as they characterized them for Dos de Mayo Quechua.

roughly 'Oh dear! What now!' and is generally followed by something like *Ima-ta-raq rura-shaq?* (what-OBJ-?? do-1FUT) 'What shall I do?' Another example:

1783 *Kanan-raq-chi kanan-lla-qa ima-ta-raq ni-ma-n-qa duyñu-n.*
 now-yet-CNJ now-just-TOP what-OBJ-?? say=>1-3-TOP owner-3

'Oh dear! What now! What will its owner say to me?'

exasperation:

Imay-raq hama-shaq [X]-pita!? (when-yet rest-1FUT [X]-ABL)
 'When might I be free of X?'; for example (with slight differences):

1784 *Imay-lla-qa hama-shaq-churaq qeshya-y-pita.*
 when-just-TOP rest-1FUT-dub be:sick-inf-ABL

'When will I get over being sick!'

pleasure:

...yapay imay hunaq-pis [X]-na-:-kama (...again when day-indef [X]-sub-1P-LIM) 'When might I get a chance to X again?!'; e.g.:

1785 *Kanan pachamanka-ta miku-: yapay imay hunaq-pis*
 now pachamanka-OBJ eat-1 again when day-indef

miku-na-:-kama.
 eat-sub-1P-LIM

'Now I eat *pachamanka*; when might I eat it again!?'

22.5. Formulaic Expressions

There are rough formulas for indicating a beginning or an end of a discourse, and there are some discourse types (e.g., riddles) with a fairly fixed structure.

There is no one fixed formula for beginning a folk tale; however, most begin with an existential, as in examples 1786-1789:

1786 *Chay-shi hasendaaro mishti ka-sha.*
 that-IND hacienda:owner white be-3PERF

'There was a white hacienda owner.'

1787 *Chay-shi buurru ka-ra-n.*
 that-IND donkey be-past-3

'There was a donkey.'

1788 *Chay-shi karan muchu-y.*
 that-IND be-past-3 famine

'There was a famine.'

1789 *Ishkay upa-kuna-shi ka-ra-n.*
 two stooge-plur-IND be-past-3

'There were two stooges.'

Some begin with an "encounter" between principal participants; e.g.:

1790 *Tinku-ka-ra-n sooru-wan kondor-shi.*
 encounter-pass-past-3 fox-COM condor-IND

'The fox and the condor met.'

The following are standard terminators of speeches; they all mean (roughly) 'That's all':

Chay-lla-mi ka-sha (that-just-DIR be-3PERF)

Chay-lla-mi (that-just-DIR)

Chay-lla (that-just)

These are used to terminate any sort of speech, such as the telling of a folk tale, the end of a political speech, the ending of a narrative about some incident, and even to conclude public and private prayer ('Amen').

A riddle has three or four lines: the first line is very standardly *Imata:shi Imataq-shi (kaykaa)?* (see example 1792); the other lines give properties of the item to be guessed.

1791 *Ima-taq-shi ima-taq-shi (ka-yka-:)?*
what-??-IND what-??-IND be-impfv-1

Paqas-ta hunaq-ta aywa-ku-yka-:, yoraq-lla,
night-OBJ day-OBJ go-refl-impfv-1 white-just

Mana ultimu chawa-y+pa paqas-ta hunaq-ta.
not finally complete-adv night-OBJ day-OBJ

'What am I? What am I?
Night and day I am going, white,
never stopping, by night and by day.' [Ans.: *mayu* 'river']

1792 *Ima-taq-shi ima-taq-shi (kaykaa)? (what-??-IND what-??-IND)*
Wak chimpa, kay chimpa, (there bank this bank)
Waraka-naku-yka-:. (sling- recip-impfv-1)

'What are we? What are we?
That bank, this bank,
We sling things at each other. [Ans.: *runa* 'man']

1793 *Wasi waqta-n-chaw noqa tiya-:. (house behind-3P-LOC live-1)*
Imay-pis unchu-ra-:. (when-indef squat-stat-1)
Uma rebeti-sha (head cap-prtc)
Miku-: yapay aqtu-ri-:. (eat-1 again spit:out-pnct-1)

'I live behind a house.
Always squatting,
My head capped,
I eat, then I spit it out.' [Ans.: *hornu* 'oven']

As the ultimate in formulaic expressions, I offer following war cries:

Golpe gyeerra! (blow war)

Tuuka la kampaana! 'Ring the bell!'

Wañuy kaway! 'Death or life!'

22.6. Loan Translations (Calques)

There are perhaps a few cases in which HgQ has borrowed an expression from Spanish, translating it part for part. (These are called "loan translations" or "calques.") For example, Spanish has the following expressions: *estar en ayunas* 'to be in a fast' (i.e., to not yet have eaten breakfast), as in the following:

1794 *Yarqa-y-chaw ka-yka-:.*
be:hungry-inf-LOC be-impfv-1

'I am hungry.' or 'I am without having eaten.'

See also section 10.5.11, p.196.

Chapter 23

PHONOLOGY

This chapter describes various aspects of the phonology of HgQ:

- Phonemes (section 23.1)
- Allophonics (section 23.2)
- Consonant Clusters (section 23.3)
- Syllables (section 23.4)
- Morpheme Structure Conditions (section 23.5)
- Orthography (section 23.6)
- Stress (section 23.7)
- Morpo-Phonological Processes (section 23.8)
- Dialect Variation in Huallaga Quechua (section 23.9)
- Loan Processes (section 23.10)

23.1. Phonemes

Table 23.1 shows the phonemes of HgQ. Those in parentheses are used only in Spanish loans.

CONSONANTS:				
stops	voiceless	/p/	/t/	/k/
	voiced	(b)	(d)	(g)
				/q/
fricatives		(f)		/h/
affricates			/ch/	
sibilants		/s/	/sh/	
nasals		/m/	/n/	/ɲ/
liquids			/l/	/ll/
			/r/	(ɾ) ¹
semivowels		/y/	/w/	[length] ²
VOWELS:				
		front	mid	back
	high	/i/		/u/
	mid	(e)		(o)
	low		/a/	

Table 23-1: The Phonemes of Huallaga Quechua.

The consonants in parentheses are found only in words that are borrowed--e.g., *bi:da* 'life' from Spanish *vida*--or onomatopoetic--e.g., *bunruru-* '(of thunder) to rumble'. The vowels in parentheses occur in native Quechua morphemes only as allophones of the high vowels. They also occur in borrowed words.

The importance of vocalic length in the central Quechua languages cannot be overestimated. In some extreme cases, virtually every vowel is long; e.g., /aka:-chi-yka:-ma:-na-nchi:-paq-qa/ [aka:chi:ka:ma:nanchi:pá:ga] 'in order to be making me hot'. Length may be the only clue to rather sharp differences of meaning; e.g.:

[kawará:chu] /kawa-ra-:-chu/ (live-past-1-NEG) 'I did not live'

[kawa:rá:chu] /kawa-:-raq-chu/ (live-1-yet-NEG) 'I still don't live'

In many cases, length is the only feature distinguishing two morphemes; e.g., roots

¹ $\frac{1}{2}$ is a phoneme in Spanish loans (represented orthographically as rr). It is also an allophone of /r/ in native Quechua words (see section 23.2), but it is not a phoneme distinct from /r/ in native Quechua words.

²Phonetically, length is vocalic (being the protraction of a vowel), but it is listed here with the semivowels because it functions as a consonant in the phonological system; see Weber and Landerman [46].

may be distinguished only by the length of the final vowel:³

- 1795 a. *pishi-chi-n* (urinate-caus-3)
 b. *pishi:-chi-n* (be:lacking-caus-3)
 a. 'he makes/allows him urinate (of a small child)'
 b. 'he causes it to be lacking'
- 1796 a. *rika:-ku-n* (spectate-refl-3)
 b. *rika-ku-n* (see-refl-3)
 a. 'he looks (as a spectator)'
 b. 'he sees/looks'
- 1797 a. *wayra:-chi-sha* (blow-caus-3PERF)
 b. *wayra-chi-sha* (winnow-caus-3PERF)
 a. 'he made it blow (as by opening a window)'
 b. 'he made him winnow it'
- 1798 a. *wiya:-chi-* (become:more:bearable-caus-)
 b. *wiya-chi-* (hear-caus-)
 a. 'to make (some pain) more bearable'
 b. 'to cause to hear'

In some cases, the allomorphs of different suffixes are distinguished only by length. For example, /-ykU/ 'directly, perfective' and /-yka:/ 'imperfective' both have allomorphs with the [-yka], but that of /-ykU/ can occur in an open syllable, whereas in such an environment /yka:/ will have a long vowel:

- 1799 [chayaykámur] *chaya-ykU-mu-r* (perfective)
 [chayayká:mur] *chaya-yka:-mu-r* (imperfective)
 'upon arriving'

³The following is a list of roots ending in long vowels; intransitive verb is abbreviated as v1, transitive verb as v2, pronoun as pro, substantive as s, emotive/expression/locution as loc, and onomatopoeic as onom): *achikya:-* v1 shine; *aha:-* v1 form a sore on the skin; *aka:-* v1 be hot; *akaqya:-* v1 be hot (e.g., a sprained ankle); *ama:* s mythical figure (like a witch); *asqa:-* v1 be sour; *asya:-* v1 stink; *ayara:-* v2 to hold something horizontal in the hands; *aypa:-* v1 to reach, to be sufficient; v2 to hand to; *chapa:-* v2 to cover, to protect by covering; *chara:-* v2 to have; *chayaka:-* v2 to stain; *chillapya:-* v1 to sparkle; *chipya:-* v1 to be shiny; *ha:* huh? (to get someone to repeat what he has said); *hischo:* whoa! (to make a horse stop); *hitapa:-* v2 to cast the blame on; *hucha:-* v1 to sin; *illa:-* v1 to be absent; *illqa:-* v1 to disappear; *ka:* here! (when extending something to someone, to get them to take it); *kaylla:* here, thanks! (when returning something); *kuchpa:-* v1 to roll (down the slope); *ma:* loc let's see! (a challenge to do something); *macha:-* v1 to be intoxicated; *melana:-* v2 to be nauseating or revolting; *micha:-* v2 to impede, to stop from doing; *mishki:-* v1 to become sweet; *nana:-* v1 to hurt/pain, v2 to be painful to; *pacha:-* to take lodging; *pi:* pro who; *pishi:-* v1 to be lacking to; *pochqa:-* v1 to be too salty, to be fermented; *qapara:-* v1 yell; *qasa:-* v2 to be peaceful, to calm down (after a dispute), to be cold (cf. *qasapa* 'frost' and Tarma *qasi-ya:-* 'peaceful-become' as reported in Adelaar [1]); *qoya:-* v1 to pass time; *raqa:* s an old house in ruin (without roof); *rawra:-* v1 to burn (skin); *rika:-* v1 to watch (as a spectator); *shana:-* v1 to be warm (from the sun); *shuya:-* v1 wait; v2 to wait for; *qonu:-* v2 to be warm; *ura:-* v1 to go down; *utika:-* v1 to be tired; *wara:-* v1 to dawn; *washa:-* v2 to defend (by coming between the aggressor and victim); *wayra:-* v1 to blow (cf. *wayra-* 'to winnow'); *weglla:* s species of plant; *wicha:-* v1 climb; *wiya:-* v1 to become more bearable (of some pain); *yanapa:-* v2 help; *yarpa:-* v2 think, remember, deliberate; *yarqa:-* v1 to be hungry.

23.2. Allophonics

The following is a list of phonemes with their principle allophones:

- /p/ voiceless bilabial stop; e.g., /papa/ [pápa] 'potato'
 /t/ voiceless apico-alveolar stop; e.g., /tanta/ [tánta] 'bread'
 /k/ voiceless dorso-velar stop:

1. Word-finally, /k/ is sometimes pronounced with a strong vocalic termination; e.g., /huk/ [huk^u] 'one'.
2. In the morpheme /-yka:/ 'impfv', the /k/ is sometimes voiced [-yga:] and sometimes the point of articulation is quite far front (in the palatal region) with a strong palatal offglide [-yk^(y)a:]; e.g., /kaykaqwan/ [kayk^(y)áq^ewaŋ].

/q/ voiced or voiceless dorso-uvular stop or fricative;⁴ the facts are roughly these:

/q/ -->	g ~ γ	/ V ___ V
	x̣	/ ___ [voiceless obstruent]
	∅	/ ___ ## (i.e., word-final)
	g ~ γ ~ x̣ ~ :	/ in certain morphemes when
		followed by some other suffix

For example, /aqu/ [ágo] ~ [áγo] 'sand', /aqcha/ [áx̣cha] 'hair'. To clarify these two cases, the /q/ of suffixes with the shape /-Cq/ (for some consonant C):

1. either drops /q/ altogether or has a slightly audible velar friction [x] (or perhaps post-velar [x̣]) when word-final
2. may be either length (of the preceding vowel) or a voiced velar stop [g] or [g̣], generally followed by a transition vocoid; e.g.:

/mana-raq/ [manaráx̣] ~ [manará:]
 /aywa-shaq/ [aywáshax̣] ~ [aywashá:]

- /b/ voiced bilabial stop or fricative (as in Spanish); e.g., /aba/ [ába] ~ [áva] 'grape'
 /d/ voiced apico-alveolar stop; e.g., /deeru/ [dé:ru] 'finger'
 /g/ voiced dorso-velar stop; e.g., /rigin/ [rígin] 'he believes'
 /f/ voiceless labio-velar fricative;⁵ e.g., [x̣wísta] 'fiesta'
 /h/ voiceless breath; e.g., /hacha/ [hácha] 'shrub, brush'
 /ch/ voiceless lamino-alveolar affricate; e.g., /chaka/ [cháka] 'bridge'
 /s/ voiceless apico-alveolar sibilant; e.g., /suqta/ [sóxta] 'six'
 /sh/ voiceless lamino-palatal sibilant; e.g., /shamun/ [shámun] 'he comes'
 /m/ bilabial nasal stop; e.g., /micha/ [mícha] 'stingy'
 /n/ alveolar nasal stop; e.g., /na:ni/ [ná:ni] 'road, path'. /n/ assimilates to the point of articulation of a following obstruent; e.g., /na:ninpa/ [na:nímpa] 'along his path', /anka/ [ánka] 'eagle'
 /ñ/ lamino-palatal nasal (i.e., this is formed with the blade of the tongue); e.g., /ñatin/ [ñátin] 'liver'

⁴/q/ is rarely pronounced as a voiceless stop in HgQ as it is in most other dialects.

⁵This covers a wide range of labial and velar constriction: [x̣w] ~ [x^w].

- /l/ alveolar lateral; e.g., /lapis/ [lápis] 'pencil'
- /ll/ lamino-palatal lateral; e.g., /alli/ [álli] 'good'
- /r/ apico-alveolar flap; e.g., /chariy/ [cháři] 'grab it!'; in two cases, /r/ becomes [ɹ] (i.e., retroflexed and fricative): word initial; e.g., /rikay/ [ɹíkay] 'Look!'; and when two /r/'s come together; e.g., /puñurraq/ [puñúɹaq] 'yet sleeping'
- /ɹ/ voiced apico-postalveolar fricative (in other terms, a "retroflexed" /r/; orthographically represented by rr); e.g., /kaazu/ [ká:ɹu] 'truck, car'
- /y/ high front semi-vowel; e.g., /yaykuy/ [yáykuy] 'enter!'
- /w/ high back rounded semi-vowel; e.g., /wawa/ [wáwa] 'baby'
- [length] length of the preceding vowel

23.3. Consonant Clusters

The following consonant sequences, with the given phonetic values, have been recorded. This list is not intended as a complete list of all possible consonant sequences; in particular, many of the sequences that are found only in Spanish loans have been omitted.⁶ There seems to be little or no justification for claiming that there are independent constraints on what sequences of consonants may occur. This is because, on one hand, these sequences do not constitute tautosyllabic consonant clusters (since a syllable boundary always intervenes), and on the other hand, because there are constraints on what consonants may occur in what syllable positions; e.g., /h/ may only occur in the syllable onset, so there are no clusters that begin with /h/.

- /kk/ [k]; e.g., *ichikkuna* 'little ones'
- /kq/ [kq]; e.g., *hukqa* (one-TOP)
- /ksh/ [ksh]; e.g., *taksha* 'small'
- /l.ll/ [ll] (perhaps slightly longer than a normal /ll/) or [ly]; e.g., /papilla/ [papílla] ~ [papílya] 'just paper'
- /llq/ [ll^eg] (where ^e represents a slight transition vocoid); e.g., *pallqa-* 'to sprout, to branch into two stems'
- /ly/ [ly] or [l^y]; e.g., *pelya-* 'to fight' [pelya-] ~ [pel^ya-]⁷
- /mp/ [mp]; e.g., *hampi* 'medicine', *qampa* 'yours'
- /mr/ [m^br]; e.g., *wamra* 'child'
- /mw/ [mw]; e.g., *qamwan* 'with you'
- /nch/ [nch]; e.g., *hancha-* 'take by the hand'
- /nk/ [ŋk]; e.g., *anka* 'hawk'
- /nn/ [ŋn]; e.g., *hatunnin* 'the biggest'
- /np/ [mp]; e.g., *Hwanpa* 'John's'
- /nq/ [ŋg]; e.g., *tanqa-* 'push'

⁶My reasons for not including the Spanish loans are that (1) they vary considerably with different degrees of assimilation, and (2) one is often left in a quandary about their phonemic status. For example, /dr/ is [dr] in [adré:] 'on purpose', but [ɹ] in *kumpa.rrı* from Sp. *compadre*.

⁷/ly/ contrasts with /ll/; e.g., *pelya-* 'to fight' is pronounced [pel^ya-] and not *[pella-].

- /nr/ [n^er]; e.g., *qanra* 'dirty'
 /ns/ [n^ss]; e.g., *mayqansi* 'which(indef)'
 /nt/ [nt]; e.g., *tanta* 'bread'
 /nw/ [n^ww]; e.g., *piikunwan* 'with his pick'
 /ny/ [n^yy] or sometimes [ny]; e.g., *qanyan* 'yesterday'⁸
 /pr/ [pr] or [p^er]; e.g., *qapra* 'blind', *tap(a)rakoq* 'butterfly'
 /qch/ [xch]; e.g., *aqcha* 'hair' *paqcha* 'waterfall'
 /qk/ [xk]; e.g., *atoqkaq* 'fox+def' [at^oxkax]
 /qq/ [:g] or [:ɣ]; e.g., *atoqqa* 'fox-TOP'
 /ql/ [q^ll]; e.g., *paqla* 'bald'
 /qll/ [q^{ll}ll]; e.g., *atoqlla* 'just the fox', *chaqlla-* 'cover with sticks'
 /qm/ [:m]; e.g., *aywashaqmi* 'I will go', or [g^em] or [x^(e)m]; e.g., *saqma-* 'to stone'
 /qn/ [g^en] or [x^en]; e.g., *hunaqna* 'now day'
 /qr/ [g^er]; e.g., *paqra* 'worthless soil', *mugre* 'soiled'
 /qsh/ [xsh]; e.g., *taqsha-* 'wash clothing'
 /qy/ [g^ey]; e.g., *hunaqyaq* 'until day', *waqya-* 'howl (dog)'
 /qw/ [gw]; e.g., *laqwa-* 'to lick'
 /rk/ [rk]; e.g., *marka* 'town'
 /rr/ [ʒ]; e.g., *puñurraq* 'yet sleeping'
 /rl/ [r^ll]; e.g., *urlaykichaw* 'below you'
 /rm/ [rm] or [r^em]; e.g., *kirma* 'cot/stretchers', *turmanya* 'rainbow'
 /rn/ [ʒn]; e.g., *puñurna* 'sleeping now', *gubirnu* 'government'
 /rt/ [ʒt]; e.g., *parti* 'region'
 /ry/ [rⁱy]; e.g., *ukumarya* 'bear'
 /rs/ [ʒs]; e.g., *puñursi* (sleep-adv-indef)
 /sr/ [sʒ]; e.g., *paqasraq* 'yet night'
 /sy/ [sy]; e.g., *paqasyaq* 'until night'
 /shch/ [sch]; e.g., *kikishchaw* 'in the armpit'
 /shsh/ [ssh]; e.g., *kuurrishshi* (run-3PERF-IND) 'he ran'
 /tq/ [t^eg]; e.g., *watqa-* 'to spy on'
 /ww/ [w:]; e.g., *illawwan* 'with the weaving stick'

23.4. Syllable Structure

The following rules account for virtually all of Quechua syllabic structure:

1. A phonological word is a series of syllables.
2. Syllables are simply (C)V(C).
3. The syllable onset is obligatory except in the initial syllable.
4. Length patterns as a consonant (which only occurs in the coda); i.e., V: = [V][C].

⁸[ny] contrasts with [n]; e.g., a minimal pair is *manya-* 'to tie the hands of, to hobble' versus *maña-* 'to ask for'.

Using $C = \{\text{consonants and length}\}$ and $V = \{\text{short vowels}\}$ these facts yield the following constraints:

- *CCC; i.e., no clusters of three consonants.⁹
- *#CC; i.e., no consonant clusters initially (loans are exceptional; e.g., *kwartu*.)
- *CC#; i.e., no consonant clusters finally
- *VV; i.e., no two vowels together¹⁰
- *:CC and *:C#; i.e., length does not occur in closed syllables.¹¹

23.5. Morpheme Structure Conditions

Any combination of consonants, vowels and length which (1) meets the phonological constraints given above and (2) does not result in too many syllables (four being about the limit) could be a (verbal or substantival) root morpheme. Verbal roots must end in a vowel (either short or long).¹² There is a strong (diachronic) tendency to make verbal roots bisyllabic. (Perhaps this is true for all roots, but the tendency is certainly stronger for verbal roots.) For example, *rika+cha-* becomes *rikcha-* 'to look intently at', *qara+cha-* becomes *qar^echa-* 'to drag', etc.

The canonical shapes (morpheme structure conditions) of suffixes include the following:

- C; e.g., *-n* 'third person'
- length; e.g., *-:* 'first person'
- CV; e.g., *-ta* 'OBJ'
- CV:; e.g., *-pa:* 'ben'
- CVC; e.g., *-paq* 'purpose'
- CCV; e.g., *-ykU* 'impact'
- CCV:; e.g., *-yka:* 'impfv'
- CCVC; e.g., *-ynaq* 'without'
- :CV; e.g., *-:shi* 'help'
- CVCV; e.g., *-pita* 'ABL'
- CV:CV; e.g., *-pa:kU* 'plur'
- CVCV:; e.g., *-kacha:* 'iterative'
- CCVCV:; e.g., *-ykacha:* 'iterative'
- CVCCV; e.g., *-raygu* 'sake'

⁹We must not be misled by digraphs; *shll* is only two consonants. Snow [37] (p. 252) gives *mayqanntsihi*, which violates this constraint; I suspect this is simply wrong.

¹⁰Again, we must not be misled by the double vowels used to represent long vowels.

¹¹As argued in Weber and Landerman [46], the constraint against length in closed syllables follows from the constraint against tautosyllabic consonant clusters.

¹²Note, for the purpose of this constraint, that the final length of verb roots must not be interpreted as a consonant.

If /q/ occurs in a suffix, then neither /i/ nor /u/ occurs in it. This is probably because phonetic lowering would make the /i/ or /u/ into [e] or [o] (respectively), making them susceptible to re-analysis as /a/.

23.6. Orthography

The orthography used throughout this work is that authorized by the Peruvian Ministry of Education (Resolución Ministerial Number 4023-75-ED, October 1975). Recent material published in Huallaga Quechua conforms to a resolution by the Departmental Office of Education (Resolución Directoral Departamental no. 00151-84-ED). Table 23-2 is included for the benefit of any who might venture to read material written in a Hispanic orthography.

PHONEME	4023-75	0151-84	HISPANIC
/w/	w	w	hu u hu or u word initial in syllable coda, i.e., after consonants between vowels
/y/	y	y	i
/k/	k	k	qu c before e and i elsewhere
/q/	q	g	gu g before e and i elsewhere
/h/	h	j	j
/:/ (vocalic length)	double vowels (aa)	dieresis (ä)	generally ignored, but sometimes represented with accent when word-final

Table 23-2: Orthographic Conventions.

The authorized orthography requires that the vowels be written lowered only if no morpheme boundary intervenes between the lowered vowel and the /q/ which causes the lowering;¹³ e.g.:

/atoq/	'fox'	is written	atoq	but
/upu-q/	'drink-agent'	is written	upuq	
/asi-nqa/	'search-3fut'	is written	asinga	but
/sinqa/	'nose'	is written	senqa	

When /n/ has undergone assimilation to the point of articulation of a following stop or affricate, it should nevertheless be written as "n"; e.g.:

[wasímpa]	/wasi-n-pa/	'to his house'	is written	wasinpa	but
[pámpa]	/pampa/	'ground'	is written	pampa	

¹³Actually, this is not stated explicitly in the 1975 resolution, but is the opinion of one member of the four-person commission responsible for writing that law. A new orthography resolution, signed in 1985, disallows the use of e and o for writing Quechua, restricting writing to the three vowels i, a, and u.

23.7. Stress

Basically, stress is assigned to the penultimate mora.¹⁴ In the most usual case, the next-to-last syllable is stressed; e.g.:

/ayway/	[áyway]	'go (IMP)'
/aywaykan/	[aywáykan]	'they are going'
/aywaykanmi/	[aywaykáɲmi]	'they are going (DIR)'
/aywashaykikama/	[aywashaykíkama]	'until you go'

Since long vowels count as two mora, word-final long vowels are stressed. This may come about by (1) the final morpheme ending in an underlying long vowel or (2) length resulting from compensatory lengthening upon the loss of a /q/:

/raqa:/	[ragá:]	'abandoned house in ruins'
/ama:/	[amá]	'a prehistoric people'
/mana-raq/	[manáɾax] ~ [manará:]	'not yet'
/aywa-shaq/	[aywáshax] ~ [aywashá:]	'I will go.'
/chay-lla-raq/	[chaylláɾax] ~ [chayllará:]	'just a moment ago'

Because the penultimate mora is stressed, and because the first person suffix (either verbal or non-verbal) is length, it is accompanied by stress unless it occurs pre-penultimate. (One could say that it attracts stress from its left but not from its right.) Thus,

/uma-:/	[umá:]	'my head'
/uma--ta/	[umá:ta]	'to my head'
/uma--pita/	[uma:píta]	'from my head'
/uma--pita-mi/	[uma:pitámi]	'from my head (assert)'

23.8. Morpho-Phonological Processes

In this section we describe--in no particular order--various processes that mediate between the underlying forms of morphemes and their phonetic realization.

23.8.1. Sibilants

/sh/ becomes /s/ when it immediately precedes /ch/; e.g.:

/hanash-chaw/	[hanáschaw]	'farther up +LOC'
/aywa-sha-chu/	[aywasháchu] ~ [aywáschu]	'Has he gone?/He has not gone.'
/kikish-chaw/	[kikíschaw]	'in the armpit'

/sh/ may also become /s/ before /y/; e.g.:

/wipchush-yaq/	[wipchúsyax] or [wipchús ¹ yax]
----------------	--------------------------------------------

In the following, the (second) [ʒ] and the following [sh] merge together into a continuous affrication with the tongue tip moving forward:

¹⁴Not all stress follows the rules presented in the text. For example, stress may be used for emphasis; in the following, the final vowel of *noqa* is lengthened and stressed:

Kasarashaq noqá::.

'I will marry her!' (pleading so her father won't throw the speaker over a cliff)

Further, in some discourses, a speaker may shift to a staccato pattern: heavy stress on the first syllable of a phrase followed by decreasing stress and pitch to the end of that phrase. I have only seen this pattern maintained over fairly small stretches of a discourse.

/kuurri-r-shi/ [ku:zizshi] (run-adv-IND)

The same is true of the /r/ and /sh/ of the following example, even though a word boundary intervenes:

[gongáyku_zshakamúsh kashká:]

/qonqaykur shakamusha kashkaa/

'I had come forgetting it.'

23.8.2. Phonetic Lowering

High vowels become mid vowels in the environment of /q/. This process operates across morpheme boundaries as well as within morphemes. Details follow:

- when the vowel directly precedes: /uq/ --> [oq], /iq/ --> [eq]; e.g., /suqta/ [sóxta] 'six'
- when the vowel directly follows: /qu/ --> [qo], /qi/ --> [qe]; e.g., /qipi/ [gépi] 'bundle'
- when a resonant occurs between the /q/ and the (preceding) vowel: for example, /unq/ --> [onq], e.g., /shunqu/ [shónqo] 'heart'; /irq/ --> [erq], e.g., /pirqa/ [pérqa] 'wall'; /ullq/ --> [ollq], e.g., /ullqu/ [óllqo] 'male'; etc.
- but (generally) not with other consonants intervening: for example, /uchq/ is simply [uchq],¹⁵ e.g., /pichqa/ [píchqa] 'five'; /isq/ --> [isq], e.g., /isqun/ [ísgon] 'nine'; etc.

23.8.3. Lowering of High Long Vowels

There is a strong tendency to lower long high vowels; e.g.:

/ashi:shiy/ [ashé:shi] 'Help him search.'

/miku:/ [mikó:] 'I eat.'

/mana tapu:-raq-chu/ [mána tapo:rá:chu] 'I haven't asked yet.'

The long high vowels of highly assimilated loans are sometimes lowered; e.g.:

[biyó:ra] 'widow' from Sp. *viuda*

This does not occur in all loans; e.g.:

/kara-u:nun/ 'each one of them' [karaú:nun] NOT: [karaó:nun]

23.8.4. Nasal Assimilation

Syllable-initially /n/ is simply [n]. Syllable-final /n/ assimilates to the point of articulation of a following stop or affricate; otherwise, syllable-finally it is velar.

/n/ --> [m] / __p e.g., /taytanpaq/ [taytámpax]

[n] / __t, ch e.g., /umanta/ [umánta]
/punchu/ [púnchu]

[ŋ] / __k e.g., /anka/ [áŋka]

¹⁵There are some exceptional words in which /u/ is virtually always lowered despite a voiceless affricate between it and the /q/; e.g., /puchqun/ [póchgŋ].

[ŋ] / syll final e.g., /anan/ [ánan]

For example, /n/ is [ŋ] before /r/, e.g., /qanra/ [gáŋra] 'dirty'; before /s/, e.g., /aywansi/ [aywáŋsi] 'he also goes'. Generally before semivowels /n/ becomes [ŋ]; e.g., /taytanwan/ [taytáŋwan]. However, before /y/ there is alternation between [n] and [ŋ]:

/qanyan/ [qányan] ~ [qáŋyan] 'yesterday'

/manya-/ [mánya-] ~ [máŋya-] 'hobble'

Nasal assimilation does not apply in /panpanya-/ [paŋpaŋya-] 'to explode (fireworks)' formed by the cliticization of -ya: to the onomatopoeic expression [páŋ páŋ].

23.8.5. Apocope

When word-final and following a short vowel, some suffixes of the form -CV may (optionally) lose the final vowel (accompanied by a shift of stress). Thus:

/mana-mi/ --> [manámi] ~ [mánam] (not-DIR)

/uma-ta-mi/ --> [umatámi] ~ [umátam] (head-OBJ-DIR)

but never

/aywa-n-mi/ --> [aywáŋmi] ~ *[aywanm] (go-3-DIR)

Suffixes which undergo this process are: -mi 'direct', -shi 'indirect', -si 'even, also', -sha 'participle'. Apocope is very common immediately preceding ka- 'be': [állim káykaŋ] is much preferred to [állimi káykaŋ].

23.8.6. Contractions

The processes discussed in this section involve in some way the shortening of a sequence of sounds.

23.8.6.1. Syllable Dropping

If adjacent syllables are highly similar at the end of a word, one is sometimes deleted; e.g.:

/-yki-kaq/ --> [-yk^(y)ax̣] (with [k] somewhat fronted)

/-pita-taq/ --> [-pitax̣]

/-ta-taq/ --> [-tax̣]

For example:

/puŋushaykikaqman/ --> [puŋushayk^yáx̣maŋ] 'to where you slept'

/maypitataq/ --> [maypíta] 'from where?'

/wallpaykitataq/ --> [wallpaykíta] 'your chicken+OBJ?'

In /kikikikunata/ [kikik:unata] 'yourselves+OBJ', the third [k] is somewhat longer than an "ordinary" [k], presumably because it is the collapse of /kik/.

In example 1800, four animals are mentioned in parallel, each overtly followed by

-shi except *mishi*; the absence following *mishi* is due to the contraction of like syllables at the end of a word.

- 1800 a. ...puñuykaarinshi chay washichaw
 b. burru-shi hawa punku pampaman
 c. allqu-shi punku yaykurinachaw
 d. mishi-∅ tullpa punkuchaw y
 e. gaallu-shi wasi hanan pinkuchaw.
- a. ...they go to sleep in the house,
 b. the donkey-IND on the ground outside the door,
 c. the dog-IND in the doorway,
 d. the cat-∅ at the door of the hearth, and
 e. the rooster-IND up on the ridgepole of the house.

Sometimes other syllables are dropped as a speech-speed phenomenon; e.g.:

/karuna-kuna-ta/ [karukunata]
 /taqay washa/ [ta:wásha]

The /a/ of *-pa* 'GEN' is sometimes lost in compounds:

/ikchuypa ikchur/ [ikchuyp:ikchur] 'sobbing'
 /buurru-pa chupa-n/ [bu:ɟupchúpaŋ] 'donkey's tail (type of plant)'

23.8.6.2. hana, ura, and washa Contracting with qa

Hana, *ura*, and *washa* are discussed in section 12.3.2.3. These roots may contract with a following substantive as *han-*, *ur-*, and *wash-* (respectively). For example, with *la:du* 'place, side':¹⁶

/han^elá:/ ~ /hanalá:/ ~ /hana lá:du/
 /ulá:/ ~ /uzlá:/ ~ /ur^elá:/ ~ /dra lá:du/

With *wasi* 'house':

/han^ewasi/ ~ /hanwasi/ ~ /hanwasi/ 'that house up there'
 /wash^ewasi/ ~ /washwasi/ 'that house over there'
 /ur^ewasi/ 'that house down there'

The following show this contraction with /qa/:¹⁷

[han^eqa-] /han'qa-/ < hana+qa
 [ur^eqa-] /ur'qa-/ < ura+qa
 [wash^eqa-] /wash'qa-/ < washa+qa

¹⁶[^e] is a transition vocoid; it does not have the status of a phoneme.

¹⁷This /qa/ probably originated from an old substantive (probably a spatial pronoun); it no longer occurs freely.

23.8.6.3. Contractions Involving Suffixes and Post-Positions

Some rare cases show the contraction of /...aq+ya:-/ to /...qa-/; e.g.:

[mall^eqa-] /mall'qa-/ 'to be hungry' from /mallaq+ya:-/ (hungry+become-)

[yor^eqa-] /yor'qa-/ 'to pale' from /yoraq+ya:-/ (white+become-)

[chan^eqa-] /chan'qa-/ 'to become tight (e.g., a knot in a rope)'
from /chanaq+ya:-/ (tight+become-)

The third of these examples contrasts with [chaŋqa-], /chanqa-/ which means 'to damage a tuber when harvesting'.¹⁸

The post-position *ari* fuses with the *-mi* 'DIR', and *-chaq* 'sure':¹⁹

/-mi#ari/ --> /-mari/
/-chaq#ari/ --> /-chari/

23.8.7. Metathesis

In the following examples, metathesis has applied to the (medial) consonant cluster:

/achikya:-/ 'to shine' from /achki/ 'light' and /-ya:/ 'become'

/tunka-/ ~ /tukna-/ 'to support, to uphold'

/samqa-/ ~ /saqma-/ 'to stone'

23.8.8. Non-Phonemic Transition Vocoids and Contoids

Transition vocoids have been seen in sections 23.3 and 23.8.6. For cases like [chan^eqa-] /chan'qa-/, speakers definitely reject a pronunciation like [chanaga-] in which the vocoid would have phonemic status (i.e., /chanaqa-/).

Transition consonants are found in native Quechua words such as [wam^bra] /wamra/ 'child' and in Spanish loans such as [in^driga-] ~ [in^zriga-] /inriga-/ 'turn over to'. Again, these contoids "b" in *wamra* and "d" in *inriga-*) do not have phonemic status.²⁰

23.8.9. /i+y/

/i/ followed by /y/ is pronounced [i:], i.e., /i+y/-->[i:].²¹ For example,

¹⁸The [chan^eqa-] could be analyzed as /chaŋqa-/ while and [chaŋqa-] as /chanqa-/; riding on the fact that /n/ assimilates to the point of articulation of a following stop, while /ɲ/ does not.

¹⁹In other dialects it also fuses with *-chi* 'CNJ', *-shi* 'IND'.

²⁰Note that this posited sequence (/nr/) contrasts with /nr/ in native Quechua words, in which it becomes [ŋr]; e.g., /rinri/ [rɪŋri] 'ear'.

²¹This may not be a phonological rule but certainly bears mentioning.

/chakiykan/ [chakí:kaŋ] 'It is drying.'

/asiykunchik/ [asi:kúnchi] 'We are laughing.'

The second person non-verbal person marker (2P) is basically /-yki/, but following /i/ it is simply /ki/. Following a consonant, /-ni/ intervenes, making 2P follow /i/. Thus, the complete rule for 2P is:

2P --> -ki	/ i__	e.g., /ñawiki/ 'your eye'
-niki	/ C__	e.g., /atoqniki/ 'your fox'
	/ long vowel__	e.g., /raqa:niki/ 'your abandoned house'
-yki	/ elsewhere	e.g., /umayki/ 'your head'

23.8.10. Word-Final /i+y/

Word-final /i+y/ becomes simply [i] (i.e., short [i]). (Perhaps it is more accurate to say that /i+y/ becomes /i/, rather than [i], by a morpho-phonemic rule rather than by a phonetic process.) For example, /asi-y/ [ási] 'laugh-imper'.

The length of the first person plural inclusive suffix /-nchi:/ is also lost word-finally; e.g.:

[aywánchi] /aywa-nchi:/ 'we (incl) go'

[aywanchí:mi] /aywa-nchi:-mi/ 'we (incl) go (DIR)'

[wasínchi] /wasi-nchi:/ 'our house' but

[wasinchi:píta] /wasi-nchi:-píta/ 'from our house'

Consequently, 12 (and 12P) could be analyzed as /-nchiy/. I have not chosen this analysis because, if *-nchi:* is followed by *-qa* 'TOP', the /i:/ may be realized as [e:]; but the sequence /iy/ does not undergo phonetic lowering.

23.8.11. Morpho-phonemic Lowering

The high vowel of certain morphemes becomes /a/ when one of certain other suffixes follow in the word.²² For example, /-kU/ becomes /-ka/ if /-mu/ follows; therefore /sha-kU-mu-n/ becomes /shakamun/ 'he comes'. The suffixes involved are listed in table 23-3; those that undergo morpho-phonemic lowering are called "affected" and those that cause it are called "triggers":

²²Morpho-phonemic lowering does not occur across word boundaries; e.g., in the following, the /U/ of *-kU* is lowered, it being within the same word and preceding *-mu*, but that of *-ykU* is not, since it is in a different word:

Qonqa-yku-r sha-kU-mu-sha.
forget-impact-adv come-refl-afar-3PERF

'He came forgetting it.'

AFFECTED		TRIGGERS	
-ykU	-kU	-mu	-pu
-rkU	-nakU	-chi	-pa:
-rpU	-ka:kU	-ma:	-pa:kU
-rI	-:rI	-:rI	
-rqU	-pa:kU		

Table 23-3: Triggers and Affectees of Morpho-phonemic Lowering.

Note the convention of writing the vowel which is lowered with a capital letter. The following conventions have been observed throughout: When in the text of this work a suffix is referred to, the final vowel is capitalized if the suffix has the property of undergoing morpho-phonemic lowering. In examples, however, that vowel is capitalized only if the vowel has actually been lowered, i.e., if the vowel is actually /a/. For example, in discussions about the reflexive suffix in text, it is represented as /-kU/. However, when cited in an example, -kU indicates a phonemic /ka/, as in *sha-kU-mu-n* (come-refl-afar-3) 'he comes', which is really /shakamun/ (phonetically [shakámun]).

Some examples of morpho-phonemic lowering follow:

- /quykamanki/ *qu-ykU-ma:-nki* 'you give it to me (direct)' (cf. /quyka:manki/ *qu-yka:-ma:-nki* 'you are giving it to me')
- /aywarka:ramunki/ *aywa-rkU-:rI-mu-nki* 'they came up here'
- /aywarayka:riran/ *aywa-rI-ykU-:ri-ra-n* 'they went (for just a moment)'
- /mikukarka:rinaykipaq/ *miku-kU-rkU-:ri-na-yki-paq* 'in order that they eat it'
- /apakaraykamusha/ *apa-kU-rI-ykU-mu-sha* 'he brought it here'
- /wañuykachiran/ *wañu-ykU-chi-ra-n* 'he killed it'
- /wañukamunanpaq/ *wañu-kU-mu-na-n-paq* 'so that he dies over there'
- /yarpachakachiman/ *yarpa-chakU-chi-ma-n* 'it makes me think'
- /rantikapasha/ *ranti-kU-pa-sha* 'he sold it for him' (i.e., he negotiated the sale for the seller)
- /chayayka:ramur/ *chaya-ykU-:rI-mu-r* 'right upon arriving'

Note that the trigger need not immediately follow the affected suffix. The suffix which undergoes lowering may be separated from the trigger by suffixes which do not undergo lowering.

With roots derived (historically) by the combination of a monosyllabic root like *qa-*, *ya-*, or *hu-* with a directional suffix (-ykU, -rkU, -rpU, -rqU) the final vowel of the root may become lowered, or it may not, depending on the extent to which the fusion has dissociated the property of lowering from what was previously a suffix. Thus in the following there is variation:

chu+rku-pa:-ma-y ~ chu+rkU-pa:-ma-y
put+up-ben=>1-2IMP

'Put it on (to cook) for me.'

But in the following there is no variation possible:

ya+rqu-chi-ma-sha but not *ya+rqu-chi-ma-sha
go+out-caus=>1-3PERF

'He turned me out.'

Perhaps some triggers are more influential (i.e., have a greater tendency to lower) than others. Consider the verb *mikU-* ~ *miku-* 'eat' (historically from *mi+kU-*), in which the final vowel may or may not be affected when a trigger follows. The following examples suggest that *-mu* 'afar' and *-pa* (one of the benefactive suffixes) have a greater lowering effect than *-chi* 'caus', since they (optionally) cause the lowering, whereas *-chi* does not cause it.

- a. *mikU-mu-sha* or *miku-mu-sha* (eat-afar-3PERF)
b. *miku-chi-sha* (eat-caus-3PERF)

- a. 'He ate (over there).'
b. 'He made/allowed him to eat.'

- a. *mikU-pa-ku-n* ~ *miku-pa-ku-n*
b. *mikU-pa-y* ~ *miku-pa-y*

- a. 'He begins to eat.'
b. 'Eat it (to your benefit)!'

Perhaps, too, the effect of a trigger diminishes as other suffixes come between it and the potentially lowered vowel. The following suggests that *-rI* may cause lowering only in the immediately preceding suffix:

- a. *ya+yku-ri-ykU-:ri-sha* (enter-punct-impact-plur-3PERF)
b. *arma-ku-ri-ykU-:ri-shun* (bathe-refl-punct-impact-plur-3PERF)

- a. 'They entered in for a moment.'
b. 'Let's bathe ourselves for a moment.'

But note that *-mu* necessarily causes the lowering to more than just what immediately precedes:

- a. *Aywa-ri-ykU-:ri-y!* (go-punct-impact-plur-2IMP)
b. *Ranti-rI-ykU-mu-y!* (buy-punct-impact-afar-2IMP)

- a. 'Go (and come back right away)!'
b. 'Go buy it (and come back right away)!'

When *-rI* occurs by itself, it is lowered if a trigger follows. So, for example, *upi-rI-rkU-:rI-chi-r* is /upirarka:rachir/ 'putting it right out' (e.g., a flame). However, this is not the case when it is co-lexicalized with another morpheme; for example, it is co-lexicalizing with *qalla-* 'begin', *qapa-* 'to yell', and *hata-* 'to stand up', so there is now variation:²³

qalla+ri-mu-chun ~ *qalla+ra-mu-chun* (begin+punct-afar-3IMP)
'May he begin (over there)!'

qapa+ra-chi- ~ *qapa-ri-chi-* (yell-asp-caus-) 'to make yell'

hata-rI-chi-sha ~ *hata-ri-chi-sha* (stand-asp-caus-3PERF)
'it made him stand up'

²³When *hata-rI-* occurs right before *-mu* (as in a), variation is possible, but if *-rI-ykU* intervenes (as in b), *-ri* is preferred to *-rI* (i.e., /ra/); it is as though *-rI-ykU* takes the brunt of the effect of the trigger:

- a. *hita-rI-mu-y* ~ *hita-ri-mu-y*
b. *hita-ri-rI-ykU-mu-y* ~ ?*hita+rI-rI-ykU-mu-y*

- a. 'Throw it (to here)!'
b. 'Throw them (down)!'

23.8.12. -ni Insertion

The phenomenon of "-ni insertion" is illustrated in the following:

/hatun- <u>ni</u> -:/	'my big one'
/maqa-ma-q- <u>ni</u> -nchi:/	'the one who hit us (incl)'
/natin- <u>ni</u> -yñaq/	'not having a liver'
/papa:- <u>ni</u> -n/	'his father'

The insertion of /ni/ avoids the illegal consonant clusters which would otherwise result; see section 23.4.

There are two major approaches for treating this phenomenon. Throughout this book, certain morphemes are treated as having alternate forms ("allomorphs") when following consonants (including length) as opposed to vowels; e.g., -n '3P' is -n after vowels and -nin after consonants. I call this the "allomorph" approach.

Another perspective is to consider -ni to be inserted by rule in some explicitly defined environment. Let us consider various formulations of this environment. First, we could formulate it as

C _ M where M = -, -Yki, -n, -nchi:, -ntin, -yñaq, or -yoq

That is, insert -ni when a possessive suffix, -ntin, -yñaq, or -yoq, follows a consonant. In the case of -yoq, the rule would have to apply optionally, since both *atoqyoq* and *atoqniyoq* are possible (for *atoq* 'fox' followed by -yoq 'having'). This solution is similar to that adopted in the text, the difference being that the "allomorph" approach stores the rule with each suffix rather than (as here) by a rule.

Recognizing that, with the exception of -yoq, the suffixes in question all contribute a consonant to the preceding syllable, one could attempt a strictly segmental solution based on this observation, something like the following (in which \$ represents a syllable boundary):

C _ C\$

However, this environment would allow application to verbal suffixes -yka:, -yku, etc., and--on the assumption that length is a consonant--result in incorrect forms like **wayra.niykan* instead of *wayraykan*. There are various ways that this could be dealt with.²⁴ For example, since -ni insertion only applies in the case of substantives, one could build that condition into the rule, for example, as

C]_{substantive} _ C\$

or perhaps as

C _ M

where M defines the class of suffixes each of which has two properties (given in the lexical entry of the suffix): (1) its segmental shape contributes a consonant to the

²⁴Within lexical phonology, the rule could be constrained to apply in only the appropriate domain by assigning it to a particular level. Foreshortening would belong to the level that applies to verbal morphology up to the tense or subordinator; -ni insertion would belong to the level that applies after the tense or subordinator.

preceding syllable, and (2) its subcategorization frame specifies it as applying to substantives. Since both of these properties must be in the lexical entry anyway, the cost to *-ni* insertion is very small.

One would still have to account for the exceptional behaviour of *-yoq*. Peter Landerma (personal communication) has suggested that *-yoq* might have been *-yyoq* at some previous stage of the language (and that there is some evidence for this in other dialects). This suggests that *-yoq* could be analyzed as having an abstract form *-yyoq*, and that /yy/ is in the process of being re-analyzed as /y/ in this morpheme. But, of course, this is at the cost of positing an abstract underlying form which never occurs. And on reflection, this is really little different from marking *-yoq* as an exception.

On the assumption of a *-ni* insertion rule, one would also have to insure that, following a consonant, the second person possessive form resulted in *-niki* and not **-niyki*. If the environment for *-ni* insertion refers to whether a suffix contributes a consonant to the preceding syllable, then *-yki* must be the form of 2P when the rule applies, since if it were *-ki*, *-ni* insertion would not apply. After *-ni* insertion, the /y/ of *-yki* would have to be dropped.²⁵

There is one further complication. Some roots have alternative forms ending in /ni/ which are not motivated by a need to avoid an illegal consonant cluster; e.g., *llapan* ~ *llapa(ni)*- 'all', etc. (See section 12.4.1 for a more complete list.) Significantly, the alternatives ending in /ni/ are possible only when followed by a possessive suffix, *-ntin*, *-yñaq* or *-yoq*. Thus, it would be nice if *-ni* insertion could account for the behavior of these roots. One possibility would be to consider, for example, 'all' to be *llapaN*, where /N/ is either (1) absent, (2) present but phonetically unrealized, or (3) present and phonetically realized. Given these extravagant assumptions about /N/, (1) *llapanchi* is accounted for by taking /N/ as absent, in which case *-nchi* directly follows the final vowel of *llapa*; (2) *llapaninchi* is accounted for by taking /N/ as present (when *-ni* insertion applies) but not ultimately realized phonetically; and (3) *llapanninchi* is accounted for by taking /N/ as present (when *-ni* insertion applies) and realized as /n/.

I hope to have convinced the reader that a "rule" treatment of the phenomenon of *-ni* insertion depends crucially on many assumptions of the theory in which an analysis is framed. For this reason, throughout the text I have adopted the "allomorph" approach rather than any particular version of the "rule" approach.

23.8.13. Processes Involving Length

The length (duration) of vowels is important in HgQ because long and short vowels contrast phonemically, because length is a frequent allophone of /q/, and because length represents an important component of the sound pattern of natural speech. In this section, we discuss various processes that involve vocalic length.

²⁵This could be done by the specification of allomorphs (as in the text), or by a rule like:

yki --> *ki* / 1 _

23.8.13.1. Foreshortening

Phonetic long vowels occur only in open syllables. The length of verbs and verbal suffixes is suppressed when a suffix follows that contributes a consonant to the coda of the final syllable. For example, compare the form *-ma:* '=>1(2)' in the following

- 1801 a. /maqa-ma:-na-n-paq/ [magama:námpax]
 b. /maqa-ma:-n/ [magámaŋ]
 a. 'in order for him to hit me'
 b. 'he hits me'

In example 1801a, the length occurs because it is an open syllable. In 1801b, it is suppressed because *-n* becomes the coda of the syllable in which the length would otherwise occur. Likewise, in 1802, the length of the root is suppressed because the /y/ of *-yka:* becomes the coda of the final syllable of *shuya:-*, and the length of *-yka:* is suppressed because the /n/ of *-nki* '2' becomes the coda of the preceding syllable:

- 1802 /shuya-yka-nki/ *shuya:-yka:-nki* 'you are waiting'

The suppression of length in a preceding morpheme is referred to here as "foreshortening."

Certain morphemes "foreshorten" even though they begin with /-CV/ and thus do not contribute a consonant to the preceding syllable. These are:

- chakU 'deliberate'
- ka: 'passive'
- ka:kU 'completive'
- na: 'desiderative'
- pa: 'benefactive'
- pa:kU 'plural'
- ra: 'stative'
- ra 'past'
- sha 'participle, 3PERF, subordinator'.²⁶

In some cases this is because the suffix recently began with two suffixes, and one consonant has been lost. For example, *-sha* 'prtc' in other dialects is *-shqa*, and *-ra* 'past' in other dialects is *-rqa*. These morphemes recently lost /q/, but nonetheless, for purposes of foreshortening, continue to act as though it were there. In other cases, we do not know why the suffix foreshortens.²⁷

The following examples illustrate foreshortening by suffixes which do not now contribute a consonant to the coda of the preceding syllable. (They also contain cases of foreshortening by a suffix that contributes a consonant to the preceding syllable):

²⁶Note the following contrast, due to the fact that *-sha* 'sub' foreshortens but *-shayki* '1=>2FUT' does not: /yanapa:shayki/ 'I will help you' from *yana+pa:-* 'help' and *-shayki* '1=>2FUT', but /yanapashayki/ 'which you helped' from *yana+pa:-* 'help', *-sha* 'subordinator' and *-yki* '2P'.

²⁷One may speculate: *-na:* 'desiderative' and *-ra:* 'stative' are known to have been PQ **-naya* and **-raya* respectively; perhaps they became *-nya(:)* and *-rya(:)* on their way to their current forms. (I know of no evidence for this.) The /ch/ of *-chakU* may have been /ty/; again, there is no evidence for this idea beyond the fact that it would account for why the suffix foreshortens.

- /mikuykasha:ta/ *miku-yka:-sha-:-ta* (eat-impfv-sub-1P-OBJ) 'that which I ate'
 /achikyapa:may/ *achikya:-pa:-ma:-y* (shine-ben-=>1-2[IMP]) 'shine it for me'
 /utikapa:man/ *uti-ka:-pa:-ma:-n* (finish-pass-ben-=>1-3) 'he gets tired on me (i.e., to my detriment; e.g., by holding me up)'
 /qoyapaka:kun/ *qoya:-pa:-ka:kU-n* (abide-ben-compl-3) 'he stays over the expected time, he overstays his welcome'
 /waraka:kusha/ *wara:-ka:kU-sha* (dawn-compl-3) 'the day has fully dawned, it is now fully light'
 /melanapan/ *melana:-pa:-n* (disgust-ben-3) 'it is disgusting to him'
 /pishiraykan/ *pishi:-ra:-yka:-n* (be:lackinf-stat-impf-3) '(some) is lacking (of what he left)'
 /charararan/ *chara:-ra:-ra-n* (have-stat-past-3) 'he had it (in his possession)'
 /yarpachakusha/ *yarpa:-chakU-sha* (think-concen-3PERF) 'he thought/deliberated'

The long vowel of a substantive is never foreshortened; if a suffix that begins with two consonants follows, /ni/ intervenes (see section 23.8.12); e.g., *siwra*: 'city' followed by *-ynaq* 'without' becomes *siwra.niynaq* 'without cities' and not *'siwraynaq'.

23.8.13.2. Length in noqanchi(:)kuna

When *-nchi*: '12P' is followed by *-kuna* 'plural', the length of *-nchi*: is optional; e.g.:

- [uywanchikúna] ~ [uywanchi:kúna] 'our sheep'
 [noqanchikuna] ~ [noqanchi:kuna] 'we (inclusive)'

I conjecture that the two alternatives came about as follows:

1. The proto-Quechua form of 12P was */-n+chik/. /-nchik-kuna/ was pronounced [nchikuna], because /kk/ was pronounced [k]. The result, [nchikuna], has been preserved as a frozen form.
2. *-nchi*: is now the basic form of '12P'; the length occurs when *-kuna* follows, since *-kuna* does not foreshorten. This results in [nchi:kuna].

23.8.13.3. Length for Emphasis

If /y/ occurs in the coda of the stressed, lengthened syllable, it may be held into a protracted, voiceless fricative somewhere in the region of the palate (roughly a fronted [x]); e.g.:

- /aywakuykan/ [aywakuy^x:::kan] 'they are going'

If /w/ occurs in the coda of the stressed, lengthened syllable, it may be carried into a protracted voiceless velar friction accompanied by lip rounding; e.g.:

- /chawra/ [chaw^x:::ra] 'then, so'

Other examples of length used for emphasis are the following:

- /mana/ [má:::na] 'no!!!'

/may karu/ [má:y:: káru] 'very far'

23.8.13.4. Compensatory Lengthening

When /q/ is the coda of a syllable, under certain conditions it may be lost. When *-paq* 'PUR' or *-taq* '??' occurs word-finally, it may be lost, leaving no trace; e.g.:

/pi-ta-taq/ (who-OBJ-??) [pitáta] 'to whom'

/miku-na-n-paq/ (eat-sub-3P-PUR) [mikunámpa] 'in order to eat'

In other cases, the loss of /q/ leaves compensatory length. Various conditions are discussed:

1. Certain morphemes whose shape is /Caq/ (where C is a consonant, e.g., *-paq* 'PUR', *-shaq* '1FUT', etc.) become /-Ca:/ when followed by certain other suffixes (e.g., by *-pita*, *-mi*, *-wan*, *-pis*); e.g.:

/ima-paq-taq/ [imapa:ta] 'what for?'

/nuqa-paq-pis/ [noɣapá:pis] 'for me too'

/tuni-mu-shaq-chu/ [tunimushá:chu] 'shall I fall?'

Following some suffixes there is alternation with [x]:

/nuqa-paq-wan/ [noɣapá:wən] ~ [noɣapá:xwən] 'and for me'

/kay-kaq-wan/ [kayká:wən] ~ [kayká:xwən] 'this which is here'

Some following suffixes do not cause the change:

/chay-yaq-lla/ [chayyá:lla] NOT: *[chayyá:lla]

2. *-shaq* '1FUT' may lose /q/ word-finally, but it both leaves compensatory length and attracts stress; e.g.:

/aywa-shaq/ (go-1FUT) [aywashá:] (or [aywáshax]) 'I will go.'

3. Rarely is /q/ lost when it is (by itself) a suffix (e.g., *-q* 'sub'), but the following shows that it is possible:

/willa-pa-q-qa/ [willapá:ɣa] 'the one who tells +TOP'

4. When *kaq* is a separate word it does not lose /q/ with compensatory lengthening unless the immediately following suffix is *-qa* 'TOP'; compare the following:

/kutichimushan kaq-pita/ [kaxpita] NOT: *[ka:pita]

'from the place to which they were returned'

/kuntranchi kaqqa/ [kuntranchi ka:ɣa]²⁸

'the one who opposes us'

/chaychaw kaqqaqa/ [chaychaw kaxká:ɣa]

'those that were there'

5. Roots ending with /q/ seem to suffer the loss of /q/ with compensatory lengthening only if /-qa/ 'TOP' follows:

/atuq-qa/ [ató:ɣa] 'fox+TOP'

/hunaq-qa/ [huná:ɣa] 'day+TOP'

/sumaqa-qa/ [sumá:ɣa] 'very+TOP'

²⁸The absence of length on *-nchi*: '12P' shows that /kaq/ is a separate word here, since the length of *-nchi*: is lost word-finally.

Compensatory length also applies in the following words (but is not a productive process for /y/ as it is for /q/):

/pay-qa/ --> [pá:ʔa]

/kay-qa/ --> [ká:ʔa]

/chay-qa/ --> [chá:ʔa] ~ [cháʔa]

23.8.13.5. Final Length Suppression

-chaw 'LOC' and *-naw* 'SIM' have allomorphs *-cho:* and *-no:* (respectively). The length in these occurs only when some other suffix follows; word-finally the vowels are short; e.g.:

1803 /wasi-n-chaw/ [wasíncho] 'in his house'

/wasi-n-chaw-mi/ [wasinchó:mi] 'in his house (DIR)'

23.8.14. -lla POS Switch

In HgQ, *-lla* 'just' precedes possessive suffixes and *-r* 'adv'. There is reason to believe that this order comes about by a reordering rule. One reason for thinking so is that the reordering interacts with other morpho-phonological processes, as discussed in section 19.1.1.1.

23.8.15. Cliticization of Post-Positions

kama 'respective', *pacha* 'continuously', and *rayku* 'reason' are post-positions (see section 7.2). They may occur as a separate, stress-bearing word or they may cliticize to the preceding word, in which case they share one primary stress with that word. These clitics behave differently than suffixes with respect to certain phonological processes:

1. Whereas /n/ assimilates to the point of articulation of a following stop or affricate *in the same word*, it is not obligatorily assimilated when the following stop is in a clitic. For example, /Llakon-man pacha/ can be pronounced [llakónman pácha] or [llakonmampácha].
2. /pachak-kama/ is not pronounced *[pachakáma] (with /kk/ as [k]) but [páchak:áma] (with the first /k/ unreleased and held into the /k/ of *kama*).

kaq 'def', *niraq* 'SIM', and *mallwa* 'young ones' share with the above-mentioned post-positions that they may occur as a separate word or as part of the preceding word. *kaq*, *niraq*, and *mallwa* are often followed by one or more suffixes. As a tendency, the more suffixes follow, the more likely these post-positions are to be separate words from what precedes; e.g.:

/puñu-sha-n-kaq/ [puñusháʔkax] 'where he slept'

/puñu-sha-n kaq-pita-qa/ [puñúshaʔ kaxpitága]
'from the place where he slept'

/o:su mallwa-kuna-ta/ [ó:su mallwakunáta] 'bear cubs'

23.9. Dialect Variation in Huallaga Quechua

In the HgQ dialect area there is some minor variation, none of which affects intelligibility. No detailed survey of the area has been made; I have observed the following:

1. The /k/ of the imperfective suffix *-yka:* is often voiced, may become a fricative, and may even be absent. Thus all the following are attested: [-yka: ~ -yga: ~ -yɣa: ~ -ya:]. The first of these is regarded as most correct, the second and third can be heard even in fairly slow speech; the last is limited to fast speech.
2. As in the neighboring dialect of Pachitea, word initial /q/ is sometimes pronounced [h]. This is infrequent except in some areas for which there is a geographical explanation: in the area of Malconga (district of Santa María del Valle) the tendency is substantial; a major trail from the Pachitea area to the departmental capital used to run through this area.
3. *noqakuna* 'we (exclusive)' has various alternative forms: The /q/ may be voiced [nogakúna] or a (voiced) fricative [noɣakúna]. The vowel following /q/ may be dropped, in which case the /q/ becomes voiceless velar [noɣkúna]. This may in turn become simply length [no:kúna]. Perhaps these alternative pronunciations can be found across the HgQ area, varying more as a function of speech speed and register than geographical area.

23.10. Loan Processes

Quechua and Spanish have been in contact for close to four hundred years. Quechua has contributed hundreds of words to Peruvian Spanish,²⁹ and borrowed hundreds from it. In the process the Spanish words are assimilated to Quechua phonological patterns, and also expand these patterns.³⁰ The assimilation processes will be surveyed here; the discussion is divided into sections on vowels (section 23.10.1), syllabification (section 23.10.2), consonant clusters (section 23.10.3), loss of a syllable (section 23.10.4), and multiple Spanish words borrowed as a single word (section 23.10.5).

²⁹For example, (to list only a few), *caihua* (a type of vegetable), *chancar* 'to mash', *champa* 'sod', *charqui* 'jerky', *poncho* 'poncho', *pampa* 'plain'. Much Peruvian slang is derived from Quechua; e.g., *chambear* 'work'. (Pulgar Vidal [34] has assembled several hundred examples.)

³⁰Three observations about loans, which have nothing to do with their phonological assimilation:

1. Certain words have been borrowed with gender distinctions; e.g., *awilu/awila* 'grandfather/grandmother', *iihu/iiha* 'son/daughter', *cholu/chola* 'mountain boy/mountain girl'.
2. Certain words were borrowed from Quechua into Spanish and have then been borrowed back to Quechua; e.g., *kondur* < Sp. *condor* < Q. *kuntur* 'condor', *llangi* ~ *llanki* < Sp. *llangi* or *llanki* < Q. *llangi* 'sandal', *lampa* < Sp. *lampa* < Q. *llampa* 'hoe'.
3. Some borrowings show semantic differences from the Spanish word from which they were borrowed. In some cases this is due to a semantic shift in Spanish after the borrowing; e.g., *ladrillo* 'a floor tile' (from Sp. *ladrillo*) now means 'brick' in Spanish, *iwal* 'together with' (from Sp. *igual*) now means 'the same as' in Spanish, *luwar* 'time' (from Sp. *lugar*) now means 'room, place' in Spanish, *dere:chu* 'space above' (from Sp. *derecho*) now means 'right' in Spanish, *almusa-* 'to eat breakfast' (from Sp. *almorzar*) now means 'eat dinner (the noon meal)' in Spanish.

23.10.1. Vowels

23.10.1.1. Mid Vowels Become High Vowels

In the following, a mid vowel (/e/ or /o/) in Spanish has been become high in the loan: *hiliti* 'razor blade' (from Sp. *Gillette*), *mirinda-* 'to eat dinner (noon meal)' (from Sp. *meriendar*), *mantika* 'lard, butter' (from Sp. *manteca*).

23.10.1.2. Vowel Added After Final Consonant

A vowel may be added to words ending in consonants;³¹ e.g., *dosi* 'two' (from Sp. *dos*), *oosi* 'sickle' (from Sp. *hoz*), *koñaka* 'cognac' (from Sp. *coñac*), *llipi* 'jeep' (from Sp. [yip]³²), *pikapa* 'record player' (from English *pickup* through Sp. *plcap*),³³ *relohu* 'watch' (from Sp. *reloj*)³⁴

23.10.1.3. Stress and Long Vowels

Spanish stress is not preserved when a word is borrowed into Quechua; e.g., *balkon* [báلكon] 'balcony' (from Sp. *balcón*)

The stressed vowel of a Spanish word becomes long when it comes into Quechua; this is subject to the constraint that long vowels occur only in open syllables. For examples, *aabi* 'bird (small)' (from Sp. *ave*), *keeda-* 'remain' (from Sp. *quedar*), *soora-* 'perspire' (from Sp. *sudar*).

Trisyllabic borrowed roots often lack the expected length. Some speakers will pronounce a borrowed word with a long vowel if they are saying it as in Spanish, but with a short vowel when speaking Quechua; e.g., they would say *kabaallu* 'horse' speaking of the Spanish word *caballo* but *kawallu* when speaking Quechua (the latter pronunciation being more highly assimilated than the former).

23.10.2. Syllabifications

Quechua syllable structure does not allow for more than one vowel in sequence. Consequently many Spanish vowel sequences are assimilated as a vowel and a semi-vowel:

³¹This may not be restricted to Spanish loans; I have on occasion heard *huk^u* for the native Quechua word *huk* 'one'.

³²This is an approximation of how *jeep* is pronounced in the local Spanish.

³³This is one of the few loans from English, through Spanish, into Quechua. Another case is *chompa* 'sweater' from English *jumper*.

³⁴The presence of the vowel is confirmed by adding a possessive suffix; e.g., *relohuyki* 'your watch'; if /u/ were not present, the form would be *reluhniki*.

- Sp./ae/ becomes Q./ay/; e.g., *hwayna* [x̣Wayna] 'work party' (from Sp. *faena*)
- Sp./a(h)o/ becomes Q./aw/; e.g., *awga-* 'drown' (from Sp. *ahogar*), *awrora* 'blue' (from Sp. *aurora*)
- Sp./awa/ becomes Q./aw/; e.g., *awrinti* 'firewater' (from Sp. *aguardiente*), *awbindita* 'holy water' (from Sp. *agua bendita*)
- Sp./ad/ becomes Q./abu/; e.g., *babul* 'trunk' (from Sp. *baúl*)
- Sp./au/ becomes Q./aw/; e.g., *awturidaa* 'authority' (from Sp. *autoridad*), *awha* 'needle' (from Sp. *aguja*)³⁵
- Sp./eo/ becomes Q./yu/ or Q./iyu/; e.g., *hwidyus* 'noodles, macaroni' (from Sp. *fideos*), *fiyu* 'bad' (from Sp. *feo*), *piyur* 'worse' (from Sp. *peor*)
- Sp./ie/ becomes Q./i/ or /e/; e.g., *asinda* 'hacienda' (from Sp. *hacienda*), *awrinti* 'firewater' (from Sp. *aguardiente*), *iskyerda* 'left' (from Sp. *izquierda*), *simri* 'always' (from Sp. *siempre*)
- Sp./iu/ becomes /iw/; e.g., *siwra:* 'city' (from Sp. *ciudad*)
- Sp./ohi/ or /ohe/ becomes Q./uy/; e.g., *ruybiiru* 'forbidden' (from Sp. *prohibido*), *kuyti* 'firecracker' (from Sp. *cohete*)
- Sp./ue/ becomes [w̥i] or /uy/; e.g.,³⁶ *aswila* 'fishhook' (from Sp. *anzuelo*), *hwis* 'judge' (from Sp. *juez*), *hwirsa* 'strength' (from Sp. *fuera*), *hwista* 'fiesta', *hwe:bis* or *huybis* 'Thursday' (from Sp. *jueves*), *duyñu* 'owner' (from Sp. *dueño*), *iskuyla* 'school' (from Sp. *escuela*), *puyri*-³⁷ 'be able' (from Sp. *puede*)

23.10.3. Consonants

23.10.3.1. Stop+Labialization as a Consonant

In the following, a consonant with a labialized offglide behaves in Quechua syllable structure as a single consonant:

- /pw/, e.g., *pwistu* 'station' (from Sp. *puesta*), *pwerta* 'door' (from Sp. *puerta*)
- /fw/, e.g., *fwirsa* 'strength' (from Sp. *fuera*)
- /kw/, e.g., *kwartu* 'a small bottle, a unit of liquid measure', *paskwa* 'Easter' (from Sp. *pascua*), *waker* 'oatmeal' (from Sp. *cuáquer* < English *Quaker*)
- /hw/, e.g., *hwan* 'John' (from Sp. *Juan*), *hwis* 'judge' (from Sp. *juez*), *hwirsa* 'strength' (from Sp. *fuera*), *hwista* 'fiesta' (from Sp. *fiesta*),

³⁵I suspect that (*awha*) was borrowed from Sp. [áwha], which came from [adha] and [aγdha] before being borrowed. *Aguja* is pronounced [aγdha] in current local Spanish, but this may have not been the case at the time the word was borrowed.

³⁶In the case of Sp. *suerte*, the /ue/ has become either [w̥] (the less assimilated form) or simply /u/ (in the fully assimilated form): *swerti* ~ *surti* 'fate'.

³⁷In other dialects, this is *pwedi-* or *pwe:di-*.

hwisyun 'judgement, rationality' (from Sp. *juicio*), *hwe:bis* or *huybis* 'Thursday' (from Sp. *jueves*)
 /sw/, e.g., *swerti* 'fate' (from Sp. *suerte*), *aswila* 'fishhook' (from Sp. *ansuela*)

23.10.3.2. Stop+Palatal Offglide as a Consonant

In the following, a consonant and a palatal offglide behaves in Quechua syllable structure as a single consonant:

/py/, e.g., *pyesa-* 'to piece together, to repair' (from Sp. *piezar*)
 /fy/, e.g., *fye:rru* 'iron' (from Sp. *fierro*)
 /by/, e.g., *abyun* 'airplane' (from Sp. *avión*), *byernis* 'Thursday' (from Sp. *viernes*)
 /ty/, e.g., *atyus* 'goodbye' (from Sp. *adios*), *tyenda* 'store' (from Sp. *tienda*), *tyempu* 'time/weather' (from Sp. *tiempo*)
 /dy/, e.g., *adyus* 'goodbye' (from Sp. *adios*), *hwidyus* 'noodles, macaroni' (from Sp. *fideos*) *dyablu* [d^yáblu] ~ [d^yáblu] ~ [yáblu]³⁸ 'devil' (from Sp. *diablo*)
 /sy/, e.g., *sye:rra* 'mountain region' (from Sp. *sierra*), *denunsya-* 'to denounce' (from Sp. *denunciar*), *despasyu* 'slowly' (from Sp. *despacio*), *disprisya-* 'to look down on' (from Sp. *despreciar*), *kawsyunta* 'cause+OBJ' (from Sp. *caución*)
 /ky/, e.g., *kyeto* 'be quiet' (from Sp. *quieto*), *inkyetu* 'unhappy' (from Sp. *inquieto*), *iskyerda* 'left' (from Sp. *isquierda*)
 /gy/, e.g., *gye:rra* 'war' (from Sp. *guerra*)
 /hy/, e.g., *hye:rru* 'iron/steel' (from Sp. *fierro* or *hierro* 'iron')
 /my/, e.g., *simyentu* 'foundation (of a building)' (from Sp. *cimiento*), *myerkulis* 'Wednesday' (from Sp. *miércoles*)

23.10.3.3. Clusters with /r/ and /l/

Clusters are simplified when their presence would violate consonant cluster constraints; e.g., if /n/ were preserved in borrowing Sp. *anzuelo*, the cluster /nsw/ would result. To avoid this, /n/ is dropped: *aswila* 'fishhook' (from Sp. *anzuelo*).

Clusters with /r/ or /l/ are often simplified by dropping the stop if the cluster would cause a violation of one of the consonant cluster constraints.³⁹ For example, the following illustrate dropping a consonant to avoid initial clusters (which are not allowed):

³⁸Word initially /dy/ often becomes /y/; another example: /yus/ 'God' from Sp. *Dios*.

³⁹I have heard *presidinsya* 'residence' (Sp. *residencia*); this hypercorrection shows that Quechua speakers are aware that some of their loans involved the loss of a consonant.

lanta 'plant'⁴⁰ (from Sp. *planta*)
laatano 'cooking banana' (from Sp. *plátano*)
luusa 'blouse' (from Sp. *blusa*)
raahi 'costume' (from Sp. *traje*)
rus 'cross' (from Sp. *cruz*)
rimiiru 'first' (from Sp. *primero*)
rusyun 'procession' (from Sp. *procesión*)
ruybiiru 'forbidden' (from Sp. *prohibido*)

In the following, the cluster occurs within the word. If the cluster were to count as two consonants, this would violate the constraint against clusters of three consonants. But in each case, the cluster is treated as a single consonant:

Sp./pl/ becomes simply Q./l/; e.g., *kumlita-* 'complete' (from Sp. *completar*)
 Sp./pr/ becomes Q./r/; e.g., *simri* [sím^bri] 'always' (from Sp. *siempre*)
 Sp./tr/ is treated as a single consonant or becomes simply /ʒ/; e.g., *kuntra* 'enemy opposition' (from Sp. *contra*), *enkwentru* 'joint' (from Sp. *encuentro*), *inriga-* [inʒiga-] 'turn over to' (from Sp. *entregar*)

Other changes involving clusters with /r/ are as follows:

Sp./fr/ becomes Q./pr/ or /br/; e.g., *aprichu* 'chaff' (from Sp. *afrecho*), *asubri* 'sulphur' (from Sp. *azufre*)
 Sp./dr/ /tr/, and /rd/ (in highly assimilated loans) become Q./rr/ [ʒ]; e.g., *kumpa:rrri* 'godfather to one's child' (from Sp. *compadre*), *pa:rrinu* 'godfather' (from Sp. *padrino*), *ta:rrri* 'evening' (from Sp. *tarde*), *inriga-* [in^driga-] ~ [inʒiga-] 'turn over to' (from Sp. *entregar*)
 Sp./gr/ becomes Q./nr/ [ŋr]; e.g., *tinri* [tiŋri] 'tiger' (from Sp. *tigre*)

Other changes involving clusters with /l/ are as follows:

Sp./bl/ stays Q./bl/; e.g., *dyablu* [d^yablu] ~ [d^yablu] 'devil' (from Sp. *diablo*)
 Sp./gl/ becomes Q./nl/ [ŋl]; e.g., *inlisya* [inlisya] 'church' (from Sp. *iglesia*)

23.10.3.4. Initial Spanish /h/, /f/, and /j/

Quechua loans from Spanish which result in an initial Q./h/ have various possible sources:

1. Some Spanish words spelled with initial *h* are pronounced in some non-standard Spanish dialects with /h/. These are borrowed with Q./h/.⁴¹ For example, *ha:cha* 'axe' (from Sp. *hacha* [hácha] ~ [ácha]), *harina* 'flour' (from Sp. *harina* [arína] ~ [harína]).

⁴⁰Whereas in Spanish *planta* refers to all plants, in Quechua *lanta* refers only to cultivated plants in contrast to *hacha* 'wild plants'

⁴¹Spanish words spelled with initial *h* which is not pronounced (and has not been pronounced for several centuries) are simply borrowed without /h/; e.g., Q./oosi/ 'sickle' from Sp. *hoz*. I am indebted to Bill Bright for pointing out to me that, in some non-standard dialects, the initial *h* of some Spanish words is pronounced, and that this could explain why, in some cases, this *h* is borrowed as Q./h/.

2. Spanish words with initial *f* are often borrowed with /h/ (or in some cases /hw/); e.g., *horma* 'shape' (from Sp. *forma*), *hwayna* 'community work party' (from Sp. *faena*).
3. Spanish words with initial *j* (pronounced [h] or [x]) are borrowed with /h/; e.g., *hornal* 'day's wage' (from Sp. *jornal*).

23.10.3.5. Intervocalic Consonant Insertion

Spanish /ee/ is borrowed into some Quechua dialects as /iyi/. In HgQ, the semi-vowel is "strengthened" to become [g], i.e., /iyi/ -> /igi/; e.g., *ligi-* 'read' (from Sp. *leer*), *rigi-* 'believe' (from Sp. *creer*).

Another process gives rise to intervocalic /g/'s in HgQ: /g/ is simply inserted when at least one of the vowels is high (i.e., /i/ or /u/); e.g., *laguna* 'some time after one o'clock' (from Sp. *la una*), *bigultn* 'violin' (from Sp. *violn*), *Teguduru* 'Theodore' (from Sp. *Teodoro*), *imliga.ra* 'employee(fem)' (from Sp. *empleada*).⁴²

23.10.3.6. Intervocalic /g/

Considering the processes giving rise to /g/ discussed in section 23.10.3.5, it is surprising to find the contrary tendency, i.e., the "weakening" (lenition) of /g/ to /w/; e.g., *ruwa-* 'to plead' (from Sp. *rogar*), *luwar* 'time (sufficient)' (from Sp. *lugar*). (In all attested cases, this occurs between /u/ and /a/.)

23.10.3.7. Spanish /j/ Borrowed as /sh/

Some extremely old loans have /sh/ where Spanish orthography has /j/. This is because the words were borrowed at a time when Spanish /j/ was pronounced [sh]. For example, *uysha* 'sheep' (from Sp. *oveja*), *millish* 'gizzard' (from Sp. *molleja*).

23.10.3.8. Stop Replacing Fricative

In the following, a Spanish fricative has been borrowed as a stop:

- almasika-* 'plant a seed bed' (from Sp. *almasigar*)
- nubillu* 'oxen' (from Sp. *novillo*)
- asubre* 'sulphur' (from Sp. *azufre*)
- alpurha* 'saddle bag' (from Sp. *alforja*)
- gomita-* 'vomit' (from Sp. *vomitar*)⁴³

There is a contrary tendency in some (very old??) loans, in which a stop has become even more lenis than a fricative; e.g., /kawallu/ 'horse' (from Sp. *caballo*).

⁴²In HgQ *piyun* (from Sp. *peón*) does not become *pigun* as reported for Inga by Levinsohn.

⁴³Some non-standard Spanish dialects have [gomitár] for *vomitar* (Bill Bright, personal communication).

23.10.3.9. Intervocalic Spanish /d/ Becomes Quechua /r/

Spanish /d/ becomes a flapped oral resonant in assimilated loans; e.g.,⁴⁴ *diiru* 'finger' (from Sp. *dedo*), *siwraa* 'city' (from Sp. *ciudad*), *karina* 'chain' (from Sp. *cadena*)

23.10.3.10. /l/ to /r/ Word-Final

When Spanish /l/ occurs word-final, it is sometimes borrowed as /r/, e.g., *alwazir* (an officer in the fiesta administration, from Sp. *alguacil*).⁴⁵

23.10.3.11. Metathesis of Consonants

Metathesis occurs in some borrowed words, particularly when resonants follow a stop in medial clusters, this is metathesized to a resonant-stop order; e.g., *alberha* or *arbelha* or *arbeha* 'pea' (from Sp. *alverja* or *arbeja*), *ardee* or *adree* 'on purpose' (from Sp. *adrede*).

23.10.3.12. Dropping a Consonant

In a few cases, a Spanish consonant is simply dropped in the borrowed form; e.g., *faasi* 'easy' (from Sp. *facil*),⁴⁶ *faltin* 'skirt' (from Sp. *falda*).

23.10.3.13. Word-Final /ado/ and /ad/

Word-finally, a sequence of a vowel, /d/ and optionally a vowel may become simply a long vowel; e.g., /ado/ or /ad/ becomes /a:/. Examples follow:⁴⁷

ardee ~ *adree* 'on purpose' (from Sp. *adrede*)

apuraa 'quickly' (from Sp. *apurado*)

awturidaa 'authority' (from Sp. *autoridad*)

kwiraa 'be careful lest' (from Sp. *cuidado*)⁴⁸

laa 'side, place' (from Sp. *lado*)⁴⁹

⁴⁴A somewhat similar change is Sp./d/ becoming Q./l/ in Q./alberti-/ 'to warn' from Sp./advertir/.

⁴⁵I suspect that *amatar* ~ *amatalo* 'very much' was also borrowed from Spanish, but I have not been able to verify this. In other cases, word-final /l/ is simply dropped; e.g., Sp. *facil* is borrowed as *fasi*.

⁴⁶Perhaps this came about because of the frequency with which *faasil* occurred with *-lla* 'just'; *fasil-lla* was perhaps reanalyzed to *fasi-lla*.

⁴⁷Some of these are common pronunciations in non-standard Spanish dialects.

⁴⁸This is a different word from Q. *kwida-* 'to take care of' from Sp. *cuidar*.

⁴⁹This does not occur when *lado* is a separate word, but only when it occurs in combinations such as *hanalaa* 'that place up there'.

siwraa 'city' (from Sp. *ciudad*)

23.10.4. Loss of a Syllable

In the following, a syllable has been dropped, bringing the assimilated loan closer to the preferred bisyllabic form:

arpinti- [azpinti-] 'repent' (from Sp. *arrepentir*)

kalbasa 'type of squash' (from Sp. *calabaza*)

nisita- 'to need' (from Sp. *necesita*)

uysha 'sheep' (from Sp. *oveja*)

awrinti 'firewater' (from Sp. *aguardiente*)

awbindita 'holy water' (from Sp. *agua bendita*)

A syllable may be lost by dropping a Spanish prefix or the vocalic part thereof;⁵⁰ e.g., *sindi-* 'to light (a fire)' (from Sp. *encender*), *tabla-* 'to plank' (from Sp. *entablar*), *namura-* 'to be in love with' (from Sp. *enamorar*).

23.10.5. Multiple Spanish Words Borrowed as One Word

In the following cases, multiple Spanish words have been borrowed as a single Quechua word:

akesee 'although' (from Sp. *aun que sea*)

amaanu 'ready, available' (from Sp. *a mano*)

aybeesish 'occasionally' (from Sp. *a veces*)

laguna 'some time after one o'clock' (from Sp. *la una*)

lasdoosina 'it is now noon' (from Sp. *las doce*)

lasdosina 'it is now two o'clock' (from Sp. *las dos*)

lamar 'ocean' (from Sp. *la mar*)

lumismu 'the same' (from Sp. *lo mismo*)

⁵⁰But other words have not dropped *en-*; e.g., *entubla-* 'to be clouded over' (from Sp. *entublar*).

References

- [1] Adelaar, W.F.H. *Tarma Quechua*. Peter de Ridder Press, Lisse, The Netherlands, 1977.
- [2] Albino Mendoza, Lorenzo. *Kondenaado Y Hipash*. 1980c.manuscript.
- [3] Cayco Villar, Teodoro. *Cuento Atoq Waychaw y Sapo*. Llacón, Perú, 1974.
- [4] Cayco Villar, Teodoro. *Libro de Cuentos en Quechua*. Llacón, Perú, 1975a.
- [5] Cayco Villar, Teodoro. *Peru Marcanchichu Unay Awilunchicuna Tiyashan*. Llacón, Perú, 1975b.
- [6] Cerrón-Palomino, Rodolfo. *Gramática quechua: Junín-Huanca*. Ministerio de Educación, Lima, 1976.
- [7] Chafe, Wallace. Givenness, Contrastiveness, Definiteness, Subjects, and Topics. In Charles N. Li (editor), *Subject and Topic*. Academic Press, New York, 1976.
- [8] Clark, Eve. Normal States and Evaluative Viewpoints. *Language* 50(2):316-332, 1974.
- [9] Cole, Peter. The Grammatical Role of the Causee in Universal Grammar. *International Journal of American Linguistics* :115-133, 1983.
- [10] Comrie, Bernard. *Aspect*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England, 1976.
- [11] Comrie, Bernard. *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1981.
- [12] Coombs, David, H. Coombs, and R. Weber. *Gramática quechua: San Martín*. Ministerio de Educación, Lima, 1976.
- [13] Creider, Chet. On the Explanation of Transformations. In T. Givón (editor), *Discourse and Syntax*, pages 3-21. 1979.
- [14] Cusihuaman G., Antonio. *Gramática Quechua: Cuzco-Collao*. Ministerio de Educación, Lima, 1976.
- [15] Firbas, Jan. On the Concept of Communicative Dynamism in the Theory of Functional Sentence Perspective. In *Studia minora facultatis philosophicae. universitatis brunensis*, 1971.
- [16] Greenberg, Joseph. Some Universals of Language with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements. In J. Greenberb (editor), *Universals of Language*, pages 73-111. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1966.
- [17] Haiman, John. Conditionals are Topics. *Language* 54(3):564-589, 1978.
- [18] Haiman, J. Iconic and Economic Motivation. *Language* :781-819, 1983.

- [19] Hopper, Paul and S. Thompson. Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse. *Language* 56:251-299, 1980.
- [20] Landerman, Peter. The Quechua First-Person Marker and the Classification of Quechua Dialects. 1978.manuscript.
- [21] Larsen, Helen. *Derivational Suffixes*. Datos Etno-Lingüísticos, Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, Yarinacocha, Perú, 1973. microfiche.
- [22] Levensgood, Margaret. *Analysis of Quechua Texts (Ancash)*. Información de Campo 144b, Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, Yarinacocha, Perú, 1970. microfiche.
- [23] Levinsohn, Stephen. Functional Sentence Perspective in Inga. *Journal of Linguistics* 11:13-37, 1975.
- [24] Li, Charles and S. Thompson. Subject and Topic: A New Typology of Language. In Chales N. Li. (editor), *Subject and Topic*, chapter 15, pages 457-489. Academic Press, New York, 1976.
- [25] Longacre, Robert. Sentence Structure as a Statement Calculus. *Language* 46:783-815, 1970.
- [26] Longacre, Robert. *An Anatomy of Speech Notions*. The Peter de Ridder Press, Lisse, The Netherlands, 1976.
- [27] Loriot, James. *Notas sobre Referencia en un Texto Quechua de Cuzco*. Datos Etno-Lingüísticos 15, Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, Yarinacocha, Perú, 1975.
- [28] Pantoja Ramos, Santiago, J. Ripkens, and G. Swisshelm. *Cuentos y Relatos en el Quechua de Huaraz*. Priorato de San Benito, Huaraz, Perú, 1974. (Estudios Culturales Benedictinos, Nos. 1 and 2).
- [29] Parker, Gary. La clasificación genética de los dialectos quechuas. *Revista del Museo Nacional* 32:241-252, 1963.
- [30] Parker, Gary. *The Evolution of Quechua B*. Working Papers in Linguistics 3, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, 1971.
- [31] Parker, Gary. *Derivación Verbal en el Quechua de Ancash*. Documento de Trabajo 25, Centro de Investigación de Linguística Aplicada, 1972.
- [32] Phelps, Conrad. Focus and Validation in Ayacucho Quechua Discourse. manuscript. 1971
- [33] Puente B., Blas. *Quechua Tarmaño I: Textos*. Documento de Trabajo 9, Centro de Investigación de la Lingüística Aplicada, Lima, 1972.
- [34] Pulgar V., Javier. *Diccionario de Huanuqueñismos*. Universidad Nacional Hermilio Valdizán, Huánuco, Perú, 1967.
- [35] Tucto Ramírez, Amador. Unay Achakaypa Kwentu. mimeograph. Huánuco, 1980b.

- [36] Sayk Cruz, Elfriede. *Derivación Verbal en el Quechua del Norte del Departamento de Junín*. Documento de Trabajo 28, Centro de Investigación de Lingüística Aplicada, Lima, 1974.
- [37] Snow, Charles, and L. Stark. *Ancash Quechua*. University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1971.
- [38] Snow, Charles. Nominalization in Ancash Quechua:I. *Papers in Andean Linguistics* 2:5-129, 1973.
- [39] Sola, Donald. *Gramática del Quechua de Huánuco*. Plan de Fomento Lingüístico Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima, 1967.
- [40] Swisshelm, Germain. *Un Diccionario del Quechua de Huaraz*. Priorato de San Benito, Huaraz, Perú, 1972. (Estudios Culturales Benedictinos, No. 2).
- [41] Swisshelm, Germain. Los Sufijos de Derivación Verbal en el Quechua de Huaraz. In *Cuentos y Relatos en el Quechua de Huaraz*, pages 471-577. Priorato de San Benito, Huaraz, Perú, 1974.
- [42] Taglicht, J. A New Look at English Relative Clauses. *Lingua* 29:1-21, 1972.
- [43] Torero, Alfredo. Los Dialectos Quechuas. *Anales Científicos* 2(4):445-478, La Universidad Nacional Agraria, La Molina, Perú, 1964.
- [44] Weber, David. *Suffix-as-Operator Analysis and the Grammar of Successive Encoding in Llacón (Huánuco) Quechua*. Documento de Trabajo 13, Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, Yarinacocha, Perú, 1976.
- [45] Weber, David. *Relativization and Nominalized Clauses in Huallaga (Huánuco) Quechua*. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1983. (UC Publications in Linguistics, vol. 103).
- [46] Weber, David and P. Landerman. The Interpretation of Long Vowels in Quechua. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 51(1):94-108, January, 1985.
- [47] Weber, Diana Dahlin de. *Presuposiciones de Preguntas en el Quechua de Huánuco*. Documento de Trabajo 8, Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, Yarinacocha, Perú, 1976.
- [48] Weber, Robert and N. Theisen de Weber. *Negación en Quechua*. Documento de Trabajo 7, Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, Yarinacocha, Perú, 1976.
- [49] Wolck, Wolfgang. *Especificación y Foco en Quechua*. Documento de Trabajo 4, Centro de Investigación de Lingüística Aplicada, Lima, 1972.

Index

- (:)chi 'one who does excessively' [53](#)
- : '1' (verbal) [96](#)
- : 'first person possessive' [54](#)
- :kuna [11](#) (verbal) [96](#)
- :kuna 'first person plural exclusive' [55](#)
- :ni 'without having' [287](#)
- :ra 'Sp. participle, fem.' [245](#)
- :ri 'pluralizer' [143](#)
- :ru 'Sp. participle, masc.' [245](#)
- :shi 'accompaniment' [154](#)
- ∅ '=>3' [98](#)
- cha 'make' [32](#), [166](#)
- cha: 'repeatedly' [151](#)
- chakU 'concentratedly' [172](#)
- chakU 'verbalizer' [32](#)
- chaq 'surely' [58](#), [76](#), [461](#)
- chaq+ari' [461](#)
- chaw 'LOC' [184](#)
 - in idiomatic uses [188](#)
 - in time expressions [187](#)
 - involvement in activity/circumstance [186](#)
 - physical location [184](#)
 - while, during [60](#)
- chi 'causative' [161](#)
- chi 'CNJ' [419](#), [420](#), [425](#)
- chu
 - with validation questions [325](#)
- chu 'negative' [335](#)
- chu+raq 'dubitive' [326](#)
- chun '3IMP' [101](#)
- chush [436](#)
- ka+q 'definite' [271](#)
- ka: 'pass' [234](#)
- kaakU 'completely' [151](#)
- kacha: [150](#)
- kakU 'put onto' [32](#)
- kama 'limitative' [201](#)
 - spatial limit [201](#)
 - temporal limit [202](#)
 - until [61](#)
- kama 'respectively' [269](#)
- karay [44](#)
- kU 'reflexive' [167](#)
- ku+na 'tool' [50](#)
- kuna 'plural' [55](#)
- la: 'side' [46](#)
- lla 'just' [357](#)
 - for politeness [439](#)
 - in -y+lla+pa to form adverbs [308](#)
 - in adverbial clauses [366](#)
 - in frozen forms [368](#)
 - the order of [357](#)
 - the uses of [361](#)
 - to indicate meagerness [365](#)
 - to indicate politeness [367](#)
 - to indicate small amount [363](#)
 - to mean 'exclusive of' [361](#)
 - to mean 'precisely' [362](#)
 - with time expressions [363](#)
- lla possessive switch [358](#)
- lla: 'polite' [173](#), [439](#)
- ma: '=>1' [98](#)
- man 'conditional' [103](#)
- man 'GOAL'
 - as case marker [196](#)
 - time use [61](#)
- mari [461](#)
- mi 'DIR' [419](#), [420](#), [421](#)
 - as question marker [436](#)
 - with correlatives [437](#)
- mu 'afar' [134](#)
- n '3' (verbal) [96](#)
- n 'third person possessive' [54](#)
- na
 - na in the imminent construction [113](#)
- na 'now' [376](#)
 - and background material [383](#)
 - as an episode boundary [382](#)
 - at the climax of a text [381](#)
 - contrasted with -raq 'yet' [390](#)
 - in procedural texts [380](#)
 - meaning 'already, previously' [380](#)
 - meaning 'now in contrast to before' [379](#)
 - meaning 'now' or 'soon' [376](#)
 - meaning 'right at that time' [378](#)
 - residue [385](#)
 - with negation [343](#)
 - with time expressions [377](#)
- na 'sub'
 - as substantivizer [116](#)
 - in complements [288](#)
 - irrealis substantivizer [281](#)
 - obligation [112](#)
 - used derivationally [50](#)
- na: 'DESIDERative' [33](#), [170](#)
- nakU 'reciprocal' [168](#)
- naq 'narrative past' [114](#)
- naw 'similarity' [220](#)
- naw+pa 'manner/means' [225](#)
- nchi: '12' (verbal) [96](#)
- nchi: 'first person plural inclusive' [54](#)
- ni 'null' [95](#), [263](#)
- ni insertion [465](#)
- NI: '1P' [96](#)
- NI:kuna '11P' [96](#)
- NIn '3P' [96](#)
- NInchi: '12P' [96](#)
- NIntin 'together' [350](#)
- niraq 'like' [225](#)
- NIYki '2P' [96](#)
- NIyraq 'not having' [43](#)
- NIyoq 'having' [42](#)
- nki '2' (verbal) [96](#)
- Nnin 'superlative' [46](#)
- nqa '3FUT' [100](#)
- ntin 'together with' [47](#)
- ntin 'together' [350](#)
- pa 'benefactive' [159](#)

- pa 'GEN'
 - as a case marker [210](#)
 - de-substantival adverbializer [69](#)
 - following -y to form adverbs [308](#)
 - time use [61](#)
- pa 'substantivizer' [54](#)
- pa: 'become' [30](#)
- pa: 'benefactive' [155](#)
- pa:kU 'pluralizer' [143](#)
- pa:ri 'momentarily' [160](#)
- pacha 'continuous' [277](#)
- pakU 'diffuse' [171](#)
- paku 'verbalizer' [32](#)
- paq 'future' [100](#)
- paq 'PUR'
 - by the time that [61](#)
- paq'PUR'
 - 'concerning' or 'about' [208](#)
 - 'for x to do' [209](#)
 - carrying out a role [209](#)
 - exchange [206](#)
 - for the benefit of [205](#)
 - purpose or reason [205](#)
 - with compound tense [207](#)
 - with purpose complements [206](#)
 - with time expressions [207](#)
- pis ~ -si
 - 'even, also, indefinite' [369](#)
 - 'even, to the extent that' [372](#)
 - meaning 'also, in addition to' [374](#)
 - simply as 'indefinite' marker [375](#)
 - terminating quantified expressions [373](#)
 - with alternatives [374](#)
 - with concessive adverbial clauses [371](#)
 - with conjoined substantive phrases [373](#)
 - with embedded questions [370](#)
 - with indefinite expressions [369](#)
 - with negation [343](#)
- pita 'ABL'
 - ablative case [189](#)
 - in comparatives [278](#)
 - since [61](#)
- pti 'adv (different subject)
 - transition [118](#)
- pti 'adv (different subject)'
 - syntax of [298](#)
- pU 'benefactive' [158](#)
- pura 'between, among' [226](#)
- q
 - active participle [283](#)
 - as narrative past tense [110](#)
 - habitual tense [109](#)
 - non-temporal substantivizer [281](#)
 - substantivizer [53](#), [115](#)
 - with hana (non-productive) [45](#)
- q 'human' [45](#)
- q-pis and negation [345](#)
- q aywa- 'future (periphrastic)' [114](#)
- qa 'TOP' [393](#)
 - blocking [396](#)
 - contrast [406](#)
 - on main verbs [416](#)
 - pragmatic facts [400](#)
 - relevance [405](#)
 - syntactic facts [393](#)
 - to resume a topic [413](#)
 - with adverbial clauses [415](#)
 - with alternatives [411](#)
 - with negatives [409](#)
 - with sentential connectives [412](#)
 - with yes/no questions [409](#)
- qtu 'pretend' [172](#)
- qtuku- [364](#)
- r 'adv (same subject)
 - transition [118](#)
- r 'adv (same subject)'
 - syntax of [298](#)
- ra '(simple) past' [99](#)
- ra-yka: 'durative' [148](#)
- ra: 'stative/durative' [147](#)
 - 'exhibit (property)' [32](#)
 - passives [241](#)
- raq 'yet'
 - as a question marker [327](#)
 - basic meaning [385](#)
 - contrasted with -na 'now' [390](#)
 - in frozen expressions [389](#)
 - to indicate an extreme [388](#)
 - with future verbs [389](#)
 - with negation [343](#)
 - with negatives [388](#)
 - with temporal adverbial clauses [387](#)
 - with time expressions [386](#)
- rI 'punctual' [147](#)
- rI-ykU 'suddenly' [148](#)
- rka 'pluralizer' [143](#)
- rkU 'up' [123](#)
 - with adverbial clauses [126](#)
 - with finite verbs [123](#)
- rpa 'pluralizer' [143](#)
- rpa 'stative+PLURAL' [243](#)
- rpU 'down' [122](#)
- rqU 'out' [127](#)
- sapa 'having much' [43](#)
- saq [44](#)
- sh with hana (non-productive) [45](#)
- sha
 - for -pti+ [12](#) [299](#)
 - in factive complements [289](#)
 - in passives [244](#)
 - in relative clauses [280](#)
 - in subordinate clauses [279](#)
 - non-subsequent substantivizer [281](#)
 - participle [285](#)
 - participle+auxiliary [108](#)
 - substantivizer [117](#)
 - third person perfect [105](#)
- shaq '1FUT' [100](#)
- shayki '1to2FUT' [100](#)
- shi 'IND' [419](#), [420](#), [421](#)
 - with finite complements [437](#)
- shka 'perfect' [105](#)
- shpa 'adv (same subject)'
 - syntax of [298](#)
 - transition [119](#)
- shu '=>' [98](#)

- shun
 - '12FUT' [100](#)
 - '12IMP' [101](#)
 - shwan '12 conditional' [103](#)
 - si 'yet'
 - See also -pis
 - ta 'OBJ' [178](#)
 - de-substantival adverbializer [68](#)
 - direct object [178](#)
 - direction [182](#)
 - indirect object [179](#)
 - lost [181](#)
 - time lapse [183](#)
 - time use [60](#)
 - ta: 'become' [30](#)
 - taq 'question marker' [327](#)
 - taq+chu 'negative' [345](#)
 - tuku 'pretend' [172](#)
 - wan
 - circumstance [219](#)
 - co-participant [217](#)
 - comitative [217](#)
 - conjunction [218](#)
 - instrument [215](#)
 - subject of causative [219](#)
 - under the authority of [220](#)
 - wan 'comitative' [215](#)
 - y
 - substantivization [51](#)
 - with -pa to form adverbs [308](#)
 - y '2IMP' [101](#)
 - y 'infinitive' [51](#)
 - y 'vocative' [44](#)
 - y+lla+pa 'adv' [298](#)
 - y+lla+pa 'adverbializer' [308](#)
 - y-paq '-inf-PUR'
 - obligation [113](#)
 - ya:
 - verbalizer 'become' [30](#)
 - with sounds [37](#)
 - yaq 'limitative' [201](#)
 - spatial limit [201](#)
 - temporal limit [202](#)
 - until [61](#)
 - yka: 'imperfective' [144](#)
 - ykacha: [150](#)
 - yki 'second person possessive' [54](#)
 - ykU 'impact'
 - for politeness [439](#)
 - ykU 'in' [128](#)
 - ykU 'perfective' [144](#)
 - ylla 'just' (non-productive) [44](#)
 - ydaq 'not having' [43](#)
 - yoq 'having' [42](#)
- /i+y/ [461](#)
- Achka 'many/much' [40](#)
 - Active participles [283](#)
 - Address forms [440](#)
 - Adjectives [17](#)
 - vs. nouns [35](#)
 - Adverbial Clauses [297](#)
 - circumstance [291](#)
 - comparison [294](#)
 - correlation [294](#)
 - discourse function of [313](#)
 - hypothetical comparison [294](#)
 - manner [294](#)
 - place [291](#)
 - purpose [292](#)
 - reason [293](#)
 - result [293](#)
 - time [291](#)
 - Adverbial uses of substantive clauses [290](#)
 - Adverbialization
 - with -pti [118](#)
 - with -r [118](#)
 - with -shpa [119](#)
 - Adverbs [17](#), [59](#)
 - attitudinal [66](#)
 - color with -y+lla+pa [311](#)
 - degree [65](#)
 - derived [68](#)
 - derived by -q [71](#)
 - derived from substantives [68](#)
 - derived from verbs [71](#)
 - direction with -y+lla+pa [311](#)
 - manner [308](#)
 - manner and means [67](#)
 - manner with -y+lla+pa [308](#)
 - means with -y+lla+pa [310](#)
 - pre-adjective [66](#)
 - time with -y+lla+pa [311](#)
 - Agents of passives [244](#)
 - Agreement [10](#)
 - marking for subject and object [98](#)
 - of object [180](#)
 - Allophones [452](#)
 - Also [374](#)
 - Alternative questions [329](#)
 - Ama 'not' (imperative) [73](#)
 - Apocope [459](#)
 - Aspect [144](#)
 - completely [151](#)
 - durative [147](#)
 - habitual [146](#)
 - in adverbial clauses [152](#)
 - iterative [150](#)
 - perfective vs. imperfective [145](#)
 - punctual [147](#)
 - punctual vs. durative [147](#)
 - Attitudinal adverbs [66](#)
 - Auxiliary verbs [24](#)
 - Ayka 'how many/much' [39](#)
- Benefactive [155](#)
 - pa [159](#)
 - pa: [155](#)
 - pa:ri [160](#)
 - pU [158](#)
 - Blocking
 - with -qa and evidentials [396](#)
 - Borrowings from Spanish [3](#), [471](#)
 - Calques [448](#)

- with -man 'GOAL' [199](#)
- with -pita 'ABL' [196](#)
- Case [175](#)
 - chaw 'locative' [184](#)
 - man 'GOAL' [196](#)
 - naw 'similarity' [220](#)
 - naw+pa 'manner/means' [225](#)
 - niraq 'like' [225](#)
 - pa 'GEN' [210](#)
 - paq 'PUR' [204](#)
 - pita 'ablative' [189](#)
 - pura 'between, among' [226](#)
 - wan 'comitative, instrument, etc.' [215](#)
 - yaq and -kama 'limitative' [201](#)
 - and meaning [230](#)
 - co-occurrence of case markers [227](#)
 - direct object [178](#)
 - direction [182](#)
 - indirect object [179](#)
 - influence of pre-transition suffixes [228](#)
 - introduction [55](#)
 - referentiality [230](#)
 - subjects [175](#)
- Case copy rule [231](#)
- Case marking [11](#)
- Causative
 - cha 'make' [166](#)
 - chi [161](#)
 - case marking with [219](#)
- Chart of suffixes [90](#)
- Chay 'that(one)/there' (medial) [38](#)
- Chay-raq [X]-llaqa [446](#)
- Chaychawraq [389](#)
- Chayllaraq [389](#)
- Chayraq [389](#)
- Circumstance [219, 291](#)
- Circumstantial infinitives [53](#)
- Classes
 - emphatic pronouns [37](#)
 - interactional imperatives [74](#)
 - interjections [74](#)
 - interrogative-indefinite pronoun-adjectives [39](#)
 - links [75](#)
 - negative [73](#)
 - noun-adjectives [35](#)
 - personal pronouns [37](#)
 - pronoun-adjectives [38](#)
 - quantifying noun-adjectives [40](#)
 - substantives [35](#)
 - verbs [23](#)
- Clause, definition of [13](#)
- Cliticization [470](#)
- Co-participant [217](#)
- Co-variation [278](#)
- Comparative [278](#)
- Comparison [294](#)
- Complement
 - existential [24](#)
 - predicational [24](#)
- Complementation [288](#)
- Complements
 - factive [289](#)
 - infinitive [289](#)
 - object [288](#)
 - sensory verb [289](#)
 - subject [288](#)
- Components of a whole [255](#)
- Compound perfect [106](#)
- Compound substantives [250](#)
- Compound tense [18](#)
 - negation [336](#)
- Concessive Adverbial Clauses [371](#)
- Conditional tense [103](#)
- Conjecture [425](#)
- Conjunction [20, 347](#)
 - ntin on substantives [350](#)
 - pis ~ -si as right boundary marker [373](#)
 - wan on substantives [348](#)
 - intersentential links [75](#)
 - juxtaposition of substantives [347](#)
 - list-and-count [351](#)
 - of adverbial clauses [353](#)
 - of sentences [355](#)
 - of subordinate clauses [352](#)
 - of substantives [347](#)
 - of verbs [352](#)
 - the huk...huk mechanism [350](#)
 - the waki...waki- mechanism [350](#)
- Consonant clusters [453](#)
- Constraints on consonants and vowels [455](#)
- Constructions
 - participle+auxiliary [106](#)
 - purpose motion [27](#)
- Content questions [327](#)
- Contractions [459, 461](#)
- Contrast, with -qa [406](#)
- Correlation 'according as' [294](#)
- Could [104](#)
- Couplets
 - stable [48](#)
 - transitory [49](#)
- Definite
 - See also -ka+q
- Degree adverbs [65](#)
- Demonstrative pronoun-adjectives [38](#)
- Derivation
 - adverbs from substantives [68](#)
 - adverbs from verbs [71](#)
 - substantives from substantives [41](#)
 - substantives from verbs [50](#)
- Derived adverbs [68](#)
- Desiderative [33](#)
- Dialect differences
 - subdialectal variation in HgQ [471](#)
- Direction adverb
 - with -y+lla+pa [311](#)
- Directional suffixes [121](#)
- Discontinuous constituents [250](#)
- Discontinuous modifiers [282](#)
- Discourse
 - mega-sentences [315](#)
 - pattern deviations [431](#)
 - use of adverbial clauses for cohesion [313](#)
- Disjoint reference [263](#)
- Drama [21](#)

- Durative aspect [147](#)
 Embedded questions [331](#)
 Emphatic pronouns [37](#)
 Even [372](#)
 Evidential suffixes [76](#)
 Evidentials [419](#)
 -*chi* 'CNJ' [425](#)
 -*mi* and -*shi* [421](#)
 as information profile [428](#)
 discourse function [431](#)
 other uses [436](#)
 pattern with -*qa* 'TOP' [427](#)
 vs. validation [421](#)
 Expectation [105](#)
 Expressions
 for giving and receiving [441](#), [442](#)
 formulaic [447](#)
 of emotion [446](#)
- Factive complements [289](#)
 Finite verb phrase [13](#)
 Floating case marker [228](#)
 Foreshortening [467](#)
 Formulaic expressions
 riddles [447](#)
 to begin a folk tale [447](#)
 to end a text [447](#)
 war cries [448](#)
 Future perfect tense [108](#)
 Future tense [100](#)
 -*q aywa*- 'future (periphrastic)' [114](#)
 for politeness [439](#)
- Genitive construction [254](#)
 for component of whole [255](#)
 negation of [342](#)
 spatial use [256](#)
 structure of [254](#)
 temporal use [257](#)
 uses of [255](#)
 Grammatical relations with causatives [161](#)
- Habitual [146](#)
 Habitual tense [109](#)
 Han-*qa*- 'above' [38](#)
 Hana 'above' [38](#), [45](#), [256](#)
 contraction of [460](#)
 Hapa+*lla*- 'alone/only' [262](#)
 Haplology [459](#)
 Have [41](#)
 Hearsay [420](#)
 Huk ~ hukni- 'one/other' [259](#)
 to contrast conjuncts [350](#)
 Huk 'one' [40](#)
 Hypothetical comparison [294](#)
- Iconicity, -*ykU* to create distance [134](#)
 Idioms [207](#), [443](#)
 semi-productive [443](#)
 Ima 'what' [39](#)
 Imay 'when' [39](#)
 Imay-*raq hama-shaq* |X|-*pita!*? [446](#)
- Imminent construction [113](#)
 Imperatives [101](#)
 negative [339](#)
 politeness with [440](#)
 Imperfective aspect [145](#)
 Indefinite [375](#)
 Indefinite expressions [369](#)
 Indefinite numbers [269](#)
 Indefinite pronouns with negation [346](#)
 Indirect objects [179](#), [236](#)
 Infinitive complements [289](#)
 Infinitives [186](#)
 circumstantial [53](#)
 Inflection
 of substantives [54](#)
 of verbs [79](#)
 Information
 direct [420](#)
 pattern [427](#)
 profile [427](#), [428](#)
 secondhand, indirect [420](#)
 Instrument [215](#)
 Intention [112](#)
 Interactional imperatives [74](#)
 Interjections [74](#)
 Interrogative verbs [25](#)
 Interrogative-indefinite pronoun-adjectives [39](#)
 Intransitive verbs [23](#)
 Ishka- ~ ishka- 'two of' [263](#)
 Ishka- ~ ishka- 'two of' [260](#)
 Ishkay 'two' [40](#), [269](#)
 Iterative aspect [150](#)
- Ka- 'be' [18](#), [98](#)
 Ka:ra+u:nu-POS 'each of' [263](#)
 Kanan-*raq-chi* kanan-*lla-qa!* [446](#)
 Kay 'this(one)/here' (proximate) [38](#)
 Kiki 'self' [37](#), [262](#)
 Kimsa 'three' [260](#)
 Kuyraa 'be careful lest' [304](#)
- Length [466](#)
 for emphasis [468](#)
 word-final suppression [470](#)
 Lexical classes [9](#)
 Lexicalization of verbs with -*ka*: 'pass' [238](#)
 Links [75](#), [355](#)
 Llapa- ~ llapani- 'all of' [262](#), [263](#)
 Llapa [40](#)
 Loan processes [471](#)
 Loan translations [448](#)
 with -*man* 'GOAL' [199](#)
 Locative [184](#)
 Lowering of high long vowels [458](#)
- Mallwa 'young ones' [470](#)
 Mana 'not' [73](#)
 Manner [294](#)
 Manner adverb
 Deception, with -*y+lla+pa* [309](#)
 of doing, with -*y+lla+pa* [308](#)
 of result, with -*y+lla+pa* [310](#)
 Manner adverbs [67](#), [308](#)

- Material [216](#)
 May 'where' [39](#)
 Mayqa- ~ mayqani- 'which of' [39](#), [261](#), [263](#)
 Means adverbs [67](#)
 with -y+lla+pa [310](#)
 Mega-sentences [315](#)
 Metathesis [461](#)
 Might [104](#)
 Minor word classes [73](#)
 Modals [104](#)
 Morpheme sequences [90](#)
 Morpheme structure conditions [455](#)
 Morpho-phonemic lowering [462](#)
 Morpho-phonological processes [457](#)
 Motion [27](#)
- Narrative past [110](#), [114](#)
 Nasal assimilation [458](#)
 Negation [18](#), [335](#)
 distribution of markers [339](#)
 imperative [339](#)
 in main clauses [335](#)
 with -na, -raq, -pis [343](#)
 with -q-pis [345](#)
 with -taq+chu [345](#)
 with compound tense [336](#)
 with genitive construction [342](#)
 with indefinite pronouns [346](#)
 with predicate substantives [336](#)
 with purpose clause [343](#)
 Negative questions [330](#)
 Negatives [73](#)
 role of -qa 'TOP' [409](#)
 Non-occurrence of the auxiliary [98](#)
 Noqa 'I' [37](#)
 Noqakuna 'we (exclusive)' [37](#)
 Noqanchii 'we (inclusive)' [37](#)
 Noun-adjectives [35](#)
 Nouns
 vs. adjectives [35](#)
 Number formation [267](#)
 Numbers [40](#)
 indefinite [269](#)
 integers [267](#)
- Object complement verbs [25](#)
 Object complements [263](#)
 Object marking [96](#)
 Obligation
 with -na 'sub' [112](#)
 with -y-paq '-INF-PUR' [113](#)
 Onomatopoeia [37](#)
 Opaque vs. referential readings [230](#)
 Order
 alternate positions of -naw 'SIM' [220](#)
 of post-transition suffixes [86](#)
 of pre-transition suffixes [82](#)
 of suffixes [82](#)
 Orthography [456](#)
 Ownership [255](#)
- Parenthetic insertions [356](#)
 Part-whole [255](#)
- Participle+auxiliary construction [244](#)
 Participles [282](#)
 -sha [285](#)
 active [283](#)
 negative [287](#)
 Passive [178](#), [233](#)
 agents of [244](#)
 morphological [233](#)
 of a passive [246](#)
 syntactic [244](#)
 with -ka: 'pass' [234](#)
 with -ra: 'stat' [241](#)
 with Spanish participle [245](#)
 Past anterior [108](#)
 Pattern deviations
 at textual boundaries [431](#)
 to build tensions [434](#)
 to distinguish two themes [434](#)
 Pay '(s)he' [37](#), [263](#)
 Perfect
 compound [106](#)
 future [108](#)
 past [108](#)
 simple present [105](#)
 Perfect tense [105](#)
 Perfective aspect [145](#)
 Periphrastic future [114](#)
 Person marking [95](#)
 Personal pronouns [37](#)
 Phonemes [449](#)
 Phonetic lowering [458](#)
 Pi 'who' [39](#)
 Place [291](#)
 Pluralization of verbs [143](#)
 Politeness
 expressions [439](#)
 greetings and inquiries [440](#)
 imperatives [440](#)
 mechanisms for [439](#)
 Possessive [17](#)
 Possessive suffixes [54](#)
 contrasted with person markers [95](#)
 with numbers [41](#)
 Post-transition suffixes [81](#)
 Pre-adjective [66](#)
 Pre-transition suffixes [78](#)
 Pre-transitions suffixes [121](#)
 Predicate, definition of [13](#)
 Present tense [99](#)
 Prestige of HgQ [2](#)
 Pullan 'half' [40](#)
 Punctual Aspect [147](#)
 Purpose [292](#)
 with negation [343](#)
 Purpose clause [205](#)
 Purpose complement verbs [26](#)
 Purpose motion construction [27](#)
- Qam 'you' [37](#)
 Qanyan(nin) 'the previous day' [258](#)
 Qepantaraq [389](#)
 Quantifying noun-adjectives [40](#)
 Quechua dialects

- central [1](#)
- classification of HgQ [1](#)
- Questions [325](#)
 - alternative [329](#)
 - content [19](#), [327](#)
 - embedded [331](#)
 - negative [330](#)
 - tag [329](#)
 - third person [332](#)
 - validation [325](#)
 - what say/do [330](#)
 - yes/no [19](#)
- Quotations [20](#)
 - direct [20](#)
 - drama [21](#)
 - indirect [21](#)
- Reason [293](#)
- Recapitulative adverbial clauses [313](#)
- Reciprocals [168](#)
- Reduplication
 - definition of [317](#)
 - in lexical items [317](#)
 - infinitive infinitive [324](#)
 - of adverbial clauses [323](#)
 - verb verb [324](#)
 - verb- verb- [323](#)
 - verb-r verb-r [321](#)
 - verb-r verb-rkU-r [322](#)
 - verb-ypa verb- [323](#)
 - with -n [319](#)
 - with -y+lla+pa [312](#)
 - with case marking [320](#)
 - word-word [318](#)
 - word-word-lla [318](#)
- Reference
 - disjoint [263](#)
 - possessed referential expressions [259](#)
- Referential vs. opaque readings [230](#)
- Reflexives [167](#)
- Relative clauses [279](#)
 - definition of [279](#)
- Relative juxtaposition [281](#)
- Relevance to context [405](#)
- Reordering
 - beyond the scope of a case marker [250](#)
 - within the scope of a case marker [249](#)
- Respectively [269](#)
- Responsibility [421](#)
- Result [293](#)
- Riddles [447](#)
- Sarcasm [426](#)
- Scope of case markers [230](#)
- Sensory verb complements [264](#), [289](#)
- Sentence, definition of [13](#)
- Shading suffixes [75](#), [357](#)
- Should [104](#)
- Sibilants [457](#)
- Simile [221](#)
- Simple past tense [99](#)
- Social-kinship [255](#)
- Sounds [31](#), [37](#)
- Spatial genitive [256](#)
- Stress [457](#)
- Subject [11](#), [175](#)
 - coding properties [175](#)
 - marking [96](#)
 - marking anomaly [97](#)
 - of causativized transitive verb [219](#)
 - of syntactic passives [246](#)
 - properties with -ka: passives [234](#)
 - properties with -ra: passives [241](#)
 - raising of [177](#)
- Subject complements [288](#)
 - verbs which take [25](#)
- Subordination [18](#)
- Substantive phrases [249](#)
- Substantives
 - classes of [35](#)
 - compound [250](#)
- Substantivization
 - adverbial uses of substantivized clauses [290](#)
 - choice among substantivizers [281](#)
 - subordinate clauses [279](#)
 - with -na [116](#)
 - with -q [115](#)
 - with -sha [117](#)
 - with -y [51](#)
- Suffix-as-operator analysis [88](#)
- Suffixes
 - causing morpho-phonemic lowering [463](#)
 - deriving substantives from substantives [41](#)
 - deriving substantives from verbs [50](#)
 - order of [82](#)
 - undergoing morpho-phonemic lowering [463](#)
 - unrestricted as to class [75](#)
 - which apply to substantives [41](#)
- Sumaq 'very' [46](#)
- Switch reference [297](#)
- Syllable structure [454](#)
- Syntax, introduction [9](#)
- Tag questions [329](#)
- Taqay 'that(one)/over there' (distal) [38](#)
- Temporal genitive [257](#)
- Tense
 - conditional tense [103](#)
 - future [100](#)
 - future perfect tense [108](#)
 - habitual [109](#)
 - imminent [113](#)
 - imperative [101](#)
 - narrative past [114](#)
 - obligation and intention [112](#)
 - past perfect tense [108](#)
 - periphrastic future [114](#)
 - present [99](#)
 - simple past [99](#)
 - simple perfect tense [105](#)
- Theme [400](#)
- Third person questions [332](#)
- Time [291](#)
 - deictic expressions [63](#)
 - of day [62](#)
 - periods of [64](#)

- time lapse with -ta 'OBJ' [183](#)
- units of [61](#)
- with -ntin [48](#)
- Time adverbs [64](#)
- with -y+lla+pa [311](#)
- Time expressions [59](#)
- using genitive construction [257](#)
- Topic [400](#)
- Transitions [79](#)
- basic system [97](#)
- compound [103](#)
- conditional tense [103](#)
- finite, chart of [79](#)
- future perfect tense [108](#)
- future tense [100](#)
- imperative [101](#)
- introduction [96](#)
- nonfinite, chart of [80](#)
- past perfect tense [108](#)
- present tense [99](#)
- simple past tense [99](#)
- simple perfect tense [105](#)
- Transitive verbs [23](#)
- Transitivizers [153](#)
- Triggers (for morpho-phonemic lowering) [462](#)
- Tuta(nnin) 'the next morning' [258](#)
- Ur-qa- 'below' [38](#)
- Ura 'below/lower' [38](#)
- contraction of [460](#)
- Ura 'down' [256](#)
- Valence [88](#)
- Validation questions [325](#)
- Validational
- See also Evidentials
- Verb classes [23](#)
- object complement verbs [25](#)
- purpose complement verbs [26](#)
- subject complement verbs [25](#)
- Verbalizer
- pakU [32](#)
- ya:, -pa:, and -ta: 'become' [30](#)
- Verbs
- properties of [27](#)
- structure of [77](#)
- subclasses [23](#)
- Waki- ~ wakin 'some/others' [40, 261](#)
- to contrast conjuncts [350](#)
- Wara(nnin) 'the next day' [258](#)
- Wash-qa- 'on the other side of me' [38](#)
- Washa
- 'at the same altitude' [38](#)
- 'at the same level' [256](#)
- Washa 'at the same level'
- contraction of [460](#)
- Wata(nnin) 'the next year' [258](#)
- WH questions [327](#)
- What say/do questions [330](#)
- Word classes, minor [73](#)
- Word formation [77](#)
- Word order [15](#)
- Word-final /i+y/ [462](#)
- Would [105](#)
- Yes/no questions [325](#)
- role of -qa 'TOP' [409](#)

Other Volumes Available
University of California Publications in Linguistics

- Vol. 22. Edward Sapir and Morris Swadesh. *Yana Dictionary*. ISBN 0-520-09219-8
- Vol. 72. Julian Moshinsky. *A Grammar of Southeastern Pomo*. ISBN 0-520-09450-6
- Vol. 75. James A. Matisoff. *The Grammar of Lahu*. ISBN 0-520-09467-0
- Vol. 89. Geoffrey Gamble. *Wikchamni Grammar*. ISBN 0-520-09589-8
- Vol. 94. Harvey Pitkin. *Wintu Grammar*. ISBN 0-520-09612-6
- Vol. 95. Harvey Pitkin. *Wintu Dictionary*. ISBN 0-520-09613-4
- Vol. 98. Anuradha Saksena. *Topics in the Analysis of Causatives with an Account of Hindi Paradigms*. ISBN 0-520-09659-2
- Vol. 100. James M. Crawford. *Cocopa Texts*. ISBN 0-520-09652-5
- Vol. 101. Jesse O. Sawyer and Alice Schlichter. *Yuki Vocabulary*. ISBN 0-520-09653-3
- Vol. 102. Janet W. D. Dougherty. *West Futuna-Aniwa: An Introduction to a Polynesian Outlier Language*. ISBN 0-520-09657-6
- Vol. 103. David Weber. *Relativization and Nominalized Clauses in Huallaga (Huánuco) Quechua*. ISBN 0-520-09666-5
- Vol. 104. Haruo Aoki. *Nez Perce Narratives*. ISBN 0-520-09693-2
- Vol. 105. Catherine A. Callaghan. *Plains Miwok Dictionary*. ISBN 0-520-09952-4
- Vol. 106. Eser Emine Erguvanli. *The Function of Word Order in Turkish Grammar*. ISBN 0-520-09955-9.
- Vol. 107. John P. Dayley. *Tzutujil Grammar*. ISBN 0-520-09952-1
- Vol. 108. Lynn Gordon. *Maricopa Morphology and Syntax*. ISBN 0-520-09965-6
- Vol. 109. David Leedom Shaul. *Topics in Nevome Syntax*. ISBN 0-520-099644-8
- Vol. 110. Catherine A. Callaghan. *Northern Sierra Miwok Dictionary*. ISBN 0-520-09712-2
- Vol. 111. James A. Matisoff. *The Dictionary of Lahu*. ISBN 0-520-09711-4
- Vol. 113. Kathryn Klingebiel. *Noun + Verb Compounding in Western Romance*. ISBN 0-520-09729-7